



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

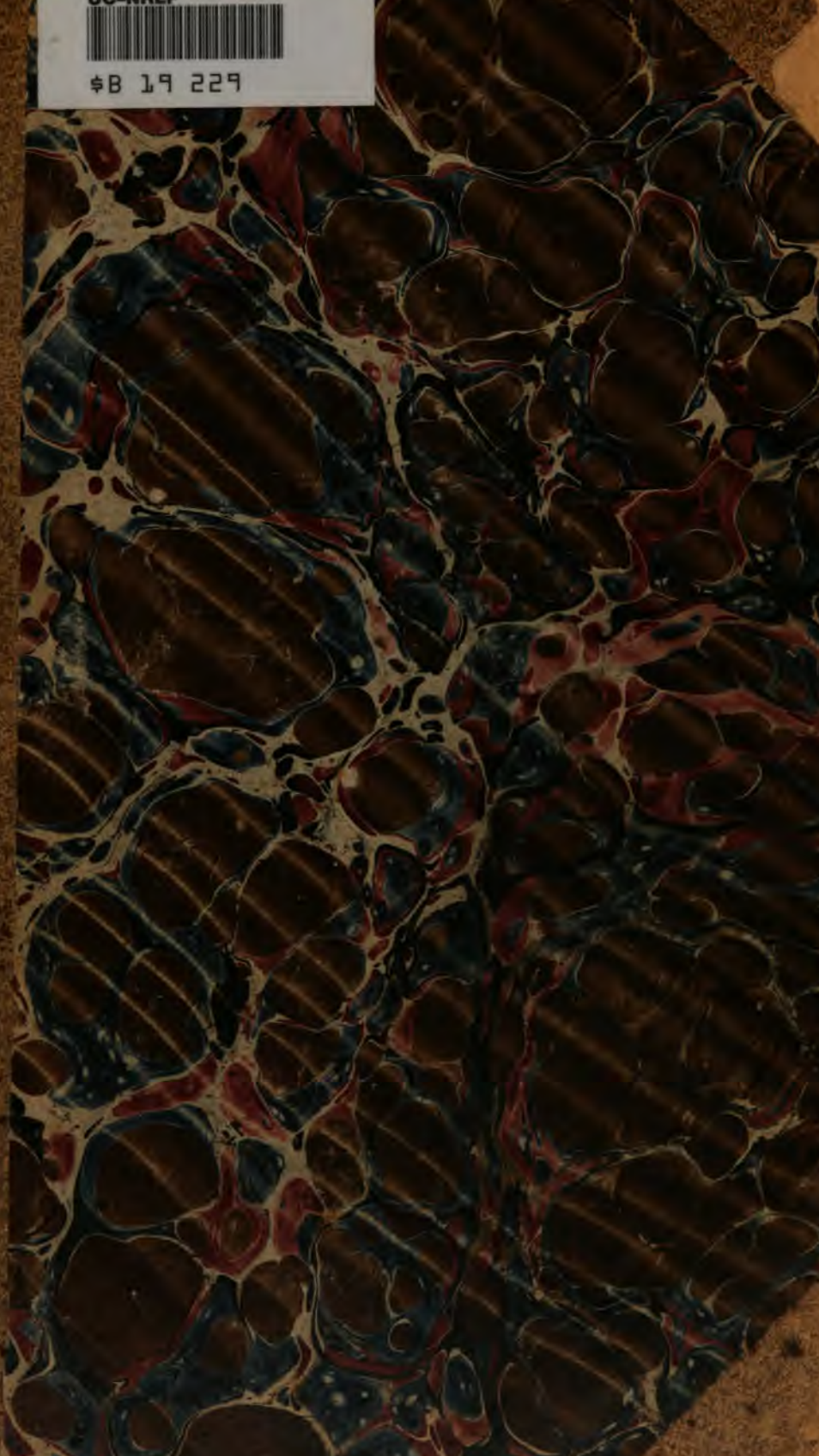
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

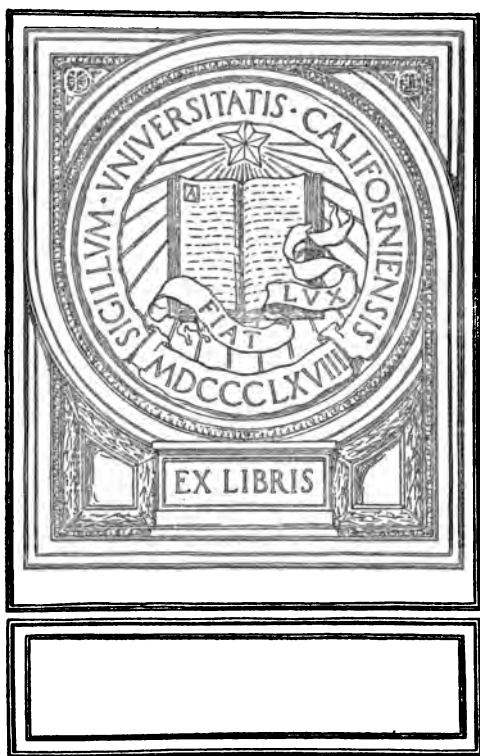
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



Б 19 229







ple  
10-44





THE  
**AMERICAN LABORER,**

DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE

OF

**PROTECTION TO HOME INDUSTRY,**

EMBRACING THE

**ARGUMENTS, REPORTS AND SPEECHES**

**OF THE ABLEST CIVILIANS OF THE UNITED STATES IN FAVOR OF THE  
POLICY OF PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR,**

WITH

**THE STATISTICS OF PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES,  
&c. &c. &c.**

**In Monthly Parts, and now for the first time published complete in one Volume.**

---

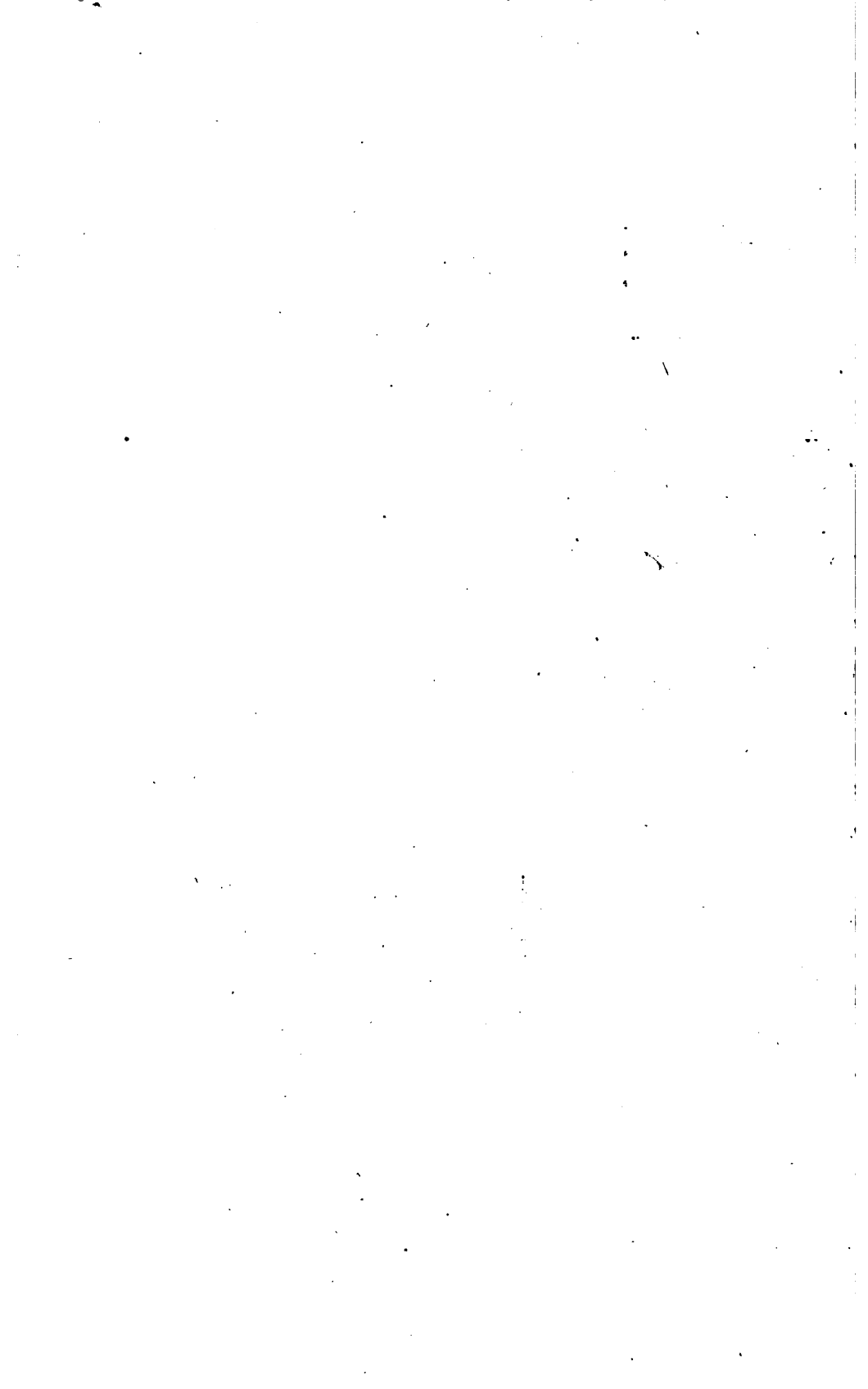
**NEW-YORK:**

**GREELEY & McELRATH, TRIBUNE BUILDINGS,**

**160 NASSAU-STREET.**

**1843.**

**PRICE \$1 00.]**



HF1754  
A6

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 1

Office No. 30 Ann-street,  
Near Astor House, Broadway. }

NEW-YORK, APRIL, 1842.

{ Price..75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

OF THIS (APRIL) NUMBER :

I. INTRODUCTION—(To The Public.)..Page..	1
II. MR. SLADE'S SPEECH—(EDITORIAL).....	2
III. THE GREAT HOME INDUSTRY NATIONAL CONVENTION, &c.....do	
IV. RESOLUTION—(Passed at a Convention of the citizens of Bristol County, Mass.).....do	
V. WHAT OF THE TIMES?.....2, 3, 4	
VI. THE NECESSITY OF PROTECTION TO THE FARMING INTEREST.....4, 5	
VII. MR. SLADE'S SPEECH.....from 6 to 23 inclusive	
VIII. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES.....24, 25	
IX. THE NECESSITY OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF TO A SOUND CURRENCY.....26, 27, 28	
X. WHERE STANDS NEW-YORK?.....26, 29, 30	
XI. UNIVERSAL FREE TRADE.....30, 31	
XII. MANUFACTURES AND IMPORTS?.....31	
XIII. SPEECH OF MR. MORRIS, OF PA.....32	
XIV. PROSPECTUS—(THE AMERICAN LABORER)....	32

## TO THE PUBLIC.

We present herewith the first number of a Monthly Magazine or Journal, designed to embody in successive numbers the Facts and Arguments sustaining the justice, sound policy, and imminent necessity of PROTECTING AMERICAN LABOR from depressing and disastrous foreign competition, by countervailing, to a reasonable extent, the heavy import duties to which nearly every product of this country is subjected in the great markets of Europe. This work will demonstrate, from undeniable documentary evidence, that such Protection has been recommended and advocated, as essential to our National Prosperity and Independence, by every distinguished American Patriot and Statesman, from WASHINGTON and ROBERT MORRIS down to JOHN C. CALHOUN—that it has been steadily pursued by every eminent practical Statesman of Europe *when in power* since the Science of Political Economy has been known—and that the want of such Protection was one of the great impelling causes of our Revolution, and of our poverty, thriftlessness, and embarrassments under the Old Confederation, whereby the States were fairly driven into "the formation of a more perfect Union," as essential to their salvation from utter anarchy and wretchedness. It will demonstrate that the great fundamental cause of our present National embarrassments, bankruptcies, and currency derangements, is the want of efficient Protection to our own Industry by a Tariff, countervailing the depressing exactions and policy of our European rivals in Manufactures and the Arts; and that with such a

Tariff our Currency may be speedily and permanently restored, our Laborers be universally employed and more amply remunerated, and our Country again impelled on the high road of Prosperity and Industrial Activity to perfect freedom from Foreign indebtedness and general prostration. These great truths will be calmly, earnestly set forth in the calm language of persuasion, and in the sanguine hope of carrying conviction to every enlightened and candid mind.

We do not advocate Protection as a remedy for all possible or actual evils; we know right well that Extravagance, Idleness, Vice, Intemperance, and the like, may ruin a nation in defiance of the most enlightened and beneficent Policy. But these evils Philanthropy is already combating with energy and effect; the Pulpit, the Press, the Forum, and the Lecture-Room are striving together for their extermination. We heartily wish success to all efforts to ameliorate the Physical or elevate the Moral condition of Mankind—we will unite in these efforts whenever and wherever we may—but we shall devote the pages of *The Laborer* exclusively to the great cause of Protection to American Industry, as essential to the general employment and just recompense of the Working Men of this Country, to their comfortable and independent subsistence, to the proper education of their children, to the steady improvement of their circumstances, to the enlargement of their sphere of Intellectual existence, and to the ultimate establishment of all International relations and intercourse on a basis of perfect Equity and Universal Beneficence.

THE LABORER will be rendered complete in a single full octavo volume, and not continued farther unless the circumstances of the Country and the wishes of its patrons shall imperatively require it. It will form a large and closely printed volume of 324 pages, (with Title-Page and Index,) equal to four average duodecimo volumes, and will be afforded at the lowest possible price:—viz. To single Subscribers, 75 cents; three do., \$2; five do., \$3; nine do., \$5; and to twenty Subscribers sending together, for *Ten Dollars*, or barely 50 cents each for the entire volume. We ask the friends of American Industry every where to aid us in procuring Subscriptions.

THE next number of THE LABORER will contain a full account of the Proceedings of the Home Industry Convention, embodying the conclusions at which it arrives, with the Reports, Resolutions, &c. It will be put to press as soon as possible after the Convention shall have adjourned.

M508375



**Mr. Slade's Speech.**

We earnestly commend to the profound attention and enlightened judgement of every reader the able and convincing SPEECH of HON. WM. SLADE of Vt. showing the absolute unanimity and zeal of every eminent Statesman whom our Country has produced in favor of Protecting Domestic Industry, the acquiescence and union of all parties which ever existed in this Country, (except the Tories of the Revolution) in support of this policy, and the imminent necessity which now exists for its re-adoption and maintenance as essential to all interests and all actions of the Country. Mr. Slade's Speech is very long—longer than any document we shall usually publish—but is in good part made up of pertinent and forcible quotations from WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, and the Sages and Patriots of our Revolutionary era, as also from our more modern Statesmen, showing the absolute necessity of Protecting Duties on Foreign Products, to our National Independence and welfare. Long as it is, there is not a paragraph that we could consent to spare. We entreat the Farmers, Mechanics and Working Men of the Union to consider carefully its arguments, and compare them with the easy flippancy, the pert assurance, the irrelevant common-places of the Free Trade theorists of our day. Only let both sides be heard by the toiling millions whose interests are so deeply involved in the decision of this controversy, and we shall cheerfully abide their verdict.

☞ The great HOME INDUSTRY NATIONAL CONVENTION will assemble in this City on Tuesday, the 5th inst. It will be attended by more than Two THOUSAND DELEGATES from all parts of the Union. We earnestly entreat the Farmers of each County or Town, the Mechanics and Artisans of each City and Village who may not have already done so, to hold meetings immediately and appoint one or more Delegates to this Convention. Momentous consequences to the interests of all hang upon its deliberations, and we trust that great and lasting good will result from them. It is important that all branches of American Industry be represented—that all voices be there heard.

☞ A Convention of the citizens of Bristol County, Mass. in favor of the Protection of Home Industry, was held at Taunton on the 17th—Silas Shepperd, President. The following is one of the Resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Protection we claim under a system of Revenue that shall at the same time meet the wants of an economical Administration of Government and those of an industrious, enterprising people, involves the vital interests of the whole Country—equally of the South and the North, of the West and the East; and ought to be considered with a gravity suited to its importance, and with a patriotism suited to its comprehensiveness; and as being infinitely above the biases or prejudices of a local or party origin.

Committees were appointed to collect and disseminate information, and Twenty Delegates appointed to the Home Industry Convention in this City on the 5th of April.

**What of the Times?**

"HARD TIMES again!" says some well-conditioned, well-fed grumbler at other people's grumbling; "shall we never have an end of this incessant cry of 'Hard Times!'" Truly, we fear not immediately. Our country is in debt Two Hundred Millions of dollars to Europe; this debt must in good faith be paid, and its annual interest alone requires a drain of Ten or Twelve Millions a year, upon the Industry of the country. Many of the States are paralyzed and dishonored for the moment, yet their whole indebtedness will ultimately be paid, principal and interest. But neither can this be done, nor can our country extricate itself from domestic embarrassments and resume its onward march to greatness, without a decided change from the Public Policy of the last ten years. The arguments of all thinkers, theorists, economists, suppose this. One man traces all our evils to an inflated and vicious Paper Currency; another, to the overthrow of the National Bank; a third finds the cause in Speculation and Extravagance; a fourth, in excessive Commercial Activity and Over-Production in particular branches of Industry, &c. The clear-sighted observer perceives that these various causes are not discordant, as they seem, but essentially one; the only difference being as to which is fundamental and underlies the others. All see that the Currency as it is is unsound, deranged, and vicious; though some hold that this state of things would have been avoided if the National Bank had been preserved, while others consider that Bank tainted with the inherent vice of the Paper System, and as likely to aggravate as check the disorders which prevail.

All know that we—that is, a great many of us—have bought too much and lived too high, and incurred too much debt, and mistaken imaginary profits on speculative purchases for solid earnings—all know that we were once flourishing, are now prostrate, and need some decided change to restore us to Prosperity. All will see, too, that cursing what cannot be helped will not mend the matter. We are in debt as a Nation, as States, and as People. Many of our States have adventured rashly upon vast enterprises of Internal Improvement which they have not the means to complete; whereupon they are deeply embarrassed, their faith dishonored, and in debt increasing by interest, to no good purpose, when perhaps those very works would be worth to them three times the cost, and would pay interest forthwith, if completed. So of thousands of individuals, who are now reviled as bankrupt speculators for undertakings which would have proved highly useful and lucrative, but for great and violent changes in the state of affairs, which they could neither avoid nor foresee. And the very men who now exult over their misfortunes and pronounce them richly deserved, would have been the most eager to follow, the loudest to huzza in their train, had the wheel

but turned the other way, and brought them up winners! This is a base world of ours!

But the question still recurs—What shall be done to restore General Prosperity? The instinctive, the inevitable answer is, We must work more, produce more, earn more, and buy less, consume less, spend less. We must all strive to get out of debt, where we have formerly seemed solicitous only to get in. We must export more than we import, if we would honorably relieve ourselves from Foreign Debt; we must raise more Grain, make more Cloth, wear less Silk and drink less Wine, if we would remove our Domestic embarrassments. So far, all must substantially agree. But it is idle to bid men work, when they can get nothing to do—to exhort them to produce when they cannot sell their last year's products at a living price. And this brings us at once to the great, the momentous question: *What change in our National Policy will best promote the interest of the Laboring Mass, increase the demand for and reward of their Labor, and secure a ready market and fair reward to the Products of American Industry?*

This inquiry comes home to the business and fireside of every laboring man—of every citizen who is not shielded by wealth from the danger of embarrassment and want. On the 1st day of July ensuing, a great change in the Tariff takes place, if not prevented by intervening action of Congress. On that day, all the duties collected on Foreign Goods imported into this country are to be reduced to the uniform horizontal rate of 20 per cent. on the value thereof. On many articles this reduction will amount to one-third of the duty now collected. Let us now state a few pertinent facts.

Throughout the past winter and present spring, Foreign Goods have been poured and are still pouring into the country on Foreign account, to an extent almost without parallel. This importation is invited by the low and still decreasing rates of duty imposed by our Tariff, and stimulated by the depression of Trade and Labor in Europe. While Laborers are famishing for bare bread, they are thankful for any wages, even sixpence a day. With Labor so reduced, it is manifestly easy to manufacture articles which do not suffer by transportation, and of which the value is large compared with the bulk, and sell them in our markets below the prices of our own similar products. For instance, let us suppose that the average earnings of a shoemaker in this country are one dollar for a full day's work, while in France shoemakers may be hired for twenty-five cents, and leather-dressers in proportion. Who does not see that it will be easy to manufacture shoes in France, pay a duty of 20 per cent. and sell them here below the money cost of the American article? As of this, so of other Manufactures. If the fact that an article can be bought abroad for *fewer dollars* than would be charged for its production at home proves that it is the dictate of wisdom and sound policy to import

it, then is it proved that every article of trifling weight, in proportion to its cost, of which cost labor is the principal element, should be bought by us from the workshops of Europe, and not produced on our own soil. But is this a safe deduction? *How are we to pay for these manufactures if we import them? In what is payment to be made?* Not in Cotton, Tobacco, or Rice, surely; for we have already forced these upon the European markets till they are glutted, and the price of our great Southern staple is now lower than ever before. Not in our Grain, Beef, Pork, and other Free Labor products; for these are all substantially *prohibited*, except in times of famine, by the Governments of Europe. How, then, are we to pay for Fifty Millions' worth more of Foreign Manufactures?

Let us glance one moment at the immediate effects of our easy encouragement to Foreign Importations. All through the winter European Manufactures have been pouring in upon us on Foreign account, rattled off at auction for what they would fetch, and the proceeds—a good part in specie—hurried off to London or Paris. This process has naturally depressed the value of all such Manufactures so rapidly that many mercantile houses in this and other cities, who have been doing a brisk business, throughout have been rendered irretrievably bankrupt simply by the fall in price of their goods. At the same time our sound Banks, laboring under a constant and irresistible drain of specie, have been compelled to contract, and still contract their Circulation and Discounts, breaking many business men by the mere reduction of their accommodations. On all hands, we see bankruptcy, embarrassment, poverty. Such is a first effect of the reduction of the Tariff.

Its effects on our Industry have not been less disastrous. At the very time when our Domestic Trade is declining through the general decline of prices and the anarchy in Exchanges, we see 5000 pair of French boots imported in one ship to Boston, the very metropolis of the American shoe-trade. A French merchant tailor drops over in a steamship, picks up orders for six hundred coats from the dandies of Baltimore, and is off in the next steamer, to have the coats made in Paris from French cloth, and at prices which an American tailor could not live by. Meanwhile our American Manufactories, undersold through the cheapness of British pauper labor, are preparing to give up business; several have already stopped; others will do so as soon as they have worked up their stock on hand, and many more if the further reduction of duty on the 1st of July goes into operation. We are assured that many of the principal establishments of New-England have had a consultation, and, finding that they must either stop business, rush upon certain ruin, or reduce the wages of their laborers, have very properly resolved to stop, as the least of impending evils.

'Very well,' says a Free Trader, 'let them stop! Who cares for those overgrown monopolies?— Their owners are rich enough—or, if not, they can take the benefit of the Bankrupt Law.' Allow all this, and still the question faces us—What shall their Laborers do? How shall they procure bread for their families? How are our mechanics and artisans to live, if we buy our boots and coats in Paris, our cloths and cutlery in England? How shall we ever get out of debt at this rate? How resume our interrupted career of prosperity? And where shall our farmers find a market for their Grain, their Wool, and other products?

To us there seems but one practical answer to the burthen of these inquiries. We see no safe course but to REVISE OUR TARIFF AND PROTECT OUR HOME INDUSTRY. This will give employment to our Laborers, a market to our Farmers, activity to our Manufactories, and stable, adequate prices to all kinds of Property. This will enable those who have property to convert it into the means of paying what they owe, and those who have skill or talent to find a ready market for it. A forty per cent. Tariff would exert a mighty and instantaneous influence in restoring life and prosperity to our Home Industry. Why shall it not be tried?

From the Poughkeepsie Eagle.

#### The Necessity of Protection to the Farming Interest.

To the Farmers—particularly the Farmers of Dutchess Co.:

So far as I can perceive as a resident of the country, there appears a general indifference among the farming interest concerning the necessity of a protective Tariff, to sustain the Manufacturing labor of the country, denominated a Protection to Manufacturers, as if they were a class to be mainly benefited by such an act, and in which you were not interested. To illustrate the subject by a plain statement of practical facts, that you and all others may see, if they will take the trouble to read, I propose giving a detailed statement of the consumption of the products of agriculture by a Woolen Factory in this country, and of the great disparity in amount of investment, between agricultural and manufacturing capital, that you may form a correct judgement as to the necessity of a Protective Tariff on that branch of manufacture, and whether it is the manufacturer or the farmer that has most of a pecuniary interest at stake.

The duty on Wool for the past fifteen years has averaged about *forty-eight per cent.* which has for some years amounted to a prohibition (or very nearly so,) of all foreign Wool of a quality that came in competition with American Wool, the price of Wool in Europe being from twenty-five to fifty per cent. below ours, but not sufficiently low to import and pay duties, freight and other charges and leave a saving on cost—consequently little or none has been imported.

The duty on Woolen Goods, as laid by the Tariff during the same time, has averaged about *forty-five per cent.* but not over 2-3ds of that duty, during the greater portion of the time, has ever been

collected—owing to fraudulent entries at the Custom Houses. The importation of woolens being mainly in the hands of foreigners, the result has been that the woolen manufacturers have in many instances become bankrupt; those who have sustained themselves have realized so small a profit on their capital, that it would not pay the wear and tear and depreciation of their establishments. The duty on wolen goods is now reduced to *twenty-nine per cent.* and on the 30th of June next, a further reduction takes place, reducing the duty to *twenty per cent.* How is it possible, if, under a duty of forty-five per cent, the manufacturers have been only so partially protected, that they have not made a sufficient profit to make good wear and tear and depreciation of their establishment, that they can sustain themselves under a duty of *twenty per cent*? I prophesy, and time will prove whether I am a false prophet, that unless the duty is greatly increased above twenty per cent. there will not be one woolen manufactory in twenty in operation on the first of January, 1843. The surplus productions of European workshops will be poured in upon us under the twenty per cent. duty—foreigners have wool and many other materials twenty per cent. cheaper than we have, labor at least thirty per cent. cheaper, interest of money twenty-five per cent. cheaper than here, their home market secured to them by prohibitory duties.

That you, the wool and grain growers of the North and West may have data on which to make up your minds, who is the party (the farmer or manufacturer) most interested in a Protective Tariff, I will give a detailed statement of the operations of one of your most important customers, at your own doors, denominated a "*woolen manufactory*," in the town of Fishkill, Dutchess county.

The Glenham Company have a capital of *one hundred and forty thousand dollars*, consisting mainly of a few acres of land, their factory buildings, machinery, water power, and dwelling houses for the operatives, their sole business is the manufacturing of wool into broadcloths, cassimeres, &c., they give constant daily employment to one hundred and seventy persons, men, women and children. The past year 1841, they used in their manufactory

178,000 lbs. of American fleece wool, which cost....	\$73,800
8,500 gallons of olive oil, (on which the Government received a revenue of \$780, being a duty of 20 cents the gallon,) cost.....	4,000
770 gallons sperma oil .....	844
11,174 lbs. of soap .....	1,198
75,800 teazles .....	1,380
22,500 pelts .....	584
148 cords of wood .....	598
270 tons of anthracite coal .....	1,650
50 chaldrons Nova Scotia coal, (duty \$108) .....	450
6,880 lbs. indigo, (gov't revenue by duties \$900) .....	10,900
Dye Stuffs, viz: leg-wood, alum, coppers, madder, sumac, &c. &c. (mostly foreign) .....	2,500
Sundries .....	4,500
	\$101,800

Wages paid to the 170 operatives for the year ..... \$40,000

Total, \$141,800

Let us see the amount of agricultural capital now in requisition, which that manufacturing establishment requires to keep it in operation, and that furnishes a market for such agricultural investment:

- I. To produce 178,000 lbs. of wool will require the fleeces of 66,000 sheep, at their present lowest value in Dutchess county, I put down at \$2 per head, is... \$132,000
- II. To support that immense flock of sheep with winter fodder and summer pasture, I am informed by a sheep raiser, that not more than three sheep can be kept on an acre, consequently 22,000 acres of land will be the required quantity for their maintenance,



at the lowest price that lands can be had in the county, which will support three sheep to the acre, I estimate at \$50 the acre, is .....1,100,000

III. Not less than 500 persons are supported out of the labor of the 170 operatives, and consume weekly of the product of agriculture, of beef, pork, flour, butter, milk, eggs, cheese, &c. &c., at the lowest estimation, of the value of \$800 per week, for the year of 52 weeks, is \$41,600 per annum. Intelligent farmers tell me that it must be an industrious man, on a farm of 200 acres of fair average land, who can sell to the amount of \$800 per annum, over and above the supply of his own family and work hands. To furnish, therefore, the supply for the manufacturers would require thirteen farms of 200 acres each, is 2,600 acres, which I estimate at \$70 per acre, is .....182,000

IV. A farther investment of agricultural capital is required to furnish the harness, fire-wood, coal, provender for team-horses, &c. &c., estimated at .....8,000

\$1,432,000

Thus, one million four hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars is the agricultural capital now in requisition to supply the manufacturing investment of only one hundred and forty thousand dollars.

I challenge refutation on the foregoing statement of facts. Agriculturists, examine it closely and carefully, and then say who is most to be benefitted by a protective tariff, which will enable that establishment to continue the operation, you or the manufacturer? Every woolen manufactory in the country in proportion to its extent, is alike the market for the agriculturist for his wool and his provisions. If that establishment is driven to a suspension of its operations for the want of adequate protection, it is quite probable that others will cease to operate from the same cause. Where, then, will you find a market for the produce of your Farms? Should the present Tariff law go into effect, which imposes a duty of twenty per cent. after the 30th June next, it will be utterly and entirely out of the question for the manufacturers of wool to sustain themselves for a single month against foreign competition, under so insignificant a protection. England will take your wool in pay for her broadcloths at 25 cents the pound, for the same quality you have been selling the past year at 45 cents, (wool being a raw material, she only levies one cent the pound duty, to aid her manufacturers.)

But your other productions, such as your beef, pork, flour, lumber, &c., are loaded with so heavy a duty, that it amounts nearly to a prohibition.—Flour now pays in England a duty of three dollars and a quarter the barrel. Very little if any of the products of your farms enter into the composition of a yard of foreign broadcloth; whereas, the American is almost wholly of American product and labor. The suspension of the woolen manufactures will throw out of employ a population, four-fifths of whom are women and children, who are incapable of agricultural labor. They who are now all consumers of agricultural products must, from necessity, become in part, producers, and add to the already overstocked market of the products of agriculture. What insane, what fatal policy, to consign our manufactories to destruction, and our women and children to beggary and want, (which will be the inevitable result) if the present tariff law goes into effect. If they are sacrificed, you farmers, when too late, will find that your interest must follow suit, for want of the home market the manufacturer now furnishes. Europe will not take your bread-stuffs, they raise enough for themselves.

Where, I will ask, are you to find a market for your productions now consumed by the manufacturing population, which have been thus far sus-

tained by laws of protection, now about being abandoned, unless the farming interest will arouse to rescue them, and save their home market? If you believe in the truth of these remarks, let our representative be instructed to stand by our interests, against the Free Trade sophistry of the Southern Nullifiers. They have taken most especial care that their productions shall not be interfered with by the introduction of similar articles of foreign growth. Their cotton, rice, and tobacco are protected by prohibitory duties: not a pound of foreign cotton, or rice, enters into American consumption. If I have understood the votes our representative in Congress has recently given on the incidental reference of the Tariff question they have been against Protection, and hostile to your interests, and of the prosperity of the county and State he represents. If such are his views, I hope and trust that his constituents will see the necessity of instructing him otherwise, that Protection be sustained.

The agricultural and manufacturing industry of the North I consider in a most critical and dangerous position; our Currency prostrated, and but a shadow of a chance of being speedily improved; the nation as well as individuals heavily in debt to foreigners, and the main hope for better times must rest on a Protective Tariff. Protection to the manufacturing industry under which the nation has so signally prospered, began on the immediate adoption of the Constitution; and as a proof that protection was intended, the heading or caption to the first law passed in 1791 reads as follows; "*Whereas, it is necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported.*"\* and laws designed for protection have continued to be enacted ever since recognizing protection. What consummate folly, therefore, not to say wickedness, of some of the Members in Congress, to waste the time of the House at this moment debating the constitutionality of laws for protection! Those interests that have been the most thoroughly protected by legislative enactments, have been the most successful; viz: navigation, ship building, manufactures of leather, carriages, cabinet ware, hats, coarse cotton goods, and a thousand other articles which the domestic producer has now furnished, excluding almost wholly the foreign article, and furnishing a large amount for export.

Meetings ought to be called in every town before it is too late, to memorialize Congress so to adjust the tariff that every interest is thoroughly protected. If the manufacturers are prostrated, the farming interest must also fall, so far, at least, as any profit on their industry is concerned.

The manufacture of iron, cotton, and in fact every branch of industry, is but the handmaid of agriculture. When they flourish, the agriculturist is most generally prosperous. S.

February, 1842.

\*In 1796 General Washington in his speech made the following remarks—"Congress have repeatedly directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures; the object is of too much importance not to insure a continuance of these efforts in every way which shall appear eligible." Mr. Jefferson in his message of 1802, states "that to cultivate peace, maintain commerce and navigation, to foster our fisheries and protect manufactures, adapted to our circumstances, &c., are the landmarks by which to guide ourselves in all our relations." Other Presidents have held the same language.

## SPEECH OF MR. SLADE OF Vt., In favor of a Protecting Tariff,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, Dec, 20, 1841.

THE question being upon the proposition of Mr. ATHERTON, of New Hampshire, to amend the resolution for referring so much of the President's Message as related to the Tariff to the Committee on Manufactures, by referring the same to the Committee of Ways and Means—

Mr. SLADE rose and said, that he felt urged by peculiar considerations to address the House upon the question raised by the motion of the gentleman from New Hampshire. It was proposed to take away from the Committee on Manufactures the consideration of a subject which had long been regarded as appropriately belonging to it, and to transfer it to another Committee. Placed as he had been, by the Speaker, on the Committee on Manufactures, he felt it to be somewhat incumbent on him to vindicate the claim of that Committee, in behalf of the manufacturing interests, to the consideration of that part of the President's Message referred to in the resolution. Besides this, Mr. S. said he represented a constituency having a deep interest in the question which had been drawn into discussion, and who, of course, looked to him to defend that interest, whenever it should be brought under consideration. He felt, also, under high obligations, from the fact that the Legislature of the State which he in part represented had, at their late session, passed resolutions strongly approving of the protective system, and instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives of that State, in the Congress of the United States, to use all honorable means to sustain it. These resolutions, Mr. S. said, he held in his hand; and, as they furnished an excellent summary of the arguments in favor of the protective policy, he desired to make them a part of his speech, and would therefore send them to the Clerk, that they might be read.

The resolutions were here read by the Clerk, as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Vermont, as follows, to wit:

"1. *Resolved*, That labor, both mental and corporeal, is not only the most honorable means, but the only true source of wealth.

"2. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of our Government, at all times, to protect and encourage the industry of our citizens, by making and enforcing such a tariff of protective duties as will secure our home markets from the desperate and disastrous floodings of foreign competition.

"3. *Resolved*, That we regard the right to enjoy the products of our soil and labor as sacred and valuable as the right to the soil itself; and that it is equally the duty of our Government to repel invasions and encroachments upon the one as the other.

"4. *Resolved*, That the farmer and manufacturer are alike vitally interested in such protection, and that the prosperity of all classes and occupations is mainly dependent on the success of our agricultural and manufacturing interests.

"5. *Resolved*, That the tariff laws now existing are highly defective and insufficient, and, by that part of the compromise act which is to take effect in July next, will be rendered still more defective, inefficient, and unjust.

"6. *Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use all honorable means in their power to procure the passage of laws, which, while they shall guard against the numerous frauds and evasions now practised upon us by foreigners and foreign agents, and while they shall raise a revenue sufficient only for the necessary expenses of Government, and shall have a due regard to the particular interests of every section of our country, may give, by protective duties, such a preference to domestic over foreign products in our own markets, and may so discriminate between those articles which we can and those which we cannot produce at home, as to give a just, sure, and salutary encouragement to the industry of every American citizen.

"7. *Resolved*, That his excellency the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

If, said Mr. S, I needed any thing besides the convictions of my own judgement to induce me to sustain the protecting policy, I should find it in a request emanating from such a source as this. I yield to it with a hearty good will; and, on this and all proper occasions, shall, in the best way I am able, give my reasons for so doing.

The debate has taken a very wide range. This has naturally, and I may say almost necessarily, resulted from the peculiar character of the motion submitted by the gentleman from New Hampshire. Upon a proposition to commit that part of the President's Message which relates to the tariff to the Committee on Manufactures—a direction which that subject has taken for more than twenty years—it is proposed to change its accustomed direction, and send it to the Committee of Ways and Means. Why this proposed change? is a question which every body at once asks, and which nobody can answer without admitting that the tendency and design of the movement are adverse to the protecting policy. This is apparent from a consideration of the range of duties appropriated by the rules of the House to the two Committees—that to which it is proposed to commit this subject, and that from which it is proposed to take it.

The 73d rule provides that "it shall be the duty of the Committee of Ways and Means to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt or the revenue, and of the expenditure; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon."

Here are two fields of inquiry marked out for the Committee—the public debt and expenditure on one hand, and the ways and means of raising the revenue necessary to meet these liabilities on the other. Now, what have these inquiries to do with the question of *protection*? The great question for the consideration of the Committee of Ways and Means is a mere question of *revenue*. It is true this admits of discrimination between the different articles of importation; but it is a discrimination which has respect to the question—what articles of importation will bear taxation, and what rates of duties will raise the needed amount? It is merely the discrimination contemplated by the President in that part of his Message in which he says:

"In imposing duties for the purposes of revenue a right to discriminate as to the articles on which the duty shall be laid, as well as the amount, necessarily and most properly exists. Otherwise, the Govern-

ment would be placed in the condition of having to levy the same duties upon all articles, the productive as well as the unproductive. The slightest duty upon some, might have the effect of causing their importation to cease; whereas others, entering extensively into the consumption of the country, might bear the heaviest, without any sensible diminution in the amount imported."

I need not say that there must be a discrimination widely different from this, to give protection to American industry. And yet it is to a Committee, whose appropriate range of inquiry is thus limited; which is constituted for purposes having no necessary connexion whatever with protection, that it is proposed to commit the great interests referred to in that part of the President's Message whose commitment is now the subject of discussion. And with this is to be connected the act of taking away this subject from the Committee on Manufactures—a Committee instituted for the very purpose of considering it.

Hostility to the protective policy, and a determination to suppress all inquiry into the claims for its continuance, are too apparent on the face of this movement to require comment. If the gentleman from New Hampshire would avoid this conclusion, let him move an instruction to the Committee of Ways and Means to consider and report upon the subject of a *protectiva* tariff. But, will he do this? No, sir. He wants no examination with a view to protection. If he did, he would leave this subject to go to its appropriate committee.

There is another view of this matter. Whatever may be the appropriate range of the duties of the Committee of Ways and Means; though it should fairly extend to this subject, yet that committee has been formed with no view to it. There may be a bare majority of the committee favorable to a protective tariff, though I am not sure of that. There should be a *decided* majority of the committee which is to consider and report on this subject, favorable to the object sought by the numerous petitions for protection. The great interest of domestic industry should have a favorable hearing. It should have the benefit of a committee disposed to present its claims fully and fairly to this House. This is the spirit of the Parliamentary law, which requires, in the language of commentators on the *Lex Parliamentaria*, that the child shall not be put into the hands of a nurse that will strangle it. I do not say that the Committee of Ways and Means would thus dispose of the great manufacturing and dependent interests; but I do say that, if it had been understood at the commencement of the session that this subject would have been referred to that committee, it would have been differently constituted. And I will now say that, if this subject is to be committed to it, it ought, forthwith, to be reorganized.

The Committee on Manufactures has, very properly, been formed with a view to this particular subject. It is understood to be composed of six members in favor of the protecting system, and three against it. This is as it should be; and this is the reason why the gentleman from New Hampshire wishes to take this child from the arms of its natural guardians, who will nurse and take care of it, and put it into the hands of a committee, constituted, to say the least, with no reference to its claims to guardianship and protection.

Under existing circumstances, I consider the amendment of the gentleman from New Hampshire, if it prevails, as tantamount to a declaration on the part of this House that it will institute no inquiry into the subject of protection—tantamount, in fact, to abolishing the Committee on Manufactures. For, sir, what has that committee to do to carry out the purpose indicated by its name, unless it acts with a reference to the tariff of duties on imports? This has, hitherto, been the mode, and the only mode, by which protection to American industry has been effected. The Committee on Manufactures, then, is to be, in effect, abolished, and all examination, with a distinct reference to the subject of protection, is to be dispensed with. And now let me appeal to gentlemen on all sides, and of all parties—East, West, North, and South—to say whether they are prepared to come to a vote which shall speak such a language as this. The gentleman from New Hampshire may be prepared for it. He may be prepared to abolish the committee, and shut the door against all examination into the great interests which so deeply concern the prosperity of his own, as they do that of the "Green Mountain State." As this is evidently his object, why does he not come out boldly and avow it? Why did he not second the motion of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SMITH) to lay the resolution of reference on the table, with a view to adopting a resolution at once to abolish the Committee on Manufactures? But no; he neither makes nor seconds any such motion. He chooses to get at the result by *indirection*. If I recollect right, sir, that gentleman once offered a series of resolutions here, (the famous "Atherton resolutions,") one of which declared "that Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly." And now here is the gentleman violating his own rule—seeking to do indirectly what he dare not attempt directly, but which the gentleman from Virginia is willing to do openly and without disguise.

As it is thus rendered apparent that the success of the gentleman's motion will, in effect, abolish the Committee on Manufactures, and indicate a disposition on the part of this House to abandon the protective policy, I propose to examine the origin and the history of that policy, to urge the duty of its continuance, and to call the attention of the House to the crisis which is impending in reference to the interests which it was established to protect.

The nature and necessity of the policy in question are indicated by its name. It is the *protecting* policy. It supposes the existence of a policy which is to be counteracted—of attacks which are to be repelled. It acts on the defensive, and ceases to act only when foreign legislation ceases to render its action necessary. That necessity has existed from the very commencement of this Government. The achievement of our independence did not change the policy of the mother country. That policy had been to prohibit the manufactures, to discourage the navigation, and to restrain the commerce of the colonies; to give a single direction to their industry, and to make it tributary to British wealth and power. The triumphs of the Revolution relieved us from the power of British arms, but it did not emancipate us from the power of British legislation. That legislation, it is true, had ceased to act on us directly, but it still reaches us. It prohibited our trade with British colonies;



it discouraged our navigation, by imposing discriminating duties on our tonnage; and it prohibited or burdened with excessive duties the importation of every production of our industry which could come in competition with British industry. It was then, as it is now, the policy of Great Britain to supply herself and the world with the creations of her own industry—to buy nothing which she could produce, and to sell every thing which she could induce others to purchase.

Such, too, was substantially the policy towards us of all Europe. It is needless to say that, under its operation, our manufactures languished, and our commerce and navigation were crippled and prestrated. There was but one remedy for all this. It was *protective legislation*. To this the Government of the Confederation was incompetent. It had no such power to regulate commerce as to reach the evil. It could lay no imposts to the flood of foreign manufactures, which were exhausting the country to foster the industry and augment the wealth of others. The State Governments could not act in concert, and were therefore powerless. Their disconnected efforts were unavailing.

A sense of this great defect pervaded the country, and aided in impressing upon it a conviction of the necessity of a new Government. Said Mr. AMES, in the debate, in the first Congress, on the revenue bill, to which I shall hereafter refer—

"I conceive, sir, that the present Constitution was dictated by commercial necessity, more than any other cause. *The want of an efficient Government to secure the manufacturing interests, and to advance our commerce, was long seen by men of judgement, and pointed out by patriots solicitous to promote our general welfare.*"

It was in this state of things that the Constitution was formed, and this very state of things constituted one of the chief reasons for forming it. In this respect, above all others, there was need of "a more perfect union;" for, in nothing was the old one more imperfect than in this.

The new Government was hailed as the instrument of deliverance from commercial thralldom. The people recognised in its power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations," and to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare," the power to perform the indispensable duty of protecting their industry in the great departments of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

To enable us to enter more fully into the views in which the protecting policy originated, as well as to show how the question of constitutional power was regarded by the people, at the moment the new Government went into operation, it may be useful to recur to some of their petitions, presented to Congress at its first session under the Constitution.

I have before me "the petition of the tradesmen, mechanics, and others, of the town of Baltimore," to which I find appended the names of seven hundred and thirty-two citizens of that town, and which "humbly sheweth:"

"That since the close of the late war, and the completion of the Revolution, your petitioners have observed, with serious regret, the manufacturing and trading interests of the country rapidly declining, while the wealth of the people hath been predigally added in the purchase of those articles from

foreigners, which our citizens, if properly encouraged, were fully competent to furnish.

"To check this growing evil, applications were made by petitions to some of the State Legislatures. These guardians of the people, in several of the States, interposed their authority. Laws were by them enacted, with the view of subduing, or at least diminishing, the rage for foreign, and of encouraging domestic, manufactures. But the event hath clearly demonstrated to all ranks of men that *no effectual provision could reasonably be expected, until one uniform, efficient Government should pervade this wide extended country.*

"The happy period having now arrived when the United States are placed in a new situation; when the adoption of the General Government gives one sovereign Legislature the sole and exclusive power of laying duties upon imports, your petitioners rejoice at the prospect this affords them, that America, freed from the commercial shackles which have so long bound her, will see and pursue her true interest, becoming *independent in fact, as well as in name*; and they confidently hope that the *encouragement and protection* of American manufactures will claim the earliest attention of the supreme Legislature of the nation; as it is an universally acknowledged truth, that the United States contain within their limits resources amply sufficient to enable them to become a great manufacturing country, and only want the patronage and support of a wise, energetic Government."

The petitioners then draw a picture of the condition of the country, "the number of her poor increasing for want of employment, foreign debts accumulating, houses and lands depreciating in value, trade and manufactures languishing and expiring;" and conclude by praying "the supreme Legislature of the United States, as the guardians of the whole empire," to "impose on all foreign articles which can be made in America such duties as will give a just and decided preference to their labors, and thereby discountenance the trade which tends so materially to injure them and impoverish their country."

This petition was presented to the House of Representatives on the 11th of April, 1789. On the 18th of the same month another of a similar nature was presented from "the mechanics and manufacturers of the city of New-York." It is so much to my purpose that I cannot forbear reading a portion of it.

Having referred to the independence which had been acquired, and the fears they had been led to entertain "that the country, having gained the form of liberty, had left in the hands of their enemies the instruments of oppression, and the spirit to exercise it," they say:

"Your petitioners soon perceived, with the deepest regret, that their prospects of improving wealth were blasted by a system of commercial usurpation. They saw the trade of these States laboring under foreign impositions, and loaded with fetters forged in every quarter, to discourage enterprise and defeat industry. In this situation, they have been prevented from applying to those abundant resources with which nature has blessed this country. Agriculture has lost its capital stimulus, and manufacture, the sister of commerce, has participated in all its distresses.

"Your petitioners conceive that their countrymen have been deluded by an appearance of plenty; by the profusion of foreign articles which has deluged the country; and thus have mistaken excessive importation for a flourishing trade.

"Wearied by their fruitless exertions, your petitioners have long looked forward with anxiety for the establishment of a Government which would have power to check the growing evil, and extend a pro-

tecting hand to the interests of commerce and the arts. *Such a Government is now established.* On the promulgation of the Constitution just now commencing its operations, your petitioners *discovered in its principles the remedy which they had so long and so earnestly desired.* To your honorable body the mechanics and manufacturers of New-York look up with confidence, convinced that, as the united voice of America has furnished you with the means, so your knowledge of our common wants has given you the spirit, to unbind our fetters, and rescue our country from disgrace and ruin."

I have before me another petition from "the tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston," presented on the 5th of June, of the same year, in which the petitioners, having referred to "the great decrease of American manufactures and almost total stagnation of American ship building," proceed, among other things, to say:

"Your petitioners need not inform Congress that, on the revival of our mechanical arts and manufactures depend the wealth and prosperity of the Northern States; nor can we forbear mentioning to your honors that the citizens of these States *conceive the object of their independence but half obtained* till these national purposes are established on a permanent and extensive basis, by the legislative acts of the Federal Government."

These petitions were referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, in which the subject underwent a long and able discussion. The result was the passage of the first revenue bill, signed by General Washington on the 4th of July, 1789, (appropriate day!) the preamble of which, as has been stated, expressly declared that it was passed for the purpose, among others, of the "*encouragement and protection of manufactures.*"

I hardly need call the attention of the House to the facts and reasonings of these petitioners. The national industry had become paralyzed. The State Governments had interposed without effect. The necessity of "*one uniform efficient Government,*"—of "*one Sovereign Legislature,*" possessing "*the sole and exclusive power of laying duties upon imports,*" had been thus demonstrated. Such a Government the Constitution had provided. "*IN ITS PRINCIPLES*" the petitioners "*discovered the remedy so long desired,*" and without which "*the object of their independence*" would, in their opinion, have been "*but half obtained.*"

Such was the reasoning of the petitioners; and such was the reasoning of the whole country. It had just been shaken with discussions of the Constitution; and here was the common sense construction of it by the people. I commend it to those who now deny that any power exists under the Constitution to protect the industry of the country. Then, nobody so much as expressed a doubt of the existence of the power. In all the discussions in the Committee of the Whole to whom these petitions were referred—and I have looked through that debate—the constitutional power was not, that I can find, once called in question, though differences of opinion existed as to the expediency of exercising it. This is the more remarkable, because of the decided ground taken on the subject in these petitions, as well as from the fact that "*the encouragement and protection of manufactures*" was made, in the preamble to the revenue law whose passage followed these discussions, one of the express grounds of its passage. The strong vote of forty-one to eight in favor of that bill, Mr. MADISON, "the father of the Constitution," in the

affirmative, shows that the leading minds of that day entertained no doubt whatever on the question of constitutional power.

There is an argument in favor of the constitutional power of Congress over this subject, involved in the reasoning of these petitioners, which seems to me unanswerable. It may be thus stated: The power to regulate commerce and lay duties on imports, existed in the States. That power had been transferred to Congress—wholly transferred. None of it remained. With the transfer of the whole power of the States to regulate commerce and lay duties on imports, there was, therefore, transferred the power to regulate commerce and lay duties *for all the purposes for which these acts might have been performed by the State Governments*, one of which, undeniably, was the protection of manufactures. This conclusion results not only from the fact that the power was granted without any restriction as to the purposes for which it might be exercised, but still more undeniably from the consideration that, if the great essential power of protection through these indispensable means was not thus transferred from the States to the General Government, it was annihilated.

In looking over the debates to which I have referred, I find this argument urged in substance by Mr. MADISON, in one of his speeches in favor of protection:

"There is (said Mr. M.) another consideration. The States that are most advanced in population and ripe for manufactures ought to have their particular interests attended to in some degree. While these States retained the power of making regulations of trade, they had the power to protect and cherish such institutions. By adopting the present Constitution, *they have thrown the exercise of this power into other hands.* They must have done this with an expectation that those interests would not be neglected here."

It was upon the basis of this argument that Gen. JACKSON urged the constitutionality of a protective tariff in his annual message of 1831, to which, in tracing the history of the protective policy, I shall hereafter more particularly refer. The argument has never been answered, and never can be. The people by whom, and for whom, this Government was instituted, will never be satisfied with a construction of the Constitution which annihilates the great and indispensable power of protecting their industry against the crushing influence of foreign legislation, and lays the country helpless at the feet of foreign Powers.

The policy of protection—extended not only to manufactures, but to our navigation and fisheries, as I might show if I had time—having been, as we have thus seen, established in the earliest legislation of this Government, I propose to show how steadily and uniformly it has continued to be the policy of the country. This I shall do principally by a reference to the Messages of the successive Presidents, as furnishing, from time to time, a summary exposition not only of their own, but of the sentiment of the country on this subject.

After having seen that the act of the 4th of July, 1789, was approved by PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, it will not surprise us to find him recognising the protecting policy in his first annual address to Congress, of the 8th of January, 1790.

"The safety and interest of the people," said he, in that address, "require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them indepen-

lent of others for essential, particularly for military supplies."

Washington's practical mind looked to the policy of advancing agriculture, commerce, and *manufactures*, as essential to the maintenance of our Independence. Congress expressed its concurrence with this sentiment by ordering, on the 15th of January, 1790:

"That it be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, to propose and report to this House a proper plan or plans, conformably to the recommendation of the President in his speech to both Houses of Congress, for the encouragement and promotion of such manufactures as will tend to render the United States independent of other nations for essential, particularly for military supplies."

This reference drew from the Secretary of the Treasury the able and unanswerable vindication of the protecting policy embodied in his celebrated report, communicated to Congress on the 5th of December, 1791. The following, from its introductory paragraph, presents a summary of the grounds on which he rested that vindication:

"The embarrassments which have obstructed the progress of our external trade have led to serious reflections on the necessity of enlarging the sphere of our domestic commerce. The restrictive regulations which, in foreign markets, abridge the vent for the increasing surplus of our agricultural produce, serve to beget an earnest desire that a more extensive demand for that surplus may be created at home; and the complete success which has rewarded manufacturing enterprise in some valuable branches, conspiring with the promising symptoms which attend some less mature essays in others, justify a hope that the obstacles to the growth of this species of industry are less formidable than they were apprehended to be, and that it may not be difficult to find, in its further extension, a full indemnification for any external disadvantages which are or may be experienced, as well as an accession of resources favorable to national independence and safety."

The policy of protecting manufactures having been thus established, the House of Representatives, in the year 1795, instituted the Committee of Commerce and *Manufactures*, which was continued as a standing committee of the House until the year 1819, when the duties connected with the subject of manufactures, having, in the progress of the protecting policy, become greatly enlarged, were severed from those appertaining to commerce, and committed to a Committee of Manufactures, which has ever since continued to be one of the standing committees of the House.

But to proceed with the Executive address. Passing over the incidental recognition of the protecting policy in the intermediate addresses of President WASHINGTON, we come to the decided and earnest recommendation of a continuance of the policy in his last address of the 7th of December, 1796, in which he says:

"Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the *encouragement of manufactures*. The object is of too much consequence not to ensure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

Thus did this great man, in his last communication to Congress, refer with evident gratification to the *encouragement* which Congress had repeatedly and successfully given to manufactures, and urge its continued patronage and support.

We all revere the name of WASHINGTON, not merely for his greatness in the field, but for his profound, practical wisdom as a statesman. His

opinions need no commendation of mine. It should be enough to announce them, to ensure for them the most respectful consideration. I may well ask Virginians, who are so justly proud of his great name, to review their opinions upon the constitutionality and expediency of a tariff for protection, when they find them conflicting with the deliberately formed and repeatedly expressed opinions of their beloved WASHINGTON.

My next reference is to PRESIDENT JEFFERSON. Being still in the region of *Virginia* authority, I hope to receive the attention of gentlemen from that State. If I may not venture to urge them to listen to any thing I can say on this subject, I may, I trust, without presumption, crave their attention when JEFFERSON speaks. In his second annual Message, of the 15th of December, 1802, he says:

"To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises; to foster our fisheries as nurseries of navigation, and for the nature of man, and *protect the manufactures* adapted to our circumstances; to preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practice with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burdens; to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal Union as the only rock of safety:—these, fellow-citizens, are the *landmarks* by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. By continuing to make *these the rule of our action*, we shall endeavor to our countrymen *the true principles of their Constitution*, and promote an union of sentiment and of action equally auspicious to their happiness and safety."

Let me ask the attention of the House a moment to this important passage. Here are certain great leading objects to which the President calls the attention of Congress, as to "*landmarks*" which were to guide them and the Executive in the discharge of their duties. And what were these landmarks? To cultivate peace; to maintain commerce and navigation; to foster the fisheries; to *protect manufactures*; to preserve the national faith; to practice economy; to respect the Constitution; to cherish the Federal Union.

Thus, to "*protect manufactures*" was deemed by Mr. JEFFERSON worthy to be embraced in the comprehensive summary of the "*rules of action*" in observing which they were to endeavor to their countrymen "*the true principles of the Constitution*." And yet, now we have men, who make loud professions of Jeffersonian democracy, as loudly asserting that it is a gross and dangerous constitutional heresy to maintain the right of Congress to strengthen the independence of the country by fostering its manufactures!

But I proceed with JEFFERSON's authority; the next promulgation of which I find in this annual Message of the 2d of December, 1806.

The revenue arising from imposts had, it seems, enabled the Government so far to extinguish the public debt as to lead the President to anticipate that there would "ere long be an accumulation of money in the Treasury beyond the instalments of the public debt which the Government would be permitted by contract to pay." In discussing the question of the disposition of the anticipated surplus, the President says:

To what other objects shall these surplusses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost after the entire discharge of the public debt? Shall we

suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures?"

He proceeds to say that on a few articles he thinks the impost may be suppressed, but that, with regard to the great mass of them, the "patriotism" of the people would "prefer its continuance and application to the great purposes of public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal power."

Thus it will be seen that, rather than suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures, Mr. JEFFERSON would, with a few exceptions, maintain the impost, and ask the States to authorize, by an amendment of the Constitution, the appropriation of the surplusses thus obtained to purposes of education and internal improvement.

I have not done with Mr. JEFFERSON's authority in favor of the protecting policy. In his last annual Message sent to Congress, on the 8th of November, 1808, he says:

"The suspension of foreign commerce produced by the injustice of the belligerent Powers, and the consequent losses and sacrifices of our citizens, are subjects of just concern. The situation into which we have thus been forced has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this conversion is daily increasing, and little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming will, under the auspices of cheaper materials and substance, the freedom of labor from taxation with us, and of protecting duties and prohibitions become permanent."

Mr. JEFFERSON, it thus seems, looked to the permanency of the manufacturing establishments of the country; and to this result he was willing to contribute, not only by protecting duties, but, if necessary, even by prohibitions.

This part of the message was referred to the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures—Mr. NEWTON, of VIRGINIA, Chairman—from whom I find a report, made on the 21st of June, 1809, fully sustaining the principle of protection laid down by the President, and containing, among other things, the following just and comprehensive view of the ground of the protective policy. It ought to be placed in letters of massive gold over every entrance to the halls of our national legislation, and daily pondered over by those who enter them:

"A NATION ERECTS A SOLID BASIS FOR THE SUPPORT AND MAINTENANCE OF ITS INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY WHOSE POLICY IS TO DRAW FROM ITS NATIVE SOURCES ALL ARTICLES OF THE FIRST NECESSITY."

Let me now turn for a moment from Southern Presidential authority to Southern authority in another branch of this Government. I find it in the action of the House of Representatives on the 7th of June, 1809. On that day it adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to prepare and report to this House, at their next session, a plan for the application of such means as are within the power of Congress, for the purposes of protecting and fostering the manufactures of the United States, together with a statement of the several manufacturing establishments which have been commenced, the progress which has been made in them, and the success with which they have been attended; and such other information as, in the opinion of the Secretary, may be material in exhibit-

ing a general view of the manufactures of the United States."

Here, sir, was contemplated the preparation of "a plan" for the application of the means within the power of Congress to protect and foster the manufactures of the United States. And how do you think stood the Southern votes upon this resolution? In the four Southern Atlantic States the votes were as follows:

Virginia.....	Yeas 12	Nays 9
North Carolina.....	8	3
SOUTH CAROLINA.....	6	1
Georgia.....	1	3
Total	27	16

Such was the vote of the South, from whence we now have the most furious denunciations of the protecting policy, as unconstitutional and oppressive. Let South Carolina look after vote on that occasion, and compare it with her subsequent nullification to put down a protective tariff as a flagrant violation of the Constitution. But I must not detain the House by comments.

In compliance with the resolution referred to, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. GALLATIN, transmitted to Congress on the 17th of April, 1810, a report, in which he enumerated the various manufactures of the United States, gave an account of their progress, as far as he had been able to ascertain it, and recommended protection by "increased duties on importation." He estimated the annual product of American manufactures to exceed \$120,000,000, and that the raw materials used, and the provisions and other articles, the produce of the United States, consumed by the manufacturers, created a market at home for our agricultural productions not much inferior to that which arose from the whole foreign demand. Even then, it seems, in the infancy of our manufactures, the agricultural interests of the country, which gentlemen here are in the habit of representing as injuriously affected by the protecting policy, in which they can see nothing but the building up of "monopolies," and the oppressive taxation of the people for their benefit—even then agriculture found in the consumption of the manufactures a market for her productions equal to the whole foreign demand for them.

Alluding to the defectiveness, from want of time, of the information he had obtained, Mr. GALLATIN recommended that more full information be sought through the agents then about to be employed in taking the census: and accordingly, on the 1st of May, 1810, Congress passed a law, directing the marshals and their assistants "to take an account of the several manufacturing establishments and manufactures" within the United States—thus aiding, by direct legislation, in making the "plan" for the "protecting and fostering" of manufactures, contemplated in the resolution to which I have referred.

In carrying out my purpose of sustaining the constitutionality and expediency of the protective policy by a reference to the Executive messages to Congress, I come now to PRESIDENT MADISON, the "father of the Constitution." Following the report of Mr. GALLATIN, and the enactment of the law providing for the taking an account of the manufactures, we have Mr. MADISON's Message of the 5th of December, 1810, in which he says:

"I feel particular satisfaction in remarking "

interior view of our country presents us with grateful proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity. To a thriving agriculture, and the improvements relating to it, is added a highly interesting extension of useful manufactures, the combined product of professional occupations and of household industry. Such, indeed, is the experience of economy, as well as of policy, in these substitutes for supplies heretofore obtained by foreign commerce, that, in a *national* view, the change is justly regarded as, of itself, more than a recompense for those privations and losses, resulting from foreign injustice, which furnished the general impulse required for its accomplishment. How far it may be expedient to guard the infancy of this improvement in the distribution of labor, by regulations of the commercial tariff, is a subject which cannot fail to suggest itself to your patriotic reflection."

How striking the contrast between the enlarged view which Mr. MADISON took of this subject, and that in which *modern* wisdom can alone see it! He regarded the encouragement of manufactures as a "*national*" object. In a "*national* view," the change was, in his opinion, more than a recompense for the privations and losses connected with the injustice which had forced manufactures into existence. He saw with the eye of a practised statesman the necessary connexion between the interest of manufactures and every other interest—justly reasoning that a branch of industry which consumed the products of agriculture on one hand, and employed the agencies of commerce on the other, possessed a diffusive energy which would make its influence to be felt for good throughout the entire country. Well might he commend to the "*patriotic*" reflections of the Congress of the United States an interest thus national, and worth such sacrifices. But modern patriotism, contracting the scope of its vision, sees nothing but hateful monopolies, and sectional interests, where MADISON, in the soundness of his wisdom and the fullness of his patriotism, saw the wealth, the strength, the independence, and the glory of the whole country.

The subject was followed up by Mr. MADISON in his next Message, sent to Congress on the 5th of November, 1811, in which he said:

"Although other subjects will press more immediately on your deliberations, a portion of them cannot but be well bestowed on the *just* and *sound* policy of *securing* to our manufactures the success they have attained, and are still attaining, under the impulse of causes not permanent, and to our navigation, the fair extent of which is, at present, abridged by the unequal regulations of foreign Governments. Besides the reasonableness of saving our manufactures from sacrifices which a change of circumstances might bring upon them, the national interest requires that, with respect to such articles at least as belong to our defence and primary wants, we should not be left in a state of unnecessary dependence on internal supplies."

Here was no abatement of Mr. MADISON's zeal in favor of the protecting policy. It was, in his opinion, a "*just* and *sound* policy." He would take care to *secure* the success already attained by manufactures, and save them from the sacrifices to which a change of circumstances might expose them.

The next expression of Mr. MADISON's opinions on this subject I find in his special message to Congress of the 20th of February, 1815, accompanying the treaty of peace concluded at Ghent on the 24th of December preceding. Having consulted Congress and the country on the auspicious event, and recommended the adoption of

various measures called for by the change in the condition of the country, he closed by again urging upon the attention of Congress the great interest which seems to have been ever presented to his mind.

"But (said he) there is *no* subject that can enter with *greater* force and merit into the deliberations of Congress than a consideration of the means to *preserve* and *promote* the manufactures which have sprung into existence, and attained an unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars. This source of national independence and wealth I *anxiously* recommend, therefore, to the *prompt* and *constant* guardianship of Congress."

Here again is exhibited Mr. MADISON's zeal in behalf of this great interest. *No* subject could, in his opinion, enter with greater force and merit into the deliberations of Congress. The wealth and the independence, not merely of the manufacturers and the capitalists, but of the *nation*, were involved in it. It was, therefore, in his opinion, worthy of more than a passing suggestion. He *anxiously* recommended it to the prompt and constant GUARDIANSHIP of Congress.

Guardianship! That was the relation which, during the first forty-four years of this Government, existed between it and the manufacturing interests of the country. Mr. MADISON well knew, and every statesman ought to know, that without such guardian care the manufactures of no country can succeed against the capital and skill, the bounties, premiums, and prohibitions, of old and well-established manufacturing communities—to say nothing of the pauper labor with which the manufacturers of this country have to come in competition. If the strong minded practical men who framed our Constitution, and who long gave direction to our public affairs, had exhausted their energies upon hair-splitting constructions of the Constitution, instead of seizing and carrying out its great principles, we should still have been hewers of wood and drawers of water to the manufacturing capital and skill of foreign countries.

But I must cease comment, and let Mr. MADISON again speak. He thus continues to press the subject in his next annual message, of the 5th of December, 1815:

"In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration. However wise the theory may be which leaves to the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources there are in this, as in all other cases, exceptions to the general rule. Besides the condition which the theory itself implies, of a reciprocal adoption by other nations, experience teaches that so many circumstances must concur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kinds, that a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects even peculiarly fitted for carrying them on with success."

\* \* \* In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures, for articles necessary for the public defence, or connected with the primary wants of individuals. It will be an additional recommendation for particular manufactures when the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture, and consequently impart and ensure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded."

Here, again, is exhibited the practical good sense of Mr. MADISON. He discards the theory which so leaves to sagacity and interest the application of industry as to disregard the consideration that it must be adopted by other nations to render its observance consistent with our independence; while he sees—what I would that some modern wise men *could* see—the direct connexion of manufactures with agriculture, in all its departments—using its raw materials, and consuming its other productions, and thus, throughout the entire country, giving “encouragement to that great fund of national prosperity and independence.”

Having now arrived at an important period in the history of the protective policy, we will pause a little, and turn from the Executive messages to other evidences of the state of public sentiment on the subject of protection.

The House of Representatives having, in February, 1815, passed a resolution, requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress a general tariff of duties, the Secretary, (Mr. DALLAS,) on the 13th of February, 1816, transmitted to the House a lengthy and able report, in which he very fully maintained the policy of protection to domestic industry, and recommended, with that view, an increase of the duties on certain articles, particularly on cottons and woollens. The following is a specimen of reasoning of that report—reasoning, the correctness of which has been fully tested in the practical results of protecting legislation:

“Although (said Mr. DALLAS) some indulgence will always be required for any attempt to realize the national independence in the department of manufactures, the sacrifice cannot be either great or lasting. The inconveniences of the day will be amply compensated by future advantages. The agriculturist, whose produce and whose flocks depend for their value upon the fluctuations of a foreign market, will have no occasion eventually to regret the opportunity of a ready sale for his wool or his cotton in his own neighborhood; and it will soon be understood that the success of the American manufacture, which tends to diminish the profit (often the excessive profit) of the importer, does not necessarily add to the price of the article in the hands of the consumer.”

I regret that my limits do not permit me to quote more largely from this able report. But I must pass on.

On the same day on which this report was sent to the House of Representatives, the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures of that body, by their Chairman, (Mr. NEWTON, of Virginia,) made an able report upon the reference to that committee of memorials of manufacturers of cotton wool, in which they recommended a large increase of duty on manufactures of cotton, for the protection of domestic manufacture, and sustained, by an elaborate and able argument, the general policy of protection. Time will scarcely permit me to read from this report; as it comes from *Virginia*, however, I cannot refrain from calling the attention of the South to one or two paragraphs:

“The States that are most disposed to manufactures as regular occupations, (says the committee,) will draw from the agricultural States all the raw materials which they want, and not an inconsiderable portion, also, of the necessities of life; while the latter will, in addition to the benefits which they at present enjoy, always command, in peace or in war, at moderate prices, every species of manufacture that their wants may require. Should they be inclined to manufacture for themselves, they can do so

with success, because they have all the means in their power to erect and to extend, at pleasure, manufacturing establishments. Our wants being supplied by our own ingenuity and industry, *exportation of specie to pay for foreign manufactures will cease.*”

Referring to the general advantages of the protecting system in developing the resources of the whole country, the committee says:

“Every State will participate in those advantages; the resources of each will be explored, opened, and enlarged. Different sections of the Union will, according to their position, the climate, the population, the habits of the people, and the nature of the soil, strike into that line of industry which is best adapted to their interest and the good of the whole; an active and free intercourse, promoted and facilitated by roads and canals, will ensue; prejudices which are generated by distance, and the want of inducements to approach each other and reciprocate benefits, will be removed; information will be extended; the Union will acquire strength and solidity; and the Constitution of the United States, and that of each State, will be regarded as fountains from which flow numerous streams of public and private prosperity.”

Here is an enlarged and a noble view of the subject, worthy of the best days of Virginia. Would that the present race of her statesmen could expand their minds to a comprehension of its deep philosophy and its wide bearings upon the solid prosperity of the country.

Following these reports was the enactment of the tariff law of 1816. Among numerous other protecting duties, it imposed a duty of twenty-five per cent. on woollen cloths, and the same per cent. on cottons, with a proviso that cottons costing less than twenty-five cents the square yard should be taken to have cost that sum, and be charged with duty accordingly. The effect of this proviso was the exclusion from our market of coarse cottons, from which has resulted the present prosperous state of that manufacture, and the low prices of its production—a result which will always follow such protection as shall establish the home manufacture upon a solid basis.

On looking into the Journal of the House, I find that, on a motion to *strike out* the “minimum” proviso to which I have just referred, six out of the eight members from South Carolina voted in the negative, among whom was Mr. LOWMYER, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who reported the bill, and Mr. CALHOUN; the latter of whom, I believe, upon every motion that was made to reduce the duties on the protected articles, voted for the highest duty.

On the occasion of the motion just referred to, Mr. Calhoun made a speech, from which I ask permission to read a few passages, exhibiting his thorough attachment to the principle of protection, and contrasting strangely with his present hostility to the whole protecting policy, and especially with his and South Carolina's *nullification* to put it down.

“Neither agriculture, manufactures, nor commerce, (said Mr. CALHOUN,) taken separately, are the cause of wealth: it flows from them combined, and cannot exist without each. The wealth of any single nation or individual, it is true, may not immediately be derived from the three, but it always presupposes the existence of the three sources, though derived immediately from one or two of them only. Taken in its most enlarged sense, without commerce, industry would have no stimulus; without manufactures, it would be without the means of production; and without agriculture neither of the others could exist: when separated entirely, and perman

they must perish. War, in this country, produces, to a great extent, that separation; and hence the great embarrassment that follows in its train. The failure of the wealth and resources of the nation necessarily involves the ruin of its finances and its currency. It is admitted, by the most strenuous advocates on the other side, that no country ought to be dependent on another for its means of defence; that, at least, our musket and bayonet, our cannon and ball, ought to be of domestic manufacture. But what is more necessary to the defence of a country than its currency and finance? Circumscribed as our country is, can these stand the shock of war? Behold the effect of the late war on them! When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they soon will, under the fostering care of Government, we will no longer experience those evils. *The farmer will find a ready market for his surplus produce, and what is of almost equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants. His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class of the community.*"

Having described the effect of war upon our industry and currency, its obstruction to the exportation of our bulky articles, while a demand would continue for foreign articles, to be supplied through the policy of the enemy or unlawful traffic—resulting in a drain of our specie to pay the balance perpetually accumulating against us, (this process is now going on in a time of peace!) he proceeded to say:

"To this distressing state of things there are two remedies, and only two: one in our power immediately, the other requiring much time and exertion; but both constituting, in his opinion, the essential policy of this country. He meant the *navy and domestic manufactures*. By the former we could open the way to our markets; by the latter we bring them from beyond the ocean, and naturalize them in our own soil."

Having spoken of the effect of the war in giving existence to manufactures, and in bringing them to some degree of maturity, he said:

"But it will no doubt be said, if they are so far established, and if the situation of the country is favorable to their growth, where is the necessity of affording them protection? *It is to put them beyond the reach of contingency.*"

Mr. Calhoun gave the following conclusive reply to an objection against manufactures which has been urged in this debate:

"It has been further asserted (said he) that manufactures are the fruitful cause of pauperism; and England has been referred to as furnishing conclusive evidence of the fact. For his part, he could conceive no such tendency in them, but the exact contrary, as they furnish new stimuli to industry and means of subsistence to the laboring classes of the community. We ought not (said Mr. C.) to look to the cotton and woolen establishments of Great Britain for the prodigious number of poor with which her population is disgraced. Causes much more efficient exist. Her poor laws and statutes regulating the price of labor, with her heavy taxes, are the real causes."

Alluding to the objection, that the relation between capital and manufacturing labor produced a state of dependence on the part of the employed, he replied, that

"He did not think it a decisive objection to the system, especially when it had incidental political advantages which, in his opinion, were more than a counterpoise to it. *It produces an interest strictly American, as much so as agriculture.* In this it had the decided advantage of commerce or navigation. Again, (said Mr. C.) it is calculated to bind together

more closely our widely spread republic. It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse, and will, as a necessary consequence, excite an increased attention to internal improvement—a subject every way intimately connected with the ultimate attainment of national strength and the perfection of our political institutions. He regarded the fact that it would make the parts adhere more closely, that it would form a new and most powerful cement, as far outweighing any political objections that might be urged against the system."

Here we have the "*American System*," in its full light, and depth, and length, and breadth, maintained by JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina. The inquiry, why Mr. Calhoun and South Carolina now desire to abandon, utterly, a system of protection which they once labored to establish, and at a sacrifice of interests justly claiming at their hands parental care and protection, is worthy of grave consideration.

I turn from this digression, and proceed to Mr. MADISON's last official expression of his approbation of the protecting policy. I find it in his message of the 3d of December, 1816; in which he says:

"Amidst the advantages which have succeeded the peace of Europe and that of the United States with Great Britain, in a general invigoration of industry among us, and in the extension of our commerce, the value of which is more and more disclosing itself to commercial nations, it is to be regretted that a depression is experienced by particular branches of our manufactures and a portion of our navigation. As the first proceeds, in an essential degree, from an excess of imported merchandise which carries a check in its own tendency, the cause, at its present extent, cannot be of very long duration. The evil will not, however, be viewed by Congress without a recollection that manufacturing establishments, if suffered to sink too low, or languish too long may not revive after the causes shall have ceased, and that, in the vicissitudes of human affairs, situations may recur in which a dependence on foreign sources for indispensable supplies may be among the serious embarrassments."

A suggestion is here made by Mr. MADISON, of great practical importance at the present moment. It is, that "manufacturing establishments, if suffered to sink too low, or languish too long, may not revive after the causes shall have ceased." He deemed the manufacturing and dependent interests, of an importance too vital to the country to be lightly subjected to such a hazard. Let the present Congress, then, inquire whether the last and great reduction of duties under the "compromise law," on the 1st of July next, will not place some, at least, of the branches of our manufactures in the predicament described by Mr. MADISON. Being dead, he yet speaks; and it may be hoped that he will not speak to us in vain.

Mr. MADISON's allusion to the effect of the excessive importation of merchandise upon the termination of the war, brings to mind an important fact in connexion with that importation.

The imports of 1815 amounted to \$113,000,000.\* The exports were but \$52,000,000. The disastrous effects of this excessive importation and great balance against us are matter of history.

\* The returns from which this is taken were for the fiscal year ending September 30th, 1815. As there was but a small amount of importations during the first quarter of that year, that is, during the months of October, November, and December, 1814—the war having not then closed—the great mass of the \$113,000,000 is, of course, thrown upon the three first quarters of the year 1815, making the whole importation of that year about \$150,000,000.

familiar to all. There was one cause connected with those results which has an important bearing on the great question. I find it disclosed in a speech of Lord BROUGHAM in the British Parliament. Having described the effect of the peace of 1814, which opened continental Europe to British manufactures, and produced excessive exportations in that direction, he said :

"The peace of America has produced somewhat of a similar effect, though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those to the European market the year before, both because ultimately the Americans will pay, which the exhausted state of the continent renders very unlikely, and because *it was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war had forced into existence contrary to the natural course of things.*"

Here is disclosed the policy of the British manufacturers, and of the British Government. The "*natural course of things*" had been disturbed by the war, inasmuch that, to a great and unusual extent, American wants had come to be supplied by American skill and industry ! This state of things must not be suffered to continue ; and therefore it was deemed "well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportations, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures of the United States"—that is, to "restore things to their natural state," by bringing back the United States to their dependence upon a foreign Power !

The policy of 1815 is the policy now ; and what has been, may again be, its result. It is a policy against which it is madness in the Congress of the United States not to guard with unceasing vigilance. Well may British capitalists afford at any time to sacrifice a few millions to crush our manufactures, that they may have a monopoly of our market. Gladly would British capitalists and British statesmen bring us back to the condition of dependence described in the early petitions of our manufacturers, to which I have referred ; and if mistaken cotton-growing counsels are to prevail, and guide the legislation of this nation, we shall be thus brought back and held in perpetual and ruinous dependence.

But I must proceed with my authorities in favor of the protecting policy. PRESIDENT MONROE is next in order. There may be impatience at these full references, but I have set out with a determination that the enemies of protection shall have the whole, and I must proceed at the hazard of wearying the patience of the House.

[Cries of "go on," "go on"—"give us the whole."]

The first expression of President MONROE's opinions on this subject comes to us in a form unusually imposing. They are found in his *inaugural* address of the 5th of March, 1817, the sentiments of which may well be supposed to have been the result of no ordinary deliberation. Having referred to various national interests which demanded the attention of the Government, he said :

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the Government. Possessing as we do all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend, in the degree we have done, on supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It

is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting, as it may do, in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as, by extending the competition, it will enhance the price and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets."

Let me be indulged in a few words of comment on this remarkable passage. It is, perhaps, the best summary of the arguments in favor of the protecting policy which is any where to be found within the same compass.

The mind of President MONROE was not limited to the narrow circle of the direct and immediate benefit of protection to the *manufacturer*. It took a wider range, and comprehended within its vision the broad horizon which encircled the whole country with its varied and complicated and mutually dependent interests, in peace and in war. He saw the effect of the protecting policy in providing a *home market*, not only for the raw materials employed in our manufactures—such, for example, as those of cottons, woolens, iron, glass, leather, paper, &c.—but for the numerous articles of subsistence, the produce of our agriculture, consumed by those engaged directly or indirectly in manufactures ; thus developing the resources of our soil and industry, increasing the competition for their productions, enhancing their value, and *protecting* the cultivators of our soil "against the casualties incident to foreign markets." His wise forecast contemplated especially the "serious difficulties" resulting from a dependence in these respects upon other countries in "the sudden event of a war."

Entertaining no sickly jealousy of American capitalists, he was wise enough to see how important it was that the capital which nourished the manufactures consumed by us should be American rather than foreign—that it should be employed in giving existence to manufactures here, where "its influence would be felt advantageously on agriculture and every other branch of industry," instead of producing them in foreign countries, and thus becoming the instrument of exhausting our resources and paralyzing our industry.

The care which President MONROE would extend to the manufactures of the country was of a nature which views, so enlarged and just, of the protecting policy might be expected to produce. It was not an irregular and transient, but a "*systematic and fostering care*"—a care which the magnitude and diversity and enduring importance of the manufacturing and dependent interests might well claim, and may still claim, at the hands of a wise and just Government.

The policy thus indicated in the inaugural address of President MONROE was carried out during his whole administration. Six of his eight annual messages contained explicit recommendations of the protecting policy to the favorable consideration of Congress. I will now proceed to bring them, in their order, to the notice of the House. In his first annual message, of the 3d of December, 1817, he says :

"Our manufactures will require the continued attention of Congress. The capital employed in them is considerable, and the knowledge required in the machinery and fabric of all the most useful manufactures of great value. Their preservation, which depends on due encouragement, is connected with the high interests of the nation."



A word, sir, upon this paragraph. Here is a new element of national wealth, or, rather, one which seems never to enter the minds of the opposers of protection. "The knowledge required in the machinery and fabric of manufactures is (said the President) of *great value*." If "knowledge is power," it may be truly said to be wealth also. Who can compute the aggregate value to this nation of the skill, the "knowledge," which has been brought into existence by the "systematic and fostering care" extended to our manufacturers? To say nothing of the machinery moved by water and steam, look at the machinery of mind in perpetual motion, as a producing power, in the great department of manufacturing industry. What a mine of wealth to this nation!

But I proceed to the second annual message, of the 17th of November, 1818:

"The strict execution of the revenue laws, resulting principally from the salutary provisions of the act of the 20th of April last, amending the several collection laws, has, it is presumed, secured to domestic manufactures all the relief that can be derived from the duties which have been imposed upon foreign merchandise for their protection. Under the influence of this relief, several branches of this important national interest have assumed greater activity; and although it is hoped that others will gradually revive, and ultimately triumph over every obstacle, yet the expediency of granting further protection is submitted to your consideration."

I pass to the third annual message, of the 7th of December, 1819. Having adverted to the depressed state of the manufacturing establishments, resulting from the pecuniary embarrassments of the country, the President proceeds to state:

"An additional cause of the depression of these establishments may probably be found in the pecuniary embarrassments which have recently affected those countries with which our commerce has been principally prosecuted. Their manufactures, for want of a ready and profitable market at home, have been shipped by the manufacturers to the United States, and, in many instances, sold at a price below their current value at the place of manufacture. Although this practice may, from its nature, be considered temporary or contingent, it is not on that account less injurious in its effects. Uniformity in the demand and price of an article is highly desirable to the domestic manufacturer. It is deemed of great importance to give encouragement to our domestic manufactures. In what manner the evils adverted to may be remedied, and how far it may be practicable in other respects to afford to them further encouragement, paying due regard to all the other great interests of the nation, is submitted to the wisdom of Congress."

Here is an illustration of the "*stifling*" effect, upon "the rising manufactures of the United States," of a glut of our market, described by Lord BROUGHAM as resulting from the excessive importations of 1815—subjecting our manufactures to the danger of prostration, not only upon the voluntary determination of British capitalists to make occasional sacrifices for that purpose, but upon the forced sacrifices produced by derangements in the monetary affairs of that country.

We have now arrived at the period when the Committee on Manufactures was instituted. It was done on the 8th of December, 1819—the day following the transmission of the message last referred to—on the motion of Mr. LITTLE, of Maryland. The interest of manufactures had come to be regarded, by all branches of the Government, as one of the cardinal interests of the nation. The

policy of protection had become fully settled; and the Committee on Manufactures was its natural and legitimate offspring. To that committee has ever since been confided the subject of manufactures, with a view to their protection; and that, with no more question of the propriety and necessity of such commitment, than there has been of the propriety and necessity of confiding to the Committee on Commerce the commercial interests of the country—both, until then, confided to one committee—both the handmaids of agriculture—and all blended into one harmonious system of dependent and mutually sustaining interests.

Mr. MONROE's fourth annual message is silent on the subject. The fifth, of the 3d of December, 1821, is full and explicit:

"It may fairly be presumed (said the President) that, under the protection given to domestic manufactures by the existing laws, we shall become, at no distant period, a manufacturing country, on an extensive scale. Possessing, as we do, the raw materials in such vast amount, with a capacity to augment them to an indefinite extent; raising within the country aliment of every kind, to an amount far exceeding the demand for home consumption, even in the most unfavorable years, and to be obtained always at a very moderate price; skilled, also, as our people are, in the mechanic arts, and in every improvement calculated to lessen the demand for and the price of labor, it is manifest that their success, in every branch of domestic industry, may and will be carried, under the encouragement given by the present duties, to an extent to meet any demand which, under a fair competition, may be made upon it."

"It cannot be doubted, that the more complete our internal resources, and the less dependent we are on foreign Powers, for every national as well as domestic purpose, the greater and more stable will be the public felicity. By the increase of domestic manufactures will the demand for the rude materials at home be increased; and thus will the dependence of the several parts of the Union on each other, and the strength of the Union itself, be proportionably augmented."

Here, again, are exhibited the broad and statesmanlike views of President Monroe, comprehending the vast capacities of our country, its varied productions, its diversified soil and climate, and the mutual dependence of the North and South, the East and West—all inviting to the establishment of the "American system," and forming the basis, rightfully improved, of an enduring and prosperous Union.

Mr. MONROE's sixth annual message, of the 3d of December, 1822, thus refers to this subject:

"Satisfied I am, whatever may be the abstract doctrine in favor of unrestricted commerce, (provided all nations would concur in it, and it was not likely to be interrupted by war, which has never occurred, and cannot be expected,) that there are other strong reasons, applicable to our situation and relations with other countries, which impose on us the obligation to cherish our manufactures."

Here was exhibited the common sense of Mr. MONROE. He dealt with realities. The theory of free trade—which England for ever preaches, but never practices—he treated as a mere abstraction. The want of general concurrence in the free-trade theory, and the liability to war, were with him sober matters of fact, to be taken into account in forming a judgement on this great question.

In his seventeenth annual message, of the 2d of December, 1823, President MONROE adverted to the subject, for the seventh and last time, as follows:

"Having communicated my views to Congress, at

the commencement of the last session, respecting the encouragement which ought to be given to our manufactures, and the principles on which it should be founded, I have only to add, that these views remain unchanged, and that the present state of the countries with which we have the most immediate political relations and greatest commercial intercourse tends to confirm them. Under this impression, I recommend a review of the tariff, for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defence and independence of the country."

This message was followed by the tariff of 1824, which carried out the views so repeatedly urged upon the attention of Congress by President MONROE, during his administration.

It is a common remark, that the protective policy has been sustained by WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, and MONROE. I have deemed it proper, at the hazard of wearying the patience of the House, to depart from the beaten track of general reference to their authority, and so to introduce them into this debate as that they may speak for themselves. You have the positions taken by these great men, and their reasons for them, expressed under all the varied lights of their own diversified observation and reflection, during the first thirty-five years of the administration of this Government. They were all men of the Revolution—two of them the most distinguished members of the Convention which formed the Constitution, and all familiar with the discussions which preceded its adoption by the people. You have not only the authority of their names, but the power of their arguments, in favor of the protecting policy. Though dead, they yet speak; and admonish their countrymen, as they value their Independence and their Union, to cherish this policy.

And shall not their voice be heard? Will Virginia disregard it? Has she any veneration for the names and the principles of her WASHINGTON, her JEFFERSON, her MADISON and her MONROE? And shall their recorded opinions on this great question, given under the high sanction of their Executive responsibility, pass unheeded? I do not ask Virginia to hear me; but I may and do ask her to listen to her own honored and venerated sons—the depth of whose wisdom, and the fervor of whose patriotism, she surely may not question.

In concluding my reference to Virginia authority, I need not say that the Executive messages to which I have referred were just exponents of the policy carried out in the legislation of Congress during the first thirty-five years of this Government. During the whole of this period, we have a succession of Executive messages, Treasury reports, reports of committees, resolutions of the House of Representatives and acts of Congress—all fully sustaining the protecting policy, and clearly indicating a conviction that it ought to be, and an expectation that it would be, the settled policy of the country.

I now turn from Southern authority to the North. The venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. ADAMS,) now at the post assigned him by the people on this floor, next occupied the chair of state. His sentiments on the subject of the protecting policy during his Presidency are well known. I pass over occasional references to it in his messages, and come to the last, transmitted to Congress on the 2d of December, 1823, which con-

tains an argument in favor of protection, worthy of that policy, and of the great man who vindicated it.

"The great interests (said Mr. ADAMS) of our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing nation are so linked in union together that no permanent cause of prosperity to any one of them can operate without extending its influence to the others. All these interests are alike under the protecting power of the legislative authority, and the duties of the representative bodies are to conciliate them in harmony together. So far as the object of taxation is to raise a revenue for discharging the debts and defraying the expenses of the community, it should, as much as possible, suit the burden, with equal hand, upon all, in proportion with their ability of bearing it without oppression. But the legislation of one nation is sometimes intentionally made to bear heavily upon the interests of another. That legislation, adopted, as it is meant to be, to the special interests of its own people, will often press most unequally upon the several component interests of its neighbors.

"Thus the legislation of Great Britain, when, as has recently been avowed, adopted to the depression of a rival nation, will naturally abound with regulations of interdict upon the productions of the soil or industry of the other which come in competition with its own, and will present encouragement, perhaps even bounty, to the raw material of the other State which it cannot produce itself, and which is essential to the use of its manufactures, competitors in the markets of the world with those of its commercial rival.

"Such is the state of the commercial legislation of Great Britain, as it bears upon our interests. It excludes with interdicting duties all importations (except in time of approaching famine) of the great staple productions of our Middle and Western States. It proscribes, with equal rigor, bulkier lumber and live stock of the same portion, and also of the Northern and Eastern parts of our Union. It refuses even the rice of the South, unless aggravated with a charge of duty upon the Northern carrier who brings it to them. But the cotton, indispensable for their looms, they will receive almost duty free, to weave it into a fabric for our own wear, to the destruction of our own manufactures, which they are enabled thus to undersell.

"Is the self-protecting energy of this nation so helpless, that there exists in the political institutions of our country no power to counteract the bias of this foreign legislation; that the growers of grain must submit to this exclusion from the foreign markets of their produce; that the shippers must dismantle their ships, the trade of the North stagnate at the wharves, and the manufacturers starve at their looms, while the whole people shall pay tribute to foreign industry, to be clad in a foreign garb; that the Congress of the Union are impotent to restore the balance in favor of native industry, destroyed by the statutes of another nation? More just and more generous sentiments will, I trust, prevail.

"If the tariff adopted at the last session of Congress shall be found by experience to bear oppressively upon the interests of any one section of the Union, it ought to be, and I cannot doubt will be, so modified as to alleviate its burdens. To the voice of just complaint, from any portion of their continents, the representatives of the States and the people will never turn away their ears. But so long as the duty of the foreign shall operate only as a bounty upon the domestic article—while the planter, and the merchant, and the shepherd, and the husbandman, shall be found thriving in their occupations, under the duties imposed for the protection of domestic manufactures—they will not repine at the prosperity shared with themselves by their fellow-citizens of other professions, nor denounce as violations of the Constitution the deliberate acts of Congress to shield from the wrongs of foreign laws the native industry of the Union."

If I might allow myself to interrupt the reflections suggested by this eloquent and unanswerable vindication of the protective policy, it would be to dwell, for a moment, upon the sentiment with which it commences—the *indissoluble union of the interest of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures*, so that the permanent prosperity of one necessarily becomes the prosperity of all. All the reasonings I have heard on this floor, in opposition to the protective policy, have overlooked this great truth; inasmuch that that whole policy has been repeatedly asserted to be for the exclusive benefit of those engaged in manufactures. We have been referred to the 791,000, returned by the marshals, as manufacturers and tauntingly told that these alone, out of the 17,000,000 of our population, were to be benefited by the protecting system, *at the expense of all the rest*. I have been amazed at the pertinacity with which this position has been maintained, in the face of the most obvious and overwhelming proofs to the contrary. Why, sir, the sympathy is not more strong between the different members of the human body than it is between these interests. With great propriety may the beautiful language of inspiration be applied to them—"If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; and if one member be honored, all rejoice."

Look at the producers, in one form or another, of the *raw materials* employed in the various manufactures in the United States—such, for example, as the manufactures of woollens, cottons, iron, glass, paper, hats, boots, shoes, &c. I have no means of computing either the value of these raw materials, or the number of persons employed in their production. When the statistics obtained by the marshals, in connexion with the late census, shall be published, we shall have information of great value bearing on this subject, to which I may take occasion hereafter to refer. A moment's reflection, however, will enable any one to see that the persons employed in the production, in various ways, of the raw materials that enter into the manufactures of the United States far outnumber those employed in the production of the manufactures themselves—to say nothing, now, of the vast amount of capital invested in the production of those raw materials, and the immense *creations* of value in many kinds of them; which value, but for our manufactures, would have had no existence. Strike a fatal blow at the manufactures, and see how soon it would be felt among the producers of their raw materials. Its effect upon the wool-growing interest would be especially disastrous. I shall refer to this interest more particularly hereafter.

But, then, there is the still greater interest involved in the production of the *means of subsistence* of the 791,000 "manufacturers and artisans," who, we are told, are alone benefited by a protecting tariff. Whence come the wheat, rye, corn, potatoes, peas, beans, pork, beef, poultry, butter, cheese, &c., consumed by them and by the families dependent on a large portion of them for support? Are they not the fruits of the labor of hundreds of thousands of agriculturists, all of whom must, of necessity feel the benefit of a policy that thus furnishes a market for these means of human subsistence? Try the experiment of leaving our manufacturing interests without protection—expose them to the prostration which must follow the withdrawal of the fostering care which the

policy of foreign Governments has hitherto made it the wisdom and the justice of our Government to extend to them, and what becomes of these dependent agricultural interests? Change the 791,000 manufacturers and artisans with their dependents, from consumers, to producers, of the means of subsistence, and who can compute the reduction in the value of agricultural products, and of the lands which produce them?

And then, too, there are the vast number of persons engaged, in various ways, in the exchanges that are perpetually going on between the manufacturers on the one hand, and the producers of the raw materials and the means of subsistence on the other. These, too, should be added to the 791,000 who, we are told, are alone benefited by protection, at the expense of the rest of the community.

It is thus that, in the language of President ADAMS, "the planter, and the merchant, and the shepherd, and the husbandman, are found thriving in their occupations, under the duties imposed for the protection of domestic manufactures."

But I must forbear comment, and hasten on; though I can hardly do it without invoking your attention, as I pass, to the argument which Mr. ADAMS draws from the "helplessness of the self-protecting energy of this Government," involved in the denial of its right to "counteract that bias of foreign legislation" which lays our people under "tribute to foreign industry." This great and strong point he presents with a clearness and force which it seems to me must put to flight all doubts as to the constitutional power of Congress over this subject. But I shall soon present the same argument in another form, by PRESIDENT JACKSON, and therefore pass on to a consideration of his messages, as they bear on this question. In his first annual message, of the 8th of December, 1829, he thus discourses on the subject:

"To regulate its conduct, so as to promote, equally, the prosperity of these three cardinal interests, (agriculture, commerce, and manufactures,) is one of the most difficult tasks of Government; and it may be regretted that the complicated restrictions which now embarrass the intercourse of nations could not, by common consent, be abolished, and commerce allowed to flow in those channels to which individual enterprise always its surest guide, might direct it. But we must ever expect selfish legislation in other nations, and are therefore compelled to adapt our own to their regulations, in the manner best calculated to avoid serious injury, and to harmonize the conflicting interests of our agriculture, our commerce, and our manufactures. Under these impressions I invite your attention to the existing tariff, believing that some of its provisions require modification. The general rule to be applied in graduating the duties upon the articles of foreign growth or manufacture, is that which will place our own in fair competition with those of other countries; and the inducements to advance even a step beyond this point are controlling in regard to those articles which are of primary necessity in time of war."

I pass without comment from this to the annual message of President JACKSON, of the 17th of December, 1830, to which I have already alluded, as containing a statement of the argument in support of a protective tariff, drawn from the transfer, by the States, of their whole power over imports to the General Government. And here is the argument, in the language of the President:

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. The right to adjust these duties, with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, is so completely incidental to that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very incon-

siderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and, consequently, if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This, surely, cannot be the case. This indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress. In this conclusion I am confirmed as well by the opinions of President Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe who have, each, repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people."

We come now to an eventful period in the history of the protecting policy. Though it had, as we have seen, become the settled policy of the country; though its constitutionality had been confirmed by an unvarying current of executive authority, "by the uniform practice of Congress, by the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people," yet it was now to be met by a determined spirit of resistance. NULLIFICATION reared its brazen front, and bid defiance to the power of the Government, thus constitutionally exercised.

A State Convention assembled at Columbia, in South Carolina, in November, 1832, and passed an ordinance declaring the tariff laws to be null and void within the limits of that State, and making it the duty of the Legislature to pass such laws as should be necessary to carry the ordinance into effect. How promptly the Legislature obeyed this mandate, I need not say.

The convention, having thus "nullified" the revenue laws, put forth an address to the people of the United States, in which they said:

"It remains for us to submit a plan of taxation in which we would be willing to acquiesce, in a liberal spirit of concession, provided we are met in due time, and in a becoming spirit, (1) by the States interested in manufactures." In the opinion of the convention, an equitable plan would be, that "the whole list of protected articles should be imported free of all duty, and that the revenue derived from import duties should be raised exclusively from the unprotected articles; or that, whenever a duty is imposed upon protected articles imported, an excise duty of the same rate shall be imposed upon all similar articles manufactured in the United States."

Such was the plan, submitted in a liberal spirit of concession! The convention proceeded to say:

"They are willing to make a large offering to preserve the Union; and, with a distinct declaration that it is a concession on their part, they will consent that the same rate of duties may be imposed upon the protected articles that shall be imposed upon the unprotected, provided that no more revenue be raised than is necessary to meet the demands of the Government for constitutional purposes; and provided, also, that a duty, substantially uniform, be imposed upon all foreign imports."

Thus, as a matter of "*concession*"—as a "*large offering*" to preserve the Union—a principle of revenue was proposed which utterly abolished all discrimination for purposes of protection, and proscribed as the only alternative to civil war, what has, in this debate, been denominated a "horizontal tariff;" that is, a tariff of duties "substantially uniform upon all foreign imports."

And here is the origin of the "*compromise law*" of the 2d of March, 1833. That law was so far a compliance with the demand of South Carolina as to fix a "horizontal tariff" of twenty per cent., to take effect on the 1st day of July, 1842.

And now, Mr. Speaker, upon the near approach of that period, we are called on to consider whether

we shall leave the compromise law to its "horizontal" operation, or whether we shall still maintain the policy which has, for more than fifty years, protected, by discriminating duties, our domestic industry.

In this state of things, I am happy to find, in the message of the President at the opening of the present session, a continuance of Executive authority in favor of the great principle of protection for which we contend. I allude to that part of the message whose proposed reference is now the subject of consideration.

I am as little disposed as any can be to hold on to the skirts of Executive authority; and I have referred to the messages of preceding Presidents, as expressing not merely their own, but the sentiments of the country, during their administrations. But, as President TYLER has spoken on the subject, and it is proposed to refer that part of his message to a committee, I may be excused for considering what some have affected to regard the doubtful question as to *what* he has said:

"In imposing duties," (says the President), "for the purpose of revenue, a right to discriminate as to the articles on which the duty shall be laid, as well as the amount, necessarily and properly exists. Otherwise, the Government would be placed in the condition of having to levy the same duties on articles—the productive as well as the unproductive. The slightest duty upon some might have the effect of causing their importation to cease; whereas others, entering extensively into the consumption of the country, might bear the heaviest, without any sensible diminution in the amount imported."

"So, also, the Government may be justified in so discriminating, by reference to other considerations of domestic policy connected with our manufactures. So long as the duties shall be laid with distinct reference to the wants of the Treasury, no well founded objection can be raised against them."

Here is discrimination for two purposes. First, for revenue. For *that* purpose, it may be deemed expedient to impose on some articles high, on others moderate, duties, and on others, none at all. But (says the President) there are "*other considerations*," besides the mere purposes of revenue, which may rightfully control discrimination, and constitute a rule for its application. And what are they? "Considerations of domestic policy, connected with our manufactures." Mark! The President speaks of *our* manufactures; not the manufactures of New England, or New-York, or Pennsylvania, but *our* manufactures: thus nationalizing this great interest.

So, then, the policy which protects "*our* manufactures" may form the ground of discrimination, and; of course, may justify the imposition of high duties on some articles, moderate duties on others, and on others, not needing protection, no duties at all.

But, asks some opponent of protection, Does not the President say that the duties must be laid "with a distinct reference to the wants of the Treasury?" and yet you make him say that they may be laid with a distinct reference to the protection of manufactures. Do you not make him inconsistent with himself? By no means. The duties may be laid with a distinct reference to both these objects. A reference to the mere wants of the Treasury will involve considerations only as to the aggregate amount of duties to be levied, and such discrimination as shall have respect to the best means of raising that amount. The Government may not, for example, levy forty millions, when the wants of the Treasury require but twenty. But, in levying these twenty millions, it may look distinctly

at the *other object*, and so apportion the amount among the various articles of importation as to discourage the importation of some which come in competition with our own manufactures, while the importation of others is left comparatively free.

Thus the leading purpose may be revenue—a purpose which exclusively controls as to *the amount to be raised*; while there may be *another purpose*—that of discriminating for protection—which controls as to *how that amount shall be apportioned among the several articles of importation*. This is plainly the sentiment of the message; and this is *discrimination for protection*, involving the great principle for which the friends of the protecting policy have ever contended.

We have Mr. Speaker, arrived at a momentous crisis in reference to the protecting policy. The great interests which that policy has long cherished have not, as yet, felt the heaviest blows aimed at them by the compromise act of the 2d of March, 1833. Under that act four-tenths only of the excess of duties over 20 per cent have hitherto been abated, and that by the gradual process of biennial reductions of one-tenth, running through a period of eight years. One-half of the remaining six tenths is to be taken off on the 1st day of January, 1842, and the remaining three tenths on the 1st of July next. Thus, within, a little more than six months from this time, a reduction is to be made greater by one-half than the whole reduction which has taken place since the 2d of March 1833.

And now, sir, when, under the operation of this experiment upon the power of endurance of the interests hitherto deemed worthy the guardian and fostering care of the Government, these tremendous turn of the screw are about to be made, what is it proposed to do? Why, sir, to take away the whole subject from the Committee on Manufactures, the natural guardian of these interests, and send it to a committee, the natural range of whose inquiries involves no investigation into the claims of those interests, and which has been constituted with no view whatever to their protection. To do this would be, in effect, to say that we will have no such investigation. And are we prepared for this? Shall the present session pass without an examination of this subject? Are we to sit down and quietly submit to the operation of the act of the 23d Congress, which struck, in advance, the blow under which, without the interposing arm of Congress, many of the protected interests will reel and stagger on the 1st of July next? May not this Congress be supposed better to know with how heavy a hand these interests will now bear to be pressed, than the Congress which sat here nine years ago? Did that Congress enjoy the exclusive privilege of legislating in regard to these great and vital interests for all future time? Was that one stroke of nullification to inflict a perpetual paralysis upon the "American system?" No, sir; no. There is no such power in that "compromise." This 27th Congress is to legislate with no such shackles. The people have sent us here to consider the present condition of the country; to inquire into the operation of existing laws upon all its great interests—agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing—and to adopt our legislation to the protection of those interests. To abandon any of them blindly to the perpetual control of former legislation is to abandon our duty—to betray the trusts which the Constitution and the country

have confided to us. Especially is this true with regard to the interest involved in the question now before us. For half a century, it has been our policy to cherish it as among the cardinal interests of the country. The second act passed by the Congress of the United States expressly asserted its claim to "encouragement and protection." To foster and sustain this interest was deemed by the men of the Revolution, whose wise and patriotic counsels infused its spirit so largely into our early legislation, to be essential to the maintenance of our independence, and the full development of the resources of our emancipated country. I have sketched the history of that policy through successive administrations of the Government, and shown how steadily they have acted on the principle that it was to be settled and enduring policy of the country. A just Government will not treat lightly the pledge implied in such a course of policy, especially when it is considered how extensively the skill, and industry, and capital of the country have adapted themselves to this policy. If I could avail myself of the statistics obtained in the process of taking the late census, (which are not published,) I might show what extensive investments have, upon the faith of a continuance of the protective policy, been made in manufacturing establishments, and in various departments of productive industry dependent on them. The results, even of the imperfect examinations which have been made, will, I doubt not, astonish the country, when they shall have been fully spread out before it.\*

There is one of these results in a branch of investment in which my constituents are especially interested, which I am enabled, by an examination of the returns in the Department of State, to present to the House, and which furnishes an argument for a continuance of the protective policy, which I am sure must strongly commend itself to the judgements of all who hear me. I allude to the wool-growing interest.

There were in the United States in 1840, according to the return of the marshals, 19,311,374 sheep. The present number may be computed at not less than twenty millions. It probably exceeds that. Indeed, the number returned by the marshals was probably below the true number in 1840. The capital invested, estimating the sheep at \$2 a head, and the land necessary for their subsistence—being at the rate of one acre for three sheep—at \$12 per acre, would amount to \$120,000,000; to which should be added the investments necessary for the support of those engaged in the care of the

\* Since this Speech was delivered, I have ascertained from an examination at the Department of State, that the total of capital invested *directly* in manufactures, (not including the dependent interests,) in the United States, as returned by the Marshals, amounted in 1840, to the two hundred and sixty-seven millions seven hundred and twenty-six thousand five hundred and seventy-nine dollars, distributed among the States and Territories, as follows:

Maine.....	\$7,105,820	Alabama.....	2,130,064
New-Hampshire.....	9,252,448	Mississippi.....	1,797,727
Massachusetts.....	41,774,448	Louisiana.....	6,430,689
Rhode Island.....	10,696,136	Tennessee.....	3,791,580
Connecticut.....	13,699,139	Kentucky.....	5,045,359
Vermont.....	4,336,440	Ohio.....	16,995,297
New-York.....	55,232,779	Indiana.....	4,132,043
New-Jersey.....	11,517,582	Illinois.....	3,136,512
Pennsylvania.....	31,815,105	Missouri.....	2,704,405
Delaware.....	1,589,215	Arkansas.....	424,487
Maryland.....	6,450,284	Michigan.....	3,112,240
Virginia.....	11,360,881	Florida.....	669,490
North Carolina.....	3,838,900	Wisconsin.....	695,925
South Carolina.....	3,216,970	Iowa.....	198,645
Georgia.....	2,899,565	District of Columbia.....	1,005,775
Total.....			\$267,728,576

sheep, the clipping of the wool, and its transportation to market, amounting, probably, to \$10,000,000 more.

The annual product of wool, at an average of two and a half pounds a head, is fifty millions of pounds.

Of these 20,000,000 of sheep, Vermont, with a population of but 292,000 souls, has 1,681,819, being an average of five and three-quarters to every man, woman, and child, in the State. The capital invested, upon the basis of the estimate of \$130,000,000 for the whole country, is about \$11,000,000—equivalent to \$38 to every soul in the State.

Of the 20,000,000 of sheep, New-England, New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, have over 13,000,000.

The owners of this amount of capital are cultivators of the soil. The evils which have been supposed by some to be inseparably connected with labor in manufacturing establishments, it will not be pretended attach to the employment of the shepherd. All the influences connected with this employment are the most favorable to moral purity and genuine independence; and I may proudly point to the well-known character of the people of my own State, as evidence of the truth of this assertion.

The claim, on the score of *justice*, of the people who have made such large investments, to a legislation which shall not *abandon* them, is too obvious to need comment. I pass to the broader view of the subject, which regards the wool-growing interest as a *national concern*.

Wool is a raw material of vast importance in a national point of view. It is a leading object in the protecting policy to render our country independent of foreign countries in time of war, as to articles of indispensable necessity and comfort to the people at large, as well as to the troops engaged in our defence. In these respects, the various forms of woollen manufactures are second to none which our soil and our industry can produce. It is a fact which ought to be remembered, that, at the commencement of the last war, we found ourselves dependent on our enemy for munitions of war and clothing for our armies—supplies of which were, to a considerable extent, obtained through an illicit commerce with that enemy. The price of wool rose during the war to two and three dollars a pound, and of woollen cloths to ten, twelve, fifteen, and eighteen dollars a yard.

Can any wise statesman, in this view of the subject, be indifferent to the great woollen interest, both manufacturing and agricultural, which has come into being under the combined influences of the last war and the protecting legislation which followed it? Shall we learn no wisdom by the things we have suffered? Can we shut our eyes to the possibility—the *probability*, even—of war? In other respects we do not; and why should we in this? We expend millions, annually, upon fortifications, ships of war, the procuring of ordnance and ordnance stores, and in the manufacture of various descriptions of arms suited to our defence. In this we act wisely—at least in accordance with the maxims which have hitherto governed the world. We regard these preparations as indispensable; and yet have we no wisdom to see that the fostering and sustaining of the interest to which I have referred, as well as the iron and other interests, are also indispensable? We have committed to us the power to make war; and we may

be involved in war with the most powerful nations in the world; and yet the opponents of the protecting policy would disarm us of the power possessed by every other nation upon the face of the earth—that of developing and maturing all the resources necessary to the putting forth of their utmost strength in the conflicts we may have with them.

Let us, then, carry out the policy which has not only brought into existence manufacturing establishments connected with the wool-growing interest, which need continued protection, but which has produced large investments in the production of the raw material, which it would be unjust to abandon, and which cannot be abandoned without the hazard of our being again placed in a state of humiliating dependence in the event of another war.

And, sir, we ought to protect wool, and its manufactures, not only to save from sacrifice present investments, but with a view to an increased production in these departments of industry. A just regard to our safety and our independence demands that the almost boundless capacities of our country in these respects should be developed and improved.

I have spoken of wool as an important raw material. My remarks are applicable, of course, to the raw materials connected with the manufactures of iron and other manufactures of great national importance, in regard to which we ought to be independent of the world.

There is one important raw material for which we are not dependent. I refer to cotton. But what laid the foundation of this independence? Sir, it was *protection*. By the revenue law of 1789, cotton was protected by a duty of three cents a pound, which has been continued ever since. It is asserted that it does not need the duty now. Whether this be true or not, it needed it *then*; and it is by no means certain that it will not again require it. The cotton interest grew up under that protection. And should not the growers of cotton be willing to aid, by protecting legislation, in giving stability to the great wool-growing interest, which needs like protection? Will the South be insensible to this appeal, because unlike the wool-growers, the cotton planters are not dependent for their market upon the demand of our own country? Can the fact that great Britain does not receive a pound of our wool in exchange for the millions of her woollen fabrics sold to us annually, while she takes millions of the Southern staple, have the effect of rendering the South indifferent to the claims of the wool-grower upon the fostering care of a wise and an impartial legislation? Have we not "one country and one destiny?" And shall any part of this "one country" find in its exemption from excluding foreign legislation, a motive for indifference to the interests of another part, which is subjected to the injurious effects of that legislation? Nothing, it seems to me, can be more selfish and monopolizing than this, unless it be that British legislation which, for the sake of employing British looms and spindles and pauper labor, receives, upon a small duty, the great Southern staple, while, to protect the landed interest of the kingdom, it excludes, or burdens with excessive duties, all the productions of our Northern, Middle, and Western agriculture.

For the purpose of showing the effects of foreign legislation upon the cotton interest, compared with other interests, I present the following state-

ments, drawn from official reports, of the exports of articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States. They furnish materials for comparisons in the following particulars:

I. The average annual export of *cotton* for five years, ending September 30, 1840, compared with the average export of *all other productions* of the United States—

1. To all the world;
2. To Great Britain and her dependencies;
3. To England, Scotland, and Ireland.

II. The average annual export of *cotton* for the five years referred to, compared with the average annual exports of all the agricultural products of the United States used for the sustenance of man—

1. To all the world;
2. To Great Britain and her dependencies;
3. To England, Scotland, and Ireland.

#### STATEMENT.

Average annual export for 1836, '37, '38, '39, and '40, to all countries of all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States. \$102,588,892  
Average annual export of cotton to all countries 64,238,225  
Domestic exports, other than cotton. \$38,350,667

Average annual exports of all domestic productions to Great Britain and her dependencies. \$60,200,181  
Average export of cotton to the same countries. 45,560,647  
Exports, other than cotton. \$14,639,484

Average annual exports of all domestic productions to England, Scotland, and Ireland. \$53,295,933  
Average annual export of cotton to same Countries. 45,515,137  
Exports, other than cotton. 7,780,796

#### AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPORTS

FOR 1836, '37, '38, '39, and '40, OF ANIMALS, AND THE PRODUCT OF ANIMALS AND VEGETABLE FOOD.

Articles Exported	To all Countries.	To G. Britain & dependencies.	To England, Scotland, and Ireland.
Beef, tallow, hides and horned cattle	\$361,482	\$291,808	\$68,052
Butter and cheese	139,340	39,616	2,735
Pork, bacon, hams, lard, and live hogs	1,533,522	396,072	355
Horses, mules, and sheep	337,373	298,410	
Wheat	363,413	358,495	139,338
Flour	5,447,378	2,608,385	955,523
Indian corn and meal	868,384	489,885	12,714
Ship bread.	306,319	170,064	95
Rye, rye meal, oats and other small grain, and pulse, potatoes, and apples	339,572	225,544	21,238
Rice.	2,196,424	495,789	274,669
Total.	\$11,766,615	\$5,353,818	\$1,474,719

Comparison of the Export of Cotton with the results of the foregoing Table.

Average export of cotton, for five years specified, to all countries. \$64,238,225  
Average exports of all agricultural products, consisting of animals, and the product of animals, and vegetable food. 11,766,615  
Excess of cotton export. \$52,471,610

Average export of cotton to Great Britain and her dependencies. \$45,560,647  
Average exports of the specified agricultural productions to the same Countries. 5,353,818  
Excess of cotton export. \$40,206,829

Average export of cotton to England, Scotland, and Ireland. \$45,515,137  
Average exports of the specified productions to the same Countries. 1,474,719  
Excess of cotton export. \$44,040,418

Let us now look a moment at these results. They are—

1. That the single article of cotton continued a little over *sixty-two and a half per cent.* (62.6)

of the whole of our domestic exports to all foreign countries—being \$25,887,558 more than the exports of all the other products of the fisheries, the forests, the agriculture, and the manufactures of the entire Union.

2. That of all our domestic exports to Great Britain and her dependencies, cotton constituted over *seventy-five and one-half per cent.*, (75.66)—being \$30,921,163 more than the exports to that kingdom of all our other productions.

3. That, of the \$45,560,164 of our exports of cotton to Great Britain and her dependencies, \$45,515,137 went to England, Scotland, and Ireland, \$43,475,484 of it to England,) as a raw material, to be sent to this and other countries in the form of manufactures, at an advance upon its cost of from 100 to 2,000 per cent., for the benefit of British capital and labor.

4. That that \$45,515,137 worth of cotton, exported to England, Scotland, and Ireland, constituted more than *eighty-five per cent.* (85.4) of all our domestic exports to those countries; exceeding all such exports to them, other than cotton, by the sum of \$37,734,341.

5. That our exports to all countries, of those productions of the agriculture of the United States consisting of animals, the product of animals, and vegetable food, being \$11,766,615, constituted but about *eleven and one-half per cent.* (11.47) of our whole domestic exports.

6. That the exports to Great Britain and her dependencies of all the productions of our agriculture just mentioned, being \$5,353,818, constituted but about *nine per cent.* (8.9) of our whole domestic exports to the same countries.

7. That our exports of cotton to all countries was five and a half times the amount of all our exports of the agricultural productions specified in the table just presented.

8. That our exports of cotton to Great Britain and her dependencies (\$45,560,647) were eight and one half times the amount of our whole export to that kingdom and its dependencies of all the productions of our agriculture specified in the table, and more than fifteen times the amount of our whole export of *wheat and flour* to that kingdom and its dependencies, including the export of \$963,714 worth of those articles through her North American colonies, for the benefit of her navigation.\*

9. That of the \$5,353,818 of our agricultural exports to Great Britain and her dependencies, specified in the table, but \$1,474,719 was exported directly to England, Scotland, and Ireland, being *three and one-fourth per cent.* only of the average amount of cotton exported, during the years specified, to those countries; from which, nevertheless, we received, during the same years, merchandise, principally British manufactures, averaging \$53,619,434 per annum.

Upon these results I make no comment. They are sufficiently startling to awaken the attention

\* This \$963,714 of wheat and flour was the average of five years. The amount during the first of those years was but \$282,235, while in the last it was \$3,028,589. So the amount of wheat and flour exported direct to England, Scotland, and Ireland, during the first of the averaged years, was but \$1,134, while in the last it was \$4,072,952—showing the fluctuations produced by the operation of the British Corn Laws. Wheat is admitted into the North American colonies duty free to be manufactured and shipped to foreign countries in British vessels; and all our productions are admitted into certain free "warehousing ports" of those colonies free of duty, to be re-exported as colonial produce in British bottoms for the benefit of British navigation.

of the country, especially those portions of it whose interests are to be sacrificed, under the pretence of "free trade," for the benefit of the cotton-growing interest—the only interest in the United States which the policy of foreign nations, and especially of Great Britain, will permit to enjoy that freedom.

I have spoken in general terms of *foreign legislation* affecting the agricultural staples whose exports bears such a small proportion to that of cotton. Let me specify by a reference to the British tariff duties on the leading articles.

Articles.	Rate of Duty.	
Beef, per cwt.	£0 12s. 0d.	equal \$2 88
Horn cattle, prohibited.		
Butter, per cwt.	1 0 0	" 4 80
Cheese, per cwt.	0 10 6	" 2 52
Pork, salted, per cwt.	0 12 0	" 2 38
Pork, smoked, per cwt.	1 0 8	" 4 06
Bacon and hams, per cwt.	1 8 8	" 6 72
Sausages, per pound.	0 0 4	" 8
Swine, prohibited.		
Sheep, do.		
Wheat and flour,	} Prohibited, except nearly at famine prices.*	
Indian corn and meal,		
Rye, rye meal, and barley		
Buckwheat, oats, oat meal, peas and beans		
Rice, per cwt.	£0 15 0	equal \$3 60
Rice, from <i>British possessions</i> , per cwt.	0 1 1	" 24
Corrow, per cwt.	0 2 11	" 70
Cotton, the produce of, and imported from, <i>British possessions</i> , per cwt.	0 0 6	" 12

It is unnecessary to ask attention to the immense difference between the duty on cotton and the duties on the other productions of our agriculture to which I have called the attention of the House. The discrimination, however, between the duty of our cotton, low as it is, and that which is the *produce of*, and imported from, British possessions, ought to attract the attention of our cotton growers, as a premonitory symptom of what they may expect from the indicated policy of Great Britain to supply herself with cotton from her East India possessions. As an indication of the success of this policy, I will refer to a statement of importations of cotton from British India, made in an article which I find in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine for September, 1841, on the subject of "the commerce of British India," which is stated in the work to have been written by a *South Carolinian*.

Mr. Speaker, the people who draw from the soil of this great country the means of human subsistence—especially the GRAIN GROWING portion of them, are beginning to inquire *what portion* of the people of these United States are engaged in the production of the *privileged export*. Why, they ask, should the boundless capacities of the soil and the industry of the North, the Middle, and the West, be thus restrained—thus made to submit to the cotton growing power? They demand to know why they are to be compelled to consume foreign manufactures, while payment for them cannot be made in the productions of their own soil and industry. They ask loudly, and will yet ask more loudly, why this perpetually exhausting process must go on for the joint benefit of Eu-

\* The duties vary upon a sliding scale, corresponding with the prices of grain—rising as the price falls, and falling as the price rises. Thus, when the price of wheat per quarter (eight bushels) is at or over 78 shillings sterling, (equal to \$17 62, reckoning 50 pence to the dollar), the duty is but one shilling sterling per quarter. As the price of wheat falls, the duty, by a nearly corresponding process, rises, so that it equals the price when that descends to 48 shillings.

The duty on flour is regulated by the same rule, the barrel of flour being, by law, deemed equal to 38½ gallons of wheat.

The same mode is adopted of increasing or diminishing the duties upon Indian corn and other grains, though not precisely in the same ratio, and of course, not with reference to the same prices.

The result is, as intended, an almost total exclusion of foreign grains, flour, and meal, when at moderate prices, and their admission only in times of extreme scarcity.

ropean capitalists and American cotton growers? The people of whom I speak want a market, and a *steady* market for the fruits of their labor. If they cannot have it abroad, they ask Congress of the the United States give it to them at home—by legislation which shall give a uniform and efficient protection to manufacturing industry—and save it and them, together, from the effects of a selfish, monopolizing, crushing foreign legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know that the facts and arguments and appeals submitted, or to be submitted in the debate on this question, can make any impression upon the *power* that rules this nation. But there is one argument which will yet make an impression, and that, in my opinion, at no very distant day. When our cotton shall come to be excessively burdened by the British tariff, or utterly excluded from the British market, then will the appeals now made by the manufacturing and provision-raising and wool-growing portions of the country be remembered, and their force felt.

I have already alluded to the recent efforts to extend the cultivation of cotton in British India. The cotton growers, it is evident, are aware of these efforts, and of the success which has attended them. Sir, they ought to awake from their delusive dreams of an uninterrupted and perpetual demand for their great staple in the British market. The policy which has begun, will carry on, and carry out, the movement to which I have alluded. And this is rendered the more certain by the consideration that the motives of interest in which it originated are to be reinforced by those of high moral principle—a principle which is rapidly gaining strength both in Europe, and in America—urging a discontinuance of the use of these articles which are the production of forced and unrequited labor.

It may be well for the South to consider, in this view of the matter, whether the time can be very far distant when the closing of British ports against her great staple shall drive her to the North for her principal market; and whether it is not wise, as well as patriotic, for her now to aid in giving solidity and permanency to manufacturing establishments, and success to the numerous branches of productive industry which are dependent on them for support. And she may well consider, also, whether after the North has suffered from the fluctuations of the policy which *to-day* forces her into manufactures, and to-morrow forces her out, she will feel any very strong inducements to purchase cotton from the South, when she can get it as cheap elsewhere; whether, when she is asked, as she certainly will be, in due time, to protect it by the continuance of the present, or the imposition of a new duty, she will not feel inclined to leave the cotton-growing interest to take care of itself.

Mr. Speaker, it gives me no pleasure thus to speak of the probable future. Rather would I hope that the South will abandon its hostility to the protecting policy; and that, under the operation of that policy, adapted by wise and prudent counsels, and in a spirit of impartial justice, to the present condition of the various interests requiring protection, the diversified resources of this great country will be rapidly developed, and its East and West, its North and South, be more strongly bound together by the ties of mutual dependence, and urged onward in a noble rivalry of industry, of knowledge, and of virtue, to the attainment of a high and a glorious destiny.



AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
FOR 1841,

As Compiled and Estimated from the last Census by Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, in his late Report as Commissioner of the United States Patent Office.

STATES AND TERRITORIES		1840.		Wheat—bush.		Barley—bush.		Oats—bush.		Rye—bush.		Buckwheat.		Indian Corn.		Potatoes—bush.		Hay—tons.		Tobacco—lbs.		Cotton—lbs.	
Population.																							
Maine	501,973	987,412	360,267	1,119,425	143,458	53,070	988,549	10,912,921	713,285														
New-Hampshire	234,374	426,316	125,964	1,312,127	507,418	106,381	191,275	6,573,405	503,217														
Massachusetts	377,699	189,371	189,371	1,276,491	519,205	91,273	1,905,273	4,947,805	617,663														
Rhode Island	103,830	3,407	69,139	182,668	37,973	3,276	1,003,170	471,022	69,881														
Connecticut	399,978	95,090	31,594	1,431,454	805,222	334,008	1,521,191	3,002,142	497,204														
Vermont	291,948	512,461	55,243	2,601,425	241,061	231,132	1,167,219	9,112,008	924,379														
New-York	2,428,921	12,309,941	2,301,441	21,896,305	2,723,911	2,325,911	11,441,256	30,617,009	3,472,118														
New-Jersey	373,306	919,043	13,009	3,745,061	1,908,984	1,907,340	5,134,366	2,486,432	401,833														
Pennsylvania	1,724,043	12,872,219	203,858	2,187,391	6,942,643	2,485,132	14,969,472	9,747,343	2,004,162														
Delaware	78,085	317,105	51,119	937,105	35,162	13,137	2,164,507	213,080	25,007														
Maryland	476,019	3,747,652	3,772	2,827,365	671,420	80,966	6,998,124	827,363	87,351														
Virginia	1,239,797	10,010,105	83,025	1,962,108	1,317,574	297,109	33,987,255	2,889,265	397,660														
North Carolina	753,419	2,183,026	4,208	8,832,729	256,765	18,489	24,116,253	3,131,086	111,571														
South Carolina	594,398	963,162	3,794	1,374,562	49,064	85	14,907,474	2,713,425	25,729														
Georgia	691,392	1,991,162	12,991	1,525,623	64,723	542	21,749,227	1,644,537	17,507														
Florida	590,756	868,554	7,847	1,476,670	55,558	60	21,594,354	1,793,773	15,353														
Alabama	375,651	305,091	1,784	697,335	11,978	69	5,985,724	1,795,461	604														
Mississippi	352,411	67		109,425	1,897		6,234,147	873,563	26,711														
Louisiana	829,910	4,873,584	5,197	7,457,818	332,579	19,145	46,295,339	2,018,632	33,106														
Tennessee	929,310	4,096,113	16,860	1,825,974	1,632,108	9,669	40,787,120	1,279,519	96,360														
Kentucky	779,828	17,979,647	245,905	15,995,112	834,191	666,541	35,452,161	6,004,183	1,112,651														
Ohio	1,519,467	16,607,864	33,618	1,606,086	162,026	56,371	33,195,108	1,830,952	1,213,634														
Indiana	685,866	5,282,864	23,618	6,606,086	162,026	56,371	33,195,108	1,830,952	1,213,634														
Illinois	476,183	4,026,187	102,926	6,964,410	114,656	69,549	23,424,474	2,633,156	214,411														
Missouri	383,102	1,110,542	11,515	2,580,841	72,144	17,135	19,725,146	815,259	57,204														
Arkansas	97,574	2,132,030	950	236,941	7,772	110	6,039,450	367,010	695														
Texas	212,267	2,896,721	151,263	2,915,102	42,306	127,504	3,038,390	2,911,507	141,525														
Michigan	54,477	624	50	13,561	320		694,205	271,105	1,045														
Florida	30,945	297,541	14,529	511,927	2,242		521,244	454,819	35,603														
Wisconsin	234,115	1,342		301,498	4,675		1,547,215	261,306	19,745														
Iowa	43,712	10,105	317	12,694	5,009	312	43,725	48,725	1,449														
District of Columbia																							
TOTAL	17,069,454	91,642,937	5,024,731	130,607,023	19,333,474	7,953,544	387,380,185	113,183,619	12,804,705	240,187,118	578,008,473												

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES—(Continued.)  
From the Official Returns of Production in 1839, as embodied in the United States Census for 1840.  
Estimated Production of 1841. Official Returns of Production in 1839.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Rice—lbs.	Silk—lbs.	Sugar—lbs.	Wool—lbs.	Horses&mules	Neat Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Orchard.	Dairy—value.	Family Goods
Maine .....		527	263,392	1,465,551	50,208	327,255	649,264	117,386	\$149,384	\$1,496,902	\$804,397
New-Hampshire .....		692	169,519	1,260,517	43,892	275,562	617,390	121,671	239,979	1,638,543	538,303
Massachusetts .....		196,432	496,341	941,906	61,484	292,574	378,221	143,221	329,177	2,373,299	231,942
Rhode Island .....		745	55	183,836	8,024	36,891	90,146	32,098	32,098	223,329	51,180
Connecticut .....		93,611	56,372	889,870	34,650	233,650	403,462	131,961	296,232	1,376,534	226,162
Vermont .....		5,684	5,119,264	3,699,235	62,402	384,341	1,681,819	293,800	213,914	2,008,737	674,548
New-York .....		3,425	11,102,070	9,845,295	474,543	1,911,244	5,118,777	1,990,065	17,019,935	16,496,021	4,626,547
New-Jersey .....		3,116	67	397,907	70,502	280,202	219,285	261,443	464,006	1,328,032	201,625
Pennsylvania .....		17,324	2,894,016	3,048,564	365,129	1,172,665	1,767,620	1,503,964	618,179	3,187,292	1,303,093
Delaware .....		2,963		64,404	14,421	53,833	39,247	74,228	28,211	113,328	62,116
Maryland .....		5,677	39,892	488,201	92,920	925,714	257,922	416,943	105,740	457,466	176,050
Virginia .....	3,084	5,341	1,557,206	2,538,374	326,438	1,024,148	1,293,772	1,993,155	705,765	1,480,488	2,441,672
North Carolina .....	3,324,132	4,929	8,924	625,044	166,068	617,371	538,279	1,649,716	386,006	674,349	1,413,243
South Carolina .....	66,897,244	4,792	31,461	299,170	139,921	572,608	232,981	878,532	52,275	577,810	930,703
Georgia .....	13,417,209	5,185	357,611	371,363	157,540	884,414	267,107	1,457,755	156,132	605,172	1,467,630
Alabama .....	156,469	4,902	10,650	220,353	143,147	668,018	163,243	1,423,873	55,240	265,200	1,656,119
Mississippi .....	861,711	158	127	173,196	109,527	623,197	138,367	1,001,209	14,458	359,585	682,945
Louisiana .....	3,765,541	881	88,189,315	49,283	99,888	381,248	98,072	323,220	11,769	153,069	65,190
Tennessee .....	2,455	5,724	275,557	1,060,392	341,409	832,851	741,593	2,926,607	367,105	472,141	2,886,661
Kentucky .....	16,848	3,405	1,409,172	1,786,847	395,853	737,098	1,008,240	2,310,533	434,935	931,363	2,622,462
Ohio .....		6,278	7,109,423	3,685,315	430,527	1,217,874	2,038,401	2,099,746	475,271	1,848,869	1,853,937
Indiana .....		495	3,914,184	1,237,919	241,036	619,980	675,982	1,623,608	110,055	742,329	1,289,802
Illinois .....	598	2,345	415,756	650,007	199,235	636,274	395,672	1,495,254	126,756	428,175	993,567
Missouri .....	65	169	327,165	562,265	196,032	433,875	345,018	1,271,161	90,878	100,432	1,149,544
Arkansas .....		171	2,147	64,943	131,472	188,786	42,151	393,053	10,680	59,205	489,750
Michigan .....	5,987	984	1,894,372	153,375	30,144	186,190	99,618	295,890	16,075	301,052	113,855
Florida .....	495,625	376	269,146	7,295	12,043	118,081	7,198	92,680	1,035	29,094	20,205
Wisconsin .....		25	147,816	6,777	5,785	30,269	3,462	51,383	37	35,077	12,567
Iowa .....			23,039	23,039	38,049	15,354	50	53,669		25,966	
District of Columbia .....		916	707	2,145	3,274		706	4,673	3,507	5,666	1,500
TOTAL .....	89,952,968	379,272	126,164,644	83,802,114	4,335,669	14,971,586	19,311,374	26,301,298	7,256,904	33,787,008	29,023,380

### The Necessity of a Protective Tariff to a Sound Currency.

At a late meeting of the 'HOME LEAGUE' of the State of New-York, a Committee was appointed to consider and report upon the *History* of our Tariff, its *Effect* in increasing or diminishing Imports, and its *Influence* upon the Circulating Medium and the Value of Property. This Committee promptly and well performed the duty devolved on it, and reported the result of their investigations to the 'League' on the 23d ult. Their Report, after a preliminary history required, proceeds as follows:

Your committee, after thus briefly tracing the progress of the tariff, from the commencement to the present time, have provided materials for answering the question proposed, viz: *How far duties on importations increase or diminish importations*; and for that purpose they will examine the official documents that give us the amount of the value of all the duty free articles imported for a series of years, before the passage of the Compromise Act, and for the same number of years after its passage. For by means of these articles paying no duties, we can measure by figures the full operation of this misnamed, unreciprocated free trade; and the period is well adapted to test its effect, because the nations of Europe have been at peace and these articles have been produced and brought here, subject to no molestation, *quoad hoc*, it is the genuine free trade.

Value of duty free articles imported five years next previous to the Compromise Act of 1833.

1823.....	\$12,379,176	1834.....	\$68,366,180
1829.....	11,305,501	1835.....	77,940,493
1830.....	12,746,245	1836.....	82,046,481
1831.....	15,456,625	1837.....	69,241,029
1832.....	14,249,453	1838.....	60,890,005

Total.....\$64,637,000 Total.....\$563,490,138  
Excess of Free Goods imported in the last five years.....\$308,853,138

Here is exhibited an actual gain, in five years, in the imports of this class of articles, of *three hundred and three millions of dollars*.

When it was announced to the world that the United States had made their ports free and open to certain productions, there was a rush for our markets from every nation of Europe producing similar articles, and floods of goods soon came pouring in. So great was the rush, that the duty free articles imported into this country the next five years after the Compromise Act passed, did not fall short of our whole importations of the five years preceding, including those that paid duty as well as those that did not, only \$18,470,203. The ports of the United States were the only free ports on earth which afforded a tempting vent, and all the vast accumulations and refuse merchandise of Europe were shipped for America.

The effect of abolishing duties may be illustrated, perhaps, more satisfactorily by a single article, as, for instance, silk, and comparing the imports *before* and *after* the duties were taken off. Our average consumption of imported silk, for the twelve years preceding the passage of the Compromise Act, did not equal six millions of dollars. In a single year since its passage, the consumption of foreign silks has exceeded *three times six millions*; so that reduced duties not only increase importations to an almost incredible extent, but consumption is also increased along with it.

More than three years' ordinary supply of consumption has been forced upon us in a single year. The conclusion of your committee is, therefore, that the effect of diminishing or annulling duties on imports, in the present condition of Europe, will be to increase importations to a most extravagant degree, as the official figures they have exhibited above most demonstrably show.

The next thing required by the resolution, is to ascertain the influence of importations in increasing or diminishing our circulating medium of money. The circulating medium of our country is composed principally of the notes of banks. These notes, which are the measure of the value of every description of property, have been increasing, gradually, (till our late embarrassments began,) for fifty years, as property and negotiations have increased. They have all been payable in metallic money; and as bank notes are more convenient than metal for the transaction of our business in this country, and among ourselves, the metal is rarely required. In consequence of this, the banks which supply these bills have issued several times the amount of specie in their possession.

While these notes have circulated from citizen to citizen, accomplishing negotiations, all has been well; but after the duty-free articles were increased, much larger amounts of goods were imported into our country than before, as we have shown by the official reports. The prohibitions of foreign countries prevented us from exporting an equal amount of our productions, or, if exported, the proceeds were taken from us by extorting most extravagant duties. The balance, for a time, was settled by loans or State bonds, stocks, &c., till foreigners became possessed of from *two hundred to two hundred and fifty millions of dollars* of these loans and securities, and their credit began to be questioned. Their credit once shaken, the balances for goods coming in could no longer be met by loans or stocks, and our bank notes not being received in the countries from which the goods came, metallic money was called for, and as it was chiefly in the vaults of the banks, drafts were made on them and repeated. This, of course, compelled the banks to check their disbursements, and the circulating medium has thereby been contracted to the extent, that there is not a sufficiency in circulation to liquidate existing debts contracted under a more expanded currency, and, at the same time, transact the ordinary business of the country. Embarrassments and bankruptcies have been and are the inevitable consequences. As long, therefore, as bank notes constitute our currency, and these notes are payable in metallic money, and the amount of our imports exceeds our exports, the balance will be drawn from the banks in specie, and the issues of notes will be checked, (if managed by intelligent and honest directors,) until their notes are withdrawn from circulation, in amount, under ordinary circumstances, equal to; at least, three times such balance. (a)

The Committee will next consider the effect of

(a) It is a maxim of discreet bankers, that their circulation should never exceed three times the amount of specie in their vaults. The influence of importations in abridging our circulating medium, when the balance of foreign trade is against us, is, therefore, in a compound ratio of three to one. It operates with a lever power in severing the links of the great chain of credit which holds together the commercial and business world.

*an increased or diminished circulating medium on the value of property.*

The circulating medium of this country, consisting, as has been remarked, chiefly of notes of banks, is employed to measure values in all negotiations, and of all property. To illustrate this part of the resolution, we will suppose a community isolated from all others, with a given amount of money, performing the duties of a circulating medium, and supposing one half of the whole were destroyed in one night, the remaining half would represent the value of the property; and if all were to agree, the next day, that one half of a dollar should buy and pay as much as a dollar had before, no material injury would be wrought; but if they did not agree, the debtor portion of this community would be obliged to pay double value to the creditor portion; for the contracts are for whole dollars, not half dollars. Some of the debtors would be compelled to sell, many of them being, through mortgages and other pledges, directly in the power of their creditors. A few rich men, (and there are always such in every community,) having a large proportion of this circulating medium in their possession or under their control, and understanding the condition of the debtor portion, as they generally do, would purchase property at their own prices. If the individuals of this community were in the way of extensive negotiations, credit, &c., it is easy to see the perfect confusion that must ensue—the breaking up of confidence and credit. Labor, already performed, not obtaining its wages, would have less motive for farther performance; a few might find employ at low wages, but, to a great extent, there would be a suspension. Bankrupt acts would become popular among those who detested them before, and imprisonment for debt, in the opinion of those exposed to it, would be barbarity barbarized. The circulating medium might, in this supposed case, be so far reduced that the whole amount of money or circulating medium would not pay the sums due to a few capitalists. (b) If this community were immediately to discharge those bankrupted, so that they, with others, might be employed in productive labor, and could open a trade with a country that would supply them with money, and put industry in general action, and give confidence to credit, a large proportion might weather their difficulties, and save to themselves a competency. But if, like the people of the United States, they were so foolish, when they had it in their power to enforce a profitable exchange, to agree that for every dollar's value they bought, to pay one hundred cents, but for every dollar's value they sold, they should receive only fifty cents, (the other fifty cents to be called duty,) for the privilege of trading with them; and if, in summing up the account of trade at the end of the year, they should find less money in their community than before, would not every body cry shame on the negotiators of so foolish a bargain?

Would it not be the true course for such community to make a firm stand against all exactions on its productions by other countries, or balance them by equally exorbitant counter charges on their productions; then multiply by industry the articles which could be sold abroad as much as possible; buy only necessities; and at the end of the

(b) The estimated wealth of one individual in the city of New York, is about equal to two-thirds of the specie of all the banks of the United States in 1840. It will undoubtedly exceed all the specie in the country if the "Compromise Act" goes into full effect.

year would not this community find more confidence and money, property on the advance in value, less want, and general increased comfort and prosperity?

And were this same community in our situation, with a paper currency, would not the additional supply of metallic money, by which nations adjust balances, enable their banks to triple the amount of money for all the purposes of production, by the stimulus it would give to industry, by increased confidence, and enlarged means? The value of property might not advance in the precise per cent. proportion, with the increase of circulating medium, but the tendency would be a continued advance towards it.

The Committee have before them the return of the Bank Commissioners of this State, from 1836 to 1841, both years included. The circulation of all the Banks in 1836 amounted to \$21,127,927, and in 1842 to \$14,559,335, being a reduction of about 33 1-3 per cent. The depreciation of property of the whole State has been probably quite equal to 33 1-3 per cent.; and, from a table prepared with much care, it appears that the specie in all the Banks of the United States was as follows: In 1839, \$45,132,637; 1840, \$33,105,155; showing a reduction of over twenty-five per cent. in one year; and from the same table it appears that the circulation of the Banks of the country was, in 1837, about one hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars, and in 1840 short of one hundred and seven millions of dollars. Much of the real estate bought for purposes of speculation, if now subjected to a forced sale, would not bring two years' interest on the prices at which it was sold. Agricultural produce of some descriptions has fallen from 50 to 60, and even 75 per cent. Stocks of almost every description have declined, and some have depreciated from par to nothing. The products of large manufactories, operated by machinery, have probably suffered, generally speaking, less than any other property. In many parts of the country, particularly the non-specie paying and the repudiating sections, where the vital principle of credit has received a shock, a much greater depreciation will be found. If the depreciation of the property of the whole country is put at 33 1-3 per cent. since our embarrassments commenced, the Committee think it short of the reality. The Committee deriving their conclusions from the established effects of the Compromise Law during the eight years previous to the 31st of December last, in increasing importations and thereby drawing from the country the precious metals, or, if not actually drawn, liable to be drawn, by a foreign debt of from 200 to 250 millions of dollars suspended over them, (which all cautious bankers will unceasingly bear in mind,) for balances, interest on stock, &c., due to foreign countries, and thus inducing a reduction of the currency—are of opinion, that if the Compromise Act goes into full effect without alteration, there will be a farther decline of the value of property equal to what has already taken place, making the amount of depreciation, since our embarrassments commenced, 66 2-3 per cent. (c)

(c) The Committee, in coming to this conclusion, are aware that the duties on some few articles were advanced at the extra session of Congress, in accordance with the horizontal principles of the Compromise Law; but even the inadequate protection which might have been looked for by this law is partially counteracted by the circumstance, that a part of them were raw materials required in our factories and workshops, and in that particular give foreign competitors an additional advantage over American industry.

If only nine articles, as before enumerated, made duty free, and reduction of duties on the residue, equal to four-tenths, have in eight years, viz. from the 15th of March, 1833, to the 31st December, 1840, brought down prices 33½ per cent., the Committee do not consider it unreasonable to conclude that four times that number of articles yet to be made free of duty by the act after the 30th of June next, and a further reduction of six-tenths of the duties, in addition to four-tenths within six months, that is, between the 31st of December, 1841, and the 30th of June, 1842, will cause another reduction in the prices of property fully equal to the first. As soon, therefore, as the effects of the final reduction, the 30th of June next, are fully realized, three times the amount of property will be required to pay a debt which would have been required when our country was in a prosperous condition. The loans and other stocks held in Europe, redeemable in specie, will require fifteen millions of dollars annually to be raised and sent thither, to say nothing of the two hundred and fifty millions principal. If it is said we will pay for it in flour, England will, it is true, allow us to sell to her hungry subjects; but only on condition that she takes out what she pleases. It is determined by a changeable corn law scale *how much*, but that scale she regulates herself. The owner, when he ships it from this country, knows not whether she will demand an eighth, fourth, or half. It all depends on how she pleases to move her scale.

The official statements of Mr. Dodge show that subjects of Europe consume more than forty-one millions of dollars worth of tobacco per annum; their masters allow us to supply them, on our first paying them a tax of more than thirty-five millions of dollars on the same. Preparations are making to empty the ten thousand warehouses of merchandise in Europe to supply the freeports of America. When the contents of these warehouses come under the hammer, and the proceeds are converted into specie, we are confident facts will fully verify our estimates.

A very brief summary of the conclusions of your committee may not be amiss. A tariff of protection, to be increased from time to time, so as effectually to countervail the competition of foreign countries, and secure to our own mechanics and manufacturers the home market for all the fabrics of necessity and comfort, and provide a vent for agricultural productions, was no doubt the object of our revolutionary statesmen.

They were well aware that reduced duties increased importations. And a demand for specie will necessarily contract our bank bill currency in the proportion of three or more to one on the balance of imports over exports, thereby reducing the prices of property in proportion to the contraction of the circulating medium.

If the views of the patriots of the revolution had been followed out, there is not a doubt that our importations would have been kept down, so as to have been fully balanced by our exportations. A sound, steady, and adequate circulating medium might then have been maintained, based on an abundance of the precious metals, at all times fully adequate to the legitimate business of the whole country, and its credit fully sustained, it would have answered all the purposes of solid Gold; but the free admission of foreign commodities, from short-sighted legislation, have produced a violent

contraction of this circulating medium, and through these means reduced the prices of property, and thereby deranged values, intrinsically doubling the amount to be paid on contracts for money heretofore entered into; affecting thereby all the relations of our whole social system, embracing those essential points which relate to the wages of labor, and the necessities and comforts of life; which has already bankrupted thousands, and threatens tens of thousands, whom nothing will save but a wholesome Tariff, speedily adjusted by *practical* men of *sound sense*. Such a Tariff will afford the only means by which this generation can be redeemed from inextricable embarrassments; embarrassments which, if not relieved before the present session of Congress closes, will blast the prospects of the middling and poorer classes now on the stage of action, chiefly for the benefit of foreigners, and these among us who have the means and the heart to extract wealth from the misfortunes and miseries of their fellow citizens.

T. B. WAKEMAN,  
ABONIRAM CHANDLER, } Committee.  
JACOB T. WALDEN,  
New-York, February 23d, 1842.

#### Where Stands New-York?

In the great struggles of 1816, 1824, and 1828, for the Protection of American Labor against depressing Foreign rivalry and the oppressive influences of European policy, New-York, hand in hand with Pennsylvania and the entire Centre of the Union, was ardently and *unanimously* favorable to Protection. There was then no party on this question; though the Federalists of the East and the Cities, being deeply interested in Commerce, were generally averse to the Protective Policy, mistakenly fearing that it would *destroy* Commerce and the Revenue, and lead to Direct Taxation! Now the pretence of its opponents is that it will produce *too much* Revenue, while Direct Taxes are their idol! But out of the Cities, there was here no party; New-York, through every organ of her public sentiment, demanded the Protection of her Industry.

We have already published the unanimous and urgent Address of the Tammany Society demanding Protection even to Prohibition; as also the according responses of JEFFERSON, MADISON and MONROE. We now add to them the *unanimous* declaration of the Democratic Legislature of 1820 in favor of that Policy—as follows:

IN ASSEMBLY, Feb. 1, 1820.

#### Report of the Committee on Manufactures.

Mr. CROLIUS, from the Committee appointed on that part of the Speech of his Excellency the Governor relating to Trade and Manufactures, respectfully reports:

That they have maturely considered the subjects referred to them, and are fully satisfied that the distress that pervades not only this State, but every other in the Union, is produced from the following causes:

1st. The very great influx of foreign goods since the return of peace, which from the extensive credit given to the importing merchant induced him to give the like lengthy credit to the country merchants, who, in consequence, made large pur-

chases, calculating that, from the flourishing state of Trade at that time, they would no doubt be able to make good their engagements. Their expectations, however, were not realized; for, in consequence of the dulness of sale and great reduction of price of our Agricultural Products abroad, and the general stagnation that immediately followed, they were enabled to make but partial payments, and in many instances totally failed. The importer, to make good his engagements with the foreign merchant, forced the payment of the debts due him, and hence followed the distress of all and ruin of many, who, but for the luring bait held out to them, (extensive credit,) would have kept themselves within the bounds of their capital, and still have maintained a good mercantile standing.

2d. Another and still greater evil arising from the great influx of foreign goods is that of the breaking up our manufacturing establishments, in which a great number of our citizens have vested large capitals, all of whom suffered severe losses and many were totally ruined.

These evils were not alone confined to those who had thus vested their property, for many thousands of our laboring class of citizens, who comfortably supported themselves and families, were thrown out of employ, numbers of which have in consequence become a public charge. These evils, however, do not stop here; for it is evident that so long as our Manufactures are neglected and the Imports continue so much to overbalance our Exports as they have done for some years past, especially since the termination of the late war; that impoverishing drain of specie which has been going on since that period, will continue until it will have entirely disappeared, and the distress that so generally prevails consequently continue to increase.

The evils that have borne so heavily on the Manufacturer in consequence of excessive Importations, begin now to be felt by the Agriculturist and the Merchant, extend throughout the whole community, and must progress until our Manufactures are again resuscitated and that relief afforded by the General Government, whose province alone it is to protect and foster them by such additional Duties and Restrictions as shall enable them to compete with the foreign merchant. It is a fact well known, that the European Nations generally have, since the return of peace, entirely prohibited the introduction of many articles of British Manufactures, and laid very heavy duties on almost all others, they having become in a great measure their own manufacturers, while at the same time the Produce of their soil is not only sufficient for their own consumption, but for exportation. It then necessarily follows that the market for British goods, being cut off in a great degree from those countries, the British merchant, if strong measures are not taken by Congress, will continue to flood the country with their Manufactures, more extensively than they have hitherto, while the means to pay for them are continually diminishing.

From the view the Committee have taken of the subject, they are convinced the time has arrived when we must depend upon our own resources; and that it is not only the interest but the duty of Government to encourage and protect our Manufactures—for, to use the language of Mr. Jefferson, "To be independent of the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves." And again, "We must

now place the Manufacturer by the side of the Agriculturist." The necessity of becoming our own manufacturers is more fully enforced by Mr. Hamilton, who says, "Not only the Wealth, but the Independence and Security of a country appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of Manufactures. Every Nation, with a view to these great objects, ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the essentials of National supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing and defence." The opinion that "Trade will regulate itself," and that "the nation is the most prosperous that purchases where it can obtain the cheapest," is happily exploded, and many who were opposed to Manufactures, have become their most zealous advocates. Among them we find Mr. Jefferson, who says, "Manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort."

The Committee deem it unnecessary to enter further into detail on this subject, believing that sufficient has been said to show the necessity of giving every possible aid and encouragement to our Manufactures, whereby the present distress will be much alleviated, and confidence again restored.

But to effect this, it is evident "that the interference and aid of Government are indispensable."

The Committee respectfully submit the following Preamble and Resolutions for the consideration of the House:

*Whereas*, in the opinion of this Legislature, the distress which pervades our whole country has arisen principally, if not wholly, from the heavy importations of foreign goods, the payment for which, in consequence of the low price and increased demands of our articles of export, having rendered the balance of trade heavily against us, has caused large quantities of specie to be drawn out of the country, and at the same time brought ruin and distress on thousands of our citizens, who had vested their property in manufacturing establishments, which are now entirely unproductive, and rest a dead weight on their hands; And whereas, the capital thus vested and lying dead, if again brought into operation, and the necessary aid afforded by Government to our Manufacturing Interest, the Nation would in a short time possess within itself all the essentials of National Supply, and thereby prevent that impoverishing drain of specie which has tended very much to cripple our monied institutions in their operations, and which must increase, if importations are permitted to the extent they now are, until the precious metals are entirely swept from the country—therefore,

*Resolved*, (if the Honorable the Senate concur herein,) That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their influence to obtain such a revision and regulation of the present Tariff, and in such other manner as shall in their opinion tend so much to reduce the importations of foreign goods as shall effectually protect our own Manufactures.

*Resolved*, (if the Honorable the Senate concur herein,) That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing Resolutions to each of the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States.

*\* Resolved*, (if the Honorable the Senate concur herein,) That it be earnestly recommended to the Members of the Legislature and all Officers of Government of this State, and the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of this State in

*\* Adopted by the Senate.*

Congress, and the Citizens of this State generally, to clothe themselves in the manufactured goods of our country, and to take all practicable means to cause them to be introduced into general use, in preference to those of foreign importations.

*\*Resolved*, (If the Honorable the Senate concur herein,) That measures be taken by the Clerks of the Senate and Assembly of this State to have the foregoing Resolutions published at least three times in two of the public papers in each of the counties in this State.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk deliver a copy of the preceding Resolutions and Recitals to the Honorable the Senate, and request their concurrence in the same.

By order of the Assembly, AARON CLARK, Clerk.

#### STATE OF NEW-YORK.

IN SENATE, March 6, 1829.

*Resolved*, That the Senate do concur with the Honorable the Assembly in their said Resolutions and Recitals.

*Ordered*, That the Clerk deliver a copy of this Resolution of Concurrence to the Honorable the Assembly.

By order. JOHN F. BACON, Clerk.

#### STATE OF NEW-YORK

IN LEGISLATURE, City of Albany, }  
March 7, 1829.

We certify the preceding to be true copies of certain Resolutions and Recitals adopted and passed by the Legislature of New-York, at the time and in the manner and form above contained and set forth.

JOHN TAYLOR, President of the Senate.

JOHN C. SPENCER, Speaker of the Assembly.

N. B. This is a certified copy of the Recitals and Resolutions which followed the Report of the Committee on Trade and Manufactures as reported in Assembly and adopted by the Senate.

Such was the unanimous Voice of New-York in 1820, and our information from all parts of the State leads us to believe that SHE IS UNCHANGED. Intelligent and true to themselves, we are confident that the great mass of her People, Politics aside, are in favor of the Protection of American Industry.

#### Universal Free Trade.

NEW-YORK, March 9, 1842.

To the Editor:

For the last eight years I have been an ardent, untiring advocate of Free Trade, in the belief that it was the only system adapted to develop in the best manner the resources of our Country, the one most consonant to our institutions, and harmonizing best with the spirit of the People. I have thought that levying a Direct Tax for the support of Government was the most certain and the only honest way to raise the ways and means.

I still think that, if the whole world would pursue this plan, it would be infinitely better for all than for each community to shut out by Prohibitory Duties those products which it could not raise for itself. The theory is a beautiful one. It proceeds upon the wholesome principle of 'do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.' It is noble, unselfish and charitable. It carries out to the fullest extent the old proverb that 'honesty is the best policy.' But I am afraid that it is wholly impracticable until all shall be governed by the same generous motives, and Nations obey the Divine precept to 'love their neighbors as themselves.' I have advocated it from a religious conviction of its necessity, its excellence and its beneficial results. The change which has taken place in my own views has probably occurred with others. There may, however, be some entertaining my old views who, perhaps, if they would take the pains to examine their position more thoroughly than they have yet done, would find that in these three grand aspects it is not quite so impregnable as in their generous devotion to abstract truth they have fondly imagined. To them I would say, Cherish still the conviction that

it is best, is right, is expedient for Nations as well as in individuals, to be governed by the highest morality, the highest benevolence, the highest disinterestedness; but remember that the charity which provides not for its own household is worse than the most niggardly selfishness!

The superiority of Free Trade I have supposed to be founded upon the fact that in no other way could a just value be put upon all commodities than by opening all markets to the competition of the whole world. In this manner alone would prices find their natural level.

The excellence of Free Trade I have supposed to be demonstrated by the inevitable deduction that if there were a universal competition, the temptations to fraud, to unwise speculation, to grasping monopolies, would be removed, and false invoices, false swearing at Custom Houses, smuggling and their attendant evils would cease.

The beneficial results, it is evident, would be realized in lower prices, and supposing Free Trade to be universal, a free exchange of commodities and a more certain regulation of Trade.

Now as to the first, it is a matter of history that since the downfall of the Protective System and a reduced scale of prices, values have been fluctuating, competition between our own and foreign merchants has been destroyed by the destruction of our own merchants—so that the Country has actually paid as much for foreign goods since the reduction of duties as it did before, with only this trifling odds that the difference in price has been pocketed by the foreigner, to the ruin of our own merchant and the impoverishment of the Country.

In regard to the second, frauds of all kinds at the Custom House have been multiplied, false invoices are as plentiful as blackberries, and speculations have run to an excess of riot that parallel the frenzy of the South Sea Mania and the Mississippi Scheme.

The beneficial results are found in the decline of the prices of all our own Productions, the stagnation of Business, the ruin of the Mercantile classes, and the reduced value of Land, Labor, and Property of every description.

The history of every commercial Nation is a history of Protective Duties. Foremost in the list is England; Holland has done her part; France is certainly not lukewarm; and all the manufacturing and commercial states of Europe, seem selfishly to prefer their own interests to the welfare of their neighbors. Our chivalrous Southern friends will soon be taught that the Cotton of India will be protected by England to the exclusion of their own, and we shall have the satisfaction of showing to the whole world that in our desire to set them a high example we can, to use a homely phrase, bite off our own noses, quite as closely as ever it has been done before. PAX VOBISCU.

#### Remarks on the above.

Our correspondent is wrong in one of his fundamental positions: *Free Trade would not be uniformly beneficial if it were universal.* Its inevitable effect would be to continue and increase the predominance of any particular nation which had obtained an ascendancy in any branch of business under a different state of things. It would tend to confine the production of Tea to China, Coffee and Sugar to the West Indies, Tobacco, Rice and other

staples each to the particular region wherein its culture (if at all difficult) originated. If Free Trade had been universally established twenty-five years ago, England, from her previously acquired ascendancy alone, would have monopolized most of the Commerce and Manufactures of the world for an indefinite period, greatly to the prejudice of the general well-being. Let none imagine that this preponderance would prove that it is cheapest so, and therefore best for all. Facts prove the contrary. For more than a thousand years Europe imported her Silks over land from India, though they might have been produced on her own soil, after a brief interval of efficient and fostering Protection, at least one hundred per cent. cheaper.—Illinois could now pay for the Cloth she annually consumes vastly cheaper—that is, with less of her Produce—if made on her own soil than if imported; yet, under a system of Free Trade it would inevitably come from England at a less cost in dollars, but more in bushels of grain. We are at this moment buying all our Zinc from Europe at a cost of six to eight cents a pound, when a million tons of it may be made in New-Jersey at a cost of less than six cents. Yet nobody has undertaken to mine it because, if it were undertaken here, the foreigners who now supply us would at once put the price down to the lowest possible point (and the transportation is little or nothing, zinc being often imported as ballast,) and thus ruin the manufacturer, when they could put their prices up to eight or ten cents again.

These are a few instances; we might multiply them, but it is needless. Protection is not the interest of one nation merely but of all nations, and as such we advocate it. A reasonable duty levied by each upon the importation of such articles as it can well produce tends to temper the appetite for exotic luxuries, for foreign goods because they are foreign, and to diffuse over all the earth the knowledge and exercise of the various arts of life. Production is thus rendered more active, Labor finds more varied and constant employment, and a more adequate reward. Free Trade makes Alabama a Cotton Plantation; Jamaica a coffee-field; Sicily a wheat-field; Sheffield a pin factory, &c. &c.—But this policy does not develop men; it does not inform them; neither does it feed them. A largely exporting country is always a poor country; much of its labor is unemployed and unproductive; and very much of the product is consumed in transportation, exchanges, &c. &c. There will be rich merchants and factors in Egypt, Sicily, England, the West Indies, the Planting States, &c. but the Laboring mass will be poor and degraded so long as they do not produce the great bulk of their own necessities of life. Such are the general considerations on which we advocate Protection as a sound principle of National Policy, quite apart from all regard to what other nations

do or may do. We do it not in ill will to other Nations, but in kindness and good feeling to all.

*Ed. Tribune.*

#### Manufactures and Imports.

We take the following table of Manufactures of the United States compared with the Imports of the same articles respectively, from the Washington Globe, where it is published to subvert the cause of Anti-Protection. The reader will understand that the value affixed to the Imported Goods is the Custom House or Importers' Valuation.—The actual value of those Goods was doubtless *One Hundred Millions of Dollars*—at least half of which might have been saved to the country and added to the wages, savings and comforts of its Working Men by efficient Protection. Since September 30, 1840, at which time the years instanced in this statement closes, the importation of several articles included in this table has been largely increased, to the great injury, and often to the utter destruction of the Home Manufacture.—But here is the table:

#### Manufactures of the United States and Imports of Manufactured Goods in 1839-40.

	Home Manufactures.	Imports.
Woolen.....	\$29,696,999	\$6,832,846
Cotton.....	46,350,453	5,504,484
Silk.....	119,814	10,011,750
Flax.....	322,205	435,346
Mixed.....	6,545,503	3,201,000
Tobacco.....	5,819,658	853,833
Machinery.....	10,980,581	—
Hardware, &c.....	6,451,967	2,568,070
Cannon—small arms...	2,654,540	118,589
Precious metals.....	4,734,960	622,549
Various ".....	9,779,442	2,937,000
Granite, &c.....	2,442,950	—
Bricks and lime.....	9,736,945	—
Hats, caps and bonnets,	10,179,848	445,698
Sole leather.....	15,586,258	—
Upper ".....	9,455,670	—
Other ".....	13,134,403	473,091
Soap and candles.....	5,487,436	96,307
Distilled liquors.....	10,356,656	1,592,006
Fermented ".....	4,653,556	148,099
Gunpowder.....	1,077,341	4,521
Drugs, paints, &c.....	4,151,899	2,130,140
Turpentine, &c.....	660,827	—
Glass.....	2,800,208	202,000
Earthenware.....	1,104,825	2,010,231
Sugar.....	7,250,760	5,581,950
Chocolate.....	79,900	1,294
Confectionary.....	1,143,985	103
Paper.....	6,153,092	70,100
Cordage.....	4,078,306	102,938
Musical Instruments..	923,824	—
Carriages and wagons.	10,891,887	—
Flour.....	37,022,810	—
Other produce of mills.	76,545,246	—
Ships built.....	7,016,094	—
Furniture.....	7,555,305	234,751
All other manufactures,	34,785,353	4,000,000
Aggregate value,	\$395,832,615	\$51,145,711



**Speech of Mr. Morris, of Pa.**

Mr. EDWARD J. MORRIS, a young Member of the Pennsylvania Legislature from Philadelphia, delivered on the 4th ult. an able and convincing speech in favor of Protecting American Industry. Not having room for the whole, we give the summing up of his argument at the conclusion, which is as follows :

I shall not pursue this discussion farther, except to glance at the gist of the whole argument against the Tariff—i. e. the old exploded doctrine that it taxes the consumer for the benefit of the manufacturer. A complete refutation of this charge is to be found in the descending prices of American goods since the imposition of the Tariff. Before 1816 the price of a yard of cotton shirting was 35 cents and the wages of a factory boy 50 cents per week; now the same shirting is sold for 6 cts. and wages of the operatives has risen to \$2 00 per week. Thus, before the Tariff, the factory boy could buy only one yard 4-10 for his week's work; under the burdens of the protective system, for his weekly labor he buys 23½ yards, thus proving that the effect of the Tariff has been to raise wages and lessen the prices of articles for wear.

Such has been the effect upon all other fabrics made in the country—upon our woolens, hosierys, and particularly upon our calicoes, which in neatness of pattern, richness of color, and strength of texture, now maintain a successful competition with the English calicoes, both in the domestic and in the foreign market. Our cottons are now produced so cheaply that we have driven the British dealer from the South American market, and we are enabled to compete with him, and the Hindoo, even in the East Indies. I, myself, have heard American cottons cried in the streets of Constantinople, and have seen the voluptuous Turk roll his head in a turban of American cotton, and swathe his luxurious limbs in the cotton stuffs of Lowell and Fall River. Our manufactures now find their way into all the open markets of the world.

Now, sir, from all this wide range of discussion into which I have been driven by the general attacks upon the whole policy of Protective duties, I think the following practical conclusions may be deduced.

1. That no nation has ever become prosperous, powerful, rich or really independent, but by the protection of its own manufactures and productions.

2. That such has been the policy of England, of all the great states of the world, and such the established practice of the Colberts, Sullys, the Walshinghams, the Pitts, the Hamiltons, the Jeffersons, and all the other great statesmen.

3. That such has been the policy of the United States from their origin as a nation to 1833.

4. That the manufactures of this country have been created and developed by the Tariff, and that they are now abundant sources of national wealth.

5. That in the progress of our manufactures, the corn-grower of the West, the cotton-planter of the South, and all the agricultural interests, have been greatly benefitted by the opening of a domestic market.

6. That the charges preferred against the establishment of Manufactures as tending to corrupt and demoralize society are entirely erroneous, as

demonstrated in the condition of the manufacturing population of this country.

7. That the relaxed Tariff tends to excessive importations, which drain the country of specie, and derange all business and monetary operations.

8. That the Protective policy is a policy of self-defence, and necessary to National Independence, evinced in the formation of the German League.

9. That the old cry, that a Protective Tariff is a taxation of the consumer for the benefit of the manufacturer is a fallacy, as evinced in the rapid growth and constant cheapening of Manufactures in this country, since their establishment.

And lastly, in every point of view, National, Political and Social, the Protective System is productive of the greatest benefits.

**The American Laborer.****PROSPECTUS.**

Under the above title the subscribers will publish on the 1st of April, 1842, and on the 1st of each succeeding month a Magazine of Facts, Arguments, Statistics, Speeches, Editorials, &c. &c., devoted exclusively to the advocacy and defence of the policy of PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR against the selfish and grasping policy of Foreign Nations, especially of those with which we chiefly trade, which shut out of their ports the great bulk of our Products, and especially these of our Free Labor, while they gut our markets, bankrupt our Merchants, depreciate our currency and famish our Laborers and Artisans by pouring in upon us the products of their skill and Industry, on the easy terms proffered them by our low and non-Protective Duties. This Magazine will inflexibly and ardently advocate the true American Policy of COUNTERVAILING these gross exactions of Great Britain and other Nations by a system of direct, avowed PROTECTION TO OUR HOME INDUSTRY which shall be thorough and efficient.

THE AMERICAN LABORER will affirm and maintain the policy of encouraging and fostering by wise legislation the establishment and growth in our country of new or yet feeble branches of Industry, such as the Culture of Silk, the Manufacture of whatever fabrics of Wool, Cotton, Iron, &c., may be necessary for the supply of our own wants and to secure and perfect our Independence. It will demonstrate that the true and permanent interests of all, but especially of the Agricultural and Working Classes universally, will be infallibly and signally promoted by adopting and carrying out the Protective Policy, and that the Wages of Labor, the average price of its Produce, and the aggregate Product of the National Industry, will be surely and largely enhanced thereby. In short, this work is intended to form a complete text-book for the friends of Protection, and a thorough refutation at every point, of the pernicious fallacies put forth by the foreign and misguided American apologists for the policy of one-sided Free Trade.

THE AMERICAN LABORER will be published monthly in a large octavo form, each number containing 32 large double-column pages of closely printed matter. Each number will contain one great Speech, Report, or other convincing document, and a variety of shorter articles. The work will form one complete and comprehensive volume of 384 large and fair pages, and will be afforded to single subscribers for seventy-five cents each, three copies for Two Dollars, five copies for Three Dollars, nine copies for Five Dollars, or twenty copies for Ten Dollars. Payment is required in advance, in all cases. The lowest possible price has been fixed in order that its circulation may be rendered universal, should the work receive the approbation of the public.

The several Home Leagues, Agricultural Societies, Mechanics' Associations and individual friends of Protection throughout the Country are earnestly solicited to aid us in extending the circulation of *The Laborer*.

GREELEY & McELRATH, 30 Ann-st. N. York.

New-York, March 4, 1842.

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 2.

Office No. 30 Ann-street,  
Near Astor House, Broadway. }

NEW-YORK, MAY, 1842.

{ Price..75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

OF THIS (MAY) NUMBER:

I..THE NATIONAL CONVENTION—(Editorial).....	Page 33
II..THE NEW TARIFF BILL—(Editorial).....	33
III..EDITORIALS, &c.....	34
IV..PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOME INDUSTRY CONVENTION.....	35 to 42
V..REPORT ON A PREAMBLE TO THE TARIFF— (By J. BLUNT, of New-York).....	42
VI..REPORT ON AUCTION SALES AND FRAUDS ON THE REVENUE—(By W. W. DRINKER, of New-York).....	43 to 45
VII..REPORT ON THE INFLUENCE OF PROTEC- TION—(By C. C. HAVEN, of New-York).....	46 to 47
VIII..THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTECTION—(By H. GREELEY, of New-York).....	47 to 50
IX..REPORT ON CURRENCY—(By G. BACON, of New-York).....	50 to 51
X..REPORT ON IRON, COAL, HARDWARE, &c. (By D. O. KELLOGG, of Troy).....	51 to 52
XI..REPORT ON THE PRODUCTION OF IRON—(By S. OAKLEY, of Brooklyn, N. Y.).....	52 to 55
XII..REPORT ON COAL—(By Dr. J. C. FISHER, of Virginia).....	55 to 56
XIII..REPORT ON HARDWARE—(By P. RIPLEY, of Hartford, Conn.).....	57 to 58
XIV..CUT NAILS, (supplementary to the forego- ing—By J. E. WINSLOW, of Troy, N. Y.).....	58 to 59
XV..WOOD SCREWS—(By ALEX. HODGES, of Providence, R. I.).....	59
XVI..PLATED SADDLERY AND HARDWARE.....	59
XVII..REPORT ON BUTTONS AND PINS—(By E. COOK).....	59 to 60
XVIII..REPORT ON JEWELRY, &c.—(By T. ADDI- SON, of New-York).....	60 to 61
XIX..REPORT ON COMMERCE, with statistics— (By J. GRINNELL, of Mass.).....	61 to 63
XX..REPORT ON COMBS.....	64
XXI..REPORT ON BRUSHES—(By J. S. PLATT, of New-York).....	64

### The National Convention.

We surrender this number of The Laborer al-  
most entirely to the PROCEEDINGS and REPORTS  
of the NATIONAL HOME INDUSTRY CONVENTION,  
which assembled in this City on Tuesday the 5th  
of April and adjourned on the 8th, after a harmo-  
nious *business* session of four days. The Reports  
from the several Committees embody Statistics  
and considerations of the highest interest to every  
portion of the Industrious and Producing Classes  
of our People, and we cannot believe that any  
thing else would be more acceptable to our read-  
ers. We have therefore devoted the whole of this  
number to their publication, and shall make room  
for the residue in our next. These two numbers  
will furnish to our readers at a trifling cost a greater  
amount of reliable and practical information with  
regard to the Resources, Products, Interests and  
true Policy of our young but giant Republic than  
were ever before embodied in any single work.—  
We commend them to universal study and consid-  
eration.

Of the Convention itself we need say only that  
its works will best show forth its praise. It was  
held at an inconvenient season of the year for most

persons to leave their business and visit New-York,  
and while pecuniary difficulties pressed heavily on  
the great mass of our citizens. Over 1,100 Dele-  
gates were chosen to attend it, but only 400 were  
enabled to be present. Yet in those assembled was  
embodied an amount of practical talent, business  
information, and true appreciation of the National  
Interests, which it would be well for the Country  
if Congress and our Legislature would parallel.—  
There was very little speaking, and that little  
short and to the point; while to the Reports and  
Statistics the patient attention of the Members,  
arranged in their several Committees, was mainly  
given. Finally, the Convention adjourned in the  
enthusiastic and confident hope that the prayers of  
the Country will be listened to by Congress, and  
that a Protective Tariff, adequate to the wants and  
promotive of the prosperity of the great Interests  
of the Country, will be sanctioned by Congress.—  
May this expectation not be disap pointed!

### The New Tariff Bill.

MR. SALTONSTALL, from the Committee on  
Manufactures, has made a long and able Report to  
the House of Representatives, accompanied by a  
bill for the revision of the Tariff. This bill pro-  
poses the raising of the duties on imported goods  
generally from the *twenty* per cent. at present  
charged to *thirty* per cent. while on many articles  
it is raised still higher or made specific: For in-  
stance—Iron, Bar, \$17 per ton; Rolled, \$25;  
Pig, \$8; Castings, one cent per lb. and upwards;  
all Manufactures of Iron, still higher—Nail plates,  
two cents per lb.; Nails and Mill Irons three cents;  
Anvils, Anchors, Sledges, &c. two cents. Wool  
and Woolens, about forty per cent on an average;  
Cottons, 7½ cents per square yard and over;  
Bagging three cents; Salt, eight cents per bushel;  
Wheat, twenty-five; Oats and Potatoes ten; Su-  
gar two cents; Refined, six; Molasses, five; Silk  
Goods, \$1.80 per lb. and 15 per cent. Shoes—  
121½ (children's) to 40 cents per pair; Boots 50  
cts. to \$1.25; Wines, 6 to 50 cents per gallon;  
Spirits, 57 to 90 cents. *Auction Sales* of foreign  
goods are subjected to a duty of three per cent;  
and *smuggling*, or fraudulent undervaluation, is  
made a *misdeemeanor*, to be punished by fine and  
imprisonment. Such are the principal provisions  
of this important bill, which, though not perfect  
in its details, is excellent in its general character,  
and, if passed, will operate directly and signally to  
improve the condition and increase the averagere-  
ward of American Labor.

☞ The Report of Mr. SIMMONS to the Senate of the U. States upon the Revision of the Tariff is now daily expected. It will take strong and clear ground in favor of Protection, and will be accompanied by a Tariff bill of corresponding character. We understand it will differ from Mr. Saltonstall's mainly in proposing specific duties more generally and completely.

The debate on these respective bills will probably commence in both Houses very early in May. The General Appropriation, following the Loan bill, has passed the House, and will soon be despatched in the Senate. After this comes the Tariff, if the Apportionment bill does not take the precedence; or perhaps one will be taken up in the House and the other at the same time in the Senate. We apprehend that no Tariff bill will be perfected before June, but meantime, we rejoice in being able to state, the admitted fact that the Duties *must* be augmented is now exerting a most beneficent influence upon the course of business, the prices of securities, and the general condition of the Country.

☞ In the powerful Speech of Mr. SLADE, of Vt. published in No. I, of The Laborer, (page 23, below the middle) there is a reference to a statement of a *South Carolinian*, which was intended to be quoted but omitted by mistake. It is as follows :

"In 1831 (says the writer) the imports of India cotton into England were 75,627 bales : in 1835, 116,152 bales ; and in 1840 we have 216,784 bales—nearly trebled in nine years. The importation in 1839 was 47,233,959 pounds ; and in 1840 76,703,295 pounds—an increase without a parallel in the history of this valuable commodity. In the first quarter of 1840, the imports were 38,611 bales ; and in the same term of 1840, we find 35,433—an increase of 7,822 bales."

☞ The following Delegates have been appointed in pursuance of a vote of the HOME INDUSTRY CONVENTION, to proceed to Washington in behalf of the objects of the Convention.

Gen James Tallmadge, N Y	Edward Cook, N Y
Harnar Denny, Pittsburg, Pa	Julius Pratt, Ct
Joe Grinnell, N Bedford, Ma	Dr J J Howard, Derby, Ct
C C Haven, N Y	S E Hook, N Y
Joseph Blunt, N Y	S E Howard, Burlington, Vt
Saml Oakley, Brooklyn, N Y	Wm A Colgate, N Y
James C Fisher, Va	A S Baker, do
Philip Ripley, Hartford, Ct	W A Crocker, Taunton, Ma
J F Winslow, Troy, N Y	Edward Clark, N Y
R P Hart, do do	James Miller, Newark, N J
John Travers, N Y	S D Hubbard, Middletown, Ct
Wm T Banks, Ky	Nathaniel Bacon, do do
Stephen Warren, Troy, N Y	Jas Brewster, New Haven, Ct
Silas Shepard, Taunton, Ma	Horace Greeley, N Y
Abm Godwin, Paterson, N J	D S Gregory, Jersey City
Wm Burns, N Y	Simoon Ide, Claremont, Nh
J A Underwood, N Y	J H Chittenden, Orwell, Vt
Henry Shaw, Lanesboro', Ma	Saml Bales, Springfield, Ma
Geo M Tibbets, Troy, N Y	T Dwight, Jr, New Haven, Ct
Peter H Schenk, N Y	Stanford Newell, Prov. R I
J L Rathbone, Albany, N Y	Wm Eiebbbaum, Pittsburg, Pa
J J Mapes, N Y	Joseph Gardner, Chester, Pa
John Campbell, N Y	J K Wilson, Wash'ton Co, Pa
David Henderson, Jersey City	Judge J Harwood, Md
Oliver S Strong, do	Levi Thompson, Wilmington, D
George Dummer, do	R E Little, Ill
W A Cox, N Y	L A White, Mich
G C Davis, Northboro', Ma	Anson Hayden, Cleveland, O
Jonathan Trotter, N Y	C M Giddings, do do

☞ We have in type the SPEECH of Mr. HUNTINGTON, of Conn. in the U. S. Senate in defence of Protection to American Industry, which we are anxious to publish, but it is crowded out by the Reports of the Home Industry Convention. It is able and convincing.

☞ The next number of The Laborer will be published as soon as possible—we hope within a week—in order to lay promptly before our readers the remainder of the Reports and Statistics of the Convention.

#### Facts for the People.

It is a fact, that ten years ago we were in prosperous circumstances, and that now we are embarrassed.

It is a fact, that during the operation of a *tariff system*, say 1822 to 1832, we were constantly increasing in prosperity ; and that since under the operation of the *anti-tariff* or free trade system, we have been constantly going back.

It is a fact, that from 1822 to 1832, besides increasing in wealth at home, we paid off a European debt of upwards of One Hundred Millions ; and that from 1832, to 1842 besides decreasing in wealth at home, we have contracted debts in Europe to the amount of upwards of two hundred millions.

It is a fact that ten years ago the farmer could find a good, a ready cash market for his produce, and that now he cannot.

It is a fact, that it is better for the farmer, that the iron he uses, and the woolen and cotton clothing he wants for his family should be manufactured at home, by persons who consume his grain, and beef and pork, than that they be manufactured by those who are not suffered to consume one pound of our domestic produce.

It is a fact, that if we want to promote the interest of the farmer, we must secure to him a good market at home, as we cannot compel foreign nations to purchase our produce.

It is a fact that if we want manufactories to give profitable employment to our citizens, and a good market to our farmers, we must protect our manufacturers by duties on European imports, as otherwise they will be unable to compete with the labor of countries where men are by hunger compelled to work for ten cents a day.

It is a fact, that the present free trade system, between us and England and France consists, in our admitting, either as free, or at low rates of duties, the produce and manufactures of those countries ; while they exclude, by high duties, our produce, except such articles of crude produce as are indispensably necessary to their manufactories, such as cotton, ashes, tanner's bark, &c.

It is a fact, that under our last commercial arrangement with England, the English are fast supplanting our own vessels, in our own ports. On the 25th of Feb., 1842, there were in the port of Savannah, Georgia,

14 English ships of.....9,750 tons.

2 American do.....749 "

12 English barques.....4,928 "

1 American do.....266 "

Besides there were in port, 9 American brigs, chiefly engaged in the coastwise trade.

These facts might be greatly multiplied, but I will not trespass further on the patience of your readers, most of whom, I trust, will agree with me, that, if we want to see the return of better days, we must abandon the humbuggery of free trade, and Southern abstractions, and come back to the teachings of experience and common sense.

Carlisle (Pa.) Gazette.

# HOME INDUSTRY CONVENTION.

## First Day's Session.

### BROADWAY TABERNACLE.

CITY OF NEW-YORK, April 5, 1842.

THE National Home Industry Convention, in pursuance of Public Notice issued by the "Central Committee" of the Home League, convened this day at 11 o'clock, A. M.

The Convention was called to order by Joseph Blunt, Esq., of New-York, on whose motion the Hon. HENRY SHAW, of Massachusetts, was appointed Chairman, and L. D. CHAPIN, of New-York, Secretary.

It was then voted that the Secretary announce the names of the several States, and that the Delegates from the States, as called, rise in their places, in evidence of the States represented in Convention. It was further voted that the Delegates be requested to hand in to the Secretary, their names, and the credentials by which they were constituted members of the Convention.

On motion, it was resolved that a Committee, consisting of two members from each State represented in Convention, be appointed to report permanent officers of the Convention, and that the delegates from each State nominate two of their numbers as members of that Committee. The Committee thus appointed consisted of Messrs. Kendrick, of Maine; Grinnell and Taft, of Massachusetts; Newell and Jackson, of Rhode-Island; Fisher and Ripley, of Connecticut; Doolittle and Button, of Vermont; Schenck and Hart, of New-York; Kinsey and Miller, of New Jersey; Denny and Maxwell, of Pennsylvania; Thompson and McCaibe, of Delaware; R. E. Little, of Illinois; and J. A. White, of Michigan; who thereupon retired in pursuance of their duties.

During the absence of this Committee, the Convention was and ably addressed by numerous gentlemen of the Convention on various important subjects connected with the interests which had called them together. The memorial to Congress of those engaged in the Whale Fishery, was also read, communicating much valuable statistical information.

The Committee having returned to the Convention, reported, through their Chairman, the Hon. Mr. Denny, of Pennsylvania, as follows:

"Resolved, That the appointment of a President, and of one Vice-President from each of the States represented in this Convention, and four Secretaries, be recommended for the due organization of the Convention.

Resolved, unanimously, that the following-gentlemen be proposed as suitable persons to fill the several offices of the Convention, viz.:

## For President:

Gen. JAMES TALLMADGE of New-York.

## Vice Presidents:

Gen. ROBERTSON HALL, of Vermont.  
Hon. HENRY SHAW, of Massachusetts.  
STANFORD NEWELL, of Rhode Island.  
THOMAS K. BRACE, of Connecticut.  
STEPHEN WARREN, of New-York.  
HARMAR DENNEY, of Pennsylvania.  
Hon. MAHLON DICKERSON, of New-Jersey.  
Hon. Judge HOWARD, of Maryland.  
ROBERT E. LITTLE, of Illinois.  
A. J. WHITE, of Michigan.  
ROBERT McCaIBE, of Delaware.

## Secretaries.

L. D. CHAPIN, of N. Y.  
STEPHEN CONGER, of N. J.  
H. D. MAXWELL, of Pa.  
WM. O. BARTLETT, of Massa.

Resolved, That the President be authorized to fill the vacancies in the number of Vice-Presidents, from the Delegates, as the representatives of other States respectively appear."

The above nominations being submitted to a vote of the Convention, they were unanimously elected its officers.

The President, on taking the Chair, addressed the Convention, in acknowledgment of obligations, and with signal force and ability, upon various topics meriting the attention of that body.

On motion of Mr. Drinker, of New York, it was unanimously voted that the deliberations of the Convention be opened by prayer. The President thereupon invited to the desk the Rev. Mr. Choules, of New York, who fervently addressed the Supreme Being.

Dr. Fisher, of Va., offered the following resolution, which was adopted:—

"Resolved, that a committee of one from each State be appointed, whose duty it shall be to bring forward business in suitable form for the consideration and action of this Convention—embracing agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the mechanic arts, and the labor of the country."

The members of this committee having been nominated by the Convention, were duly appointed, as follows:—

Messrs. Deany, of Pennsylvania; Grinnell, of Massachusetts; Chittenden, of Vermont; Ripley, of Connecticut; Norton, of New York; Hodges, of Rhode Island; Godwin, of New Jersey; Thompson, of Delaware; White, of Michigan; Banks, of Kentucky; Fisher, of Virginia.

On motion of Mr. Mapes, of New York, the "Central Committee" of the Home League was added to the above committee.

It was then voted that this committee be instructed to report sub-committees, to make distinct reports on the several subjects they may recom-

mend for the consideration of the Convention.

The President, then, on motion, was instructed to invite gentlemen in attendance from other States, and who may not have been formally delegated, to take seats in the Convention.

It was farther voted that a committee be appointed to propose rules for the government of this Convention. Whereupon the Chair appointed Messrs. Drinker, Shaw, and Clark that committee.

It was then voted that when this Convention adjourns, it be adjourned to meet in this building to-morrow at nine o'clock, A. M. Whereupon the Convention adjourned.

### Second Day's Session.

CITY OF NEW YORK, APRIL 6, 1842.

The National Home Industry Convention assembled this day at nine o'clock, A. M., agreeable to adjournment.

The Convention having been called to order by the Chair, the Secretary read the proceedings of the previous day; when, on motion, the report was duly approved by the Convention.

Mr. Drinker, from the Committee appointed to report rules of government for the Convention, submitted the report of the committee, which, on motion, was accepted, and the rules were unanimously adopted—as follows:—

“The Committee appointed to present rules for the government of the Convention of the Friends of Home Industry respectfully report—

1st. That the journal of the proceedings be read.

2d. That the President call for reports of committees.

3d. That all motions or questions be decided by a majority of the Convention.

4th. That no remarks relative to the political parties of the day, or of a party character, be entertained.

5th. That no member speak more than twice on any question without leave of the Convention.

6th. That in all other proceedings, the Convention be governed by the usual Parliamentary rules.”

Delegates not in attendance on the call of the States on the preceding day were requested by the Chair to present their credentials, when many who had since arrived in the city were duly qualified and took their seats in the Convention.

Hon. Mr. Denny, from the committee of one from each State represented in Convention, appointed to bring forward business in form for the consideration of the Convention, reported the proceedings of that committee; the various subjects deemed to be necessary for the action of the Convention, and the several appropriate sub-committees, in part, appointed to report thereupon. The report having been read, the subjects and their committees were severally considered, and, after some amendments, approved of, and other members added by the Convention to the committees not yet full. The report was then, on motion, re-

ferred to the committee for completion. The committees constituted were as follows:—

1. On the subject of Agriculture, as affected by the legislation of other countries, and the Protection of American Labor:

Messrs. Denny, R. C. Nicholas, Norton, Rev. J. O. Choules, J. W. Thompson, Walsh of N. Y., B. Taft of Mass., Spooner of Brooklyn, L. L., S. Carpenter of Mass., R. L. Allen of N. Y.

2. On Iron and Coal and the Manufactures of Iron:

Messrs. S. Oakley, P. Ripley, Hon. Wm. Wilkins, Winslow, Fisher of Va., Murphy, R. P. Hart, J. Gardner, Ryerson of N. J., Kellogg, Dr. Howe, Dwight of Ct., C. B. Barton of N. Y., Bergen, Trask of Mass., Covert, Burden, B. Ayrig of Pa.

3. On Paper and the Manufactures thereof:

Messrs. John Campbell, Wm. Eichbaum, J. J. Mapes.

4. On Salt and the Fisheries:

Messrs. J. Arnold of Mass., and D. R. Green.

5. On Mineral Productions of the United States other than Iron and the Manufactures thereof:

Messrs. Wm. A. Crocker, J. P. Simpson, R. P. Hart, Ives of Ct.

6. On Wool and Woolen Goods:

Messrs. Henry Shaw, Peter H. Schenck, Murphy, Haven, Chittenden, G. M. Tibbets of Troy, J. L. Rathbone of Albany, J. Pettit of Cayuga, S. Beach of Mass., D. O. Kellogg, Kirby, and W. DeForest.

7. On Cotton and Silk Manufactures:

Messrs. Shepperd, Gen. A. Godwin, N. B. Craig, A. Hodge, Austin Durham, Alex. Walsh, S. Holbrook, Wm. G. Lambert of N. Y., Wm. Burnes, J. A. Underwood, Gen. Nettleton of Springfield, Mass.

8. On Glass and Earthen Ware:

Messrs. Henderson, T. B. Wakeman, Edward Cook, Joseph Porter of N. J., and T. H. Whitney.

9. On Ready-made Clothing:

Messrs. A. S. Baker, Caleb Lee of Pa., and Prentiss of R. I. 10. On Leather and Manufactures of Leather: Messrs. Asaph Rice of Mass., Cox of Troy, Geo. C. Davis of Mass., Jona. Trotter of N. Y., Joseph Hunt, and Joseph Smith.

11. On Flax, Hemp, and the Manufactures thereof:

Messrs. Wm. T. Banks, John Travers, T. B. Wakeman.

12. On Sugar and Sugar Refining:

Messrs. J. J. Mapes, J. W. Thompson, Del., Gen. A. Chandler, Wm. A. Cox.

13. On Bonnets, Hats and the Manufactures of Straw, Palm Leaf, &c.

Messrs. E. Clark, W. A. F. Sproat, of R. I.

14. On Soap and Candles:

Mr. W. A. Colgate.

15. On Brushes, Bellows and Combs:

Messrs. John G. McMurray, C. C. Haven, [excused] L. C. Ives of Ct., Platt, H. Cary, Cook and Howard.

16. On Buttons and Pins:

Messrs. Edward Cook, N. Y. John I. Cowles, T. Slocum

17. On Mechanic Arts not enumerated:

Messrs. J. Brewster of Ct. C. Andrews of Paterson, N. J. A. Miller of Newark, N. J. Bacon, Holmes, T. B. Stillman, M. R. Hoe, T. R. Fisher, S. Myrick.

18. On the General Interest of Manufactures, the Labor of the Country and the necessity of Protection:

Messrs. H. Greeley, N. Y., S. E. Howard, Vt. Newall, R. I. and H. D. Maxwell, Pa.

19. On the Influence which Protection will have on the General Interests of the Country:

Messrs. C. C. Haven, S. Warren, S. E. Howard.

20. To Memorialize Congress, requesting that in modifying the Tariff, a Presamble be adopted, similar to that of 1789:

Messrs. J. Blunt, A. Chandler, C. Jackson.

21. On the relations of Protection to the Currency:

Messrs. Bacon, Wakeman, Sproat, Tibbets, H. Shaw Beach of Conn.

22. On the subject of Jewelry:

E. J. Hoyt, H. Edson, McFadden, J. M. Ward, of R. I., J. E. Hyde,

23. On Finance and the Expenses of the Convention:

Gen. Godwin, W. W. Driaker, M. E. Thompson, A. Chandler.

24. On Resolutions:

Hon. H. Denny, R. F. Hart, Haven, J. W. Thompson, Ripley.

25. On Duties on Foreign Goods sold at Auction: Messrs. Driaker, Hart, Starkweather.

26. On the Sale of Foreign Goods by Auction: Messrs. D. Miller, H. Norton, J. Blunt, and J. C. Starkweather.

A motion to add to the subjects enumerated in the above report that of "The Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals," after some debate, was lost.

A motion being made, that the several committees appointed to report upon the subjects submitted for the consideration of the Convention, be requested to retire during the session of the Convention, for the purpose of discharging their duties, a debate sprung up which resulted in a modification of the motion, and the committees were thereupon allowed leave so to retire during the session.

The President intimating the absence of Stephen Warren, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, and his inability to be present during the Convention, nominated Hon. George M. Tibbits, of the same place, who thereupon was unanimously appointed one of the Vice-Presidents.

Mr. Denny, from the Committee on Business, before-mentioned, further reported a series of resolutions, which were discussed at length by several gentlemen of the Convention. Messrs. Mapes, of New-York, and Stewart, of Utica, addressed the Convention upon the general objects of the Convention, and the interests involved in its deliberations, with much ability and effect. The question then being taken on the resolutions, separately, the first four, and the seventh, were unanimously adopted, and the others, after some further debate, were laid on the table. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That the depressed state of the Agricultural, Manufacturing and Commercial interests of the whole country calls loudly for the interposition of the General Government, the only power which can constitutionally adopt and carry out measures, now absolutely necessary for the relief of the people.

2. *Resolved*, That the Commercial arrangements and protective Legislation of foreign governments, and the strenuous efforts by foreigners to obtain the control of the American Market, imperatively demand that the shield of protection should be thrown over the American Laborer, no matter in what department of industry he may be occupied.

3. *Resolved*, That in the present embarrassed condition of the National Treasury and the finances of several of the States, prompt and efficient measures by Congress for the adequate protection of the industry of the country, giving to it life, vigor, and renewed activity, will be among the best means of preserving the National Credit and restoring to a sound condition and proper level that of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That based as our Government is on the intelligence of the whole community, the permanence of our free institutions imperiously demands that the labor of the country be constantly, steadily, and efficiently protected—that our laboring classes, on whom the chief responsibility of maintaining them rests, may not be reduced to the degraded and starving condition of the laboring classes throughout the rest of the world.

Mr. Tibbits here submitted a resolution, which was referred to the above Committee on Business.

The 7th Resolution was then referred to the Committee on Commerce.

7. *Resolved*, That a warehousing system for the bonding of Goods on American Account exclusively may be judicious, but a general bonding system giving similar advantages to importers of goods on foreign account, would be an evasion of the Cash duty system and an injury to American Commerce and Home Industry.

[Referred to Committee on Commerce.]

The Secretaries, on motion, were requested to

make out a list of the Committees, and the rooms to which they are to be respectively assigned.

The Secretary, Mr. Chapin, here presented to the Convention, from Mr. Aycrigg, recently from Washington, the late report of the Chairman on Manufactures of the United States House of Representatives.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Godwin, of New-Jersey, asked leave of the Chair to call the attention of that Committee to a meeting immediately after adjournment.

Whereupon, Mr. Stewart, of Utica, moved that each member of the Convention pay \$1, in part payment of the various expenses incurred by the Convention, and for other purposes, in carrying out its objects, which motion was unanimously agreed to. The Secretary was, thereupon, requested to receive the amount thus paid in.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That protection to the labor and capital of this country, and the acquisition of reciprocal benefits from foreign commerce, should be provided for by laws of Congress rather than by treaty stipulations.

On motion, it was then voted, that when this Convention adjourn, it be adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at this place, and at 10 o'clock, A. M. And thereupon the Convention adjourned.

### Third Day's Session.

NEW-YORK, April 7, 1842.

THE National Home Industry Convention assembled this day, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock, A. M. On the call of the Convention to order, by the Chair, the Secretary read the proceedings of the previous day's session, and his report was approved.

Mr. Denny, from the Committee on Business, moved the appointment of a Committee on the subject of *Books*, and submitted the names of the gentlemen selected to compose that Committee. The motion was adopted, and the committee appointed, as follows; Messrs. Lockwood, Chapin, Van Orden and Wakeman.

The subject of reports being in order, Mr. Mapes, from the Committee on "*Sugar and Sugar Refining*," submitted at length a report on those subjects, which was, on motion, accepted.

Mr. Blunt, from the Committee appointed to memorialize Congress, calling for the use by that body, in its modification of the Tariff of Duties, of the preamble to the Revenue Act of the 4th of July, 1778, reported such memorial; which, being slightly amended, was agreed to and adopted.

Mr. Oakley, from the Committee on "Iron and Coal, and the Manufactures of Iron," proposed the division of the subject submitted to the Committee, whereupon Messrs. Kellogg, Oakley, Fisher, Winslow, and Ripley, reported on the important branches of those subjects. The reports were severally and unanimously agreed to.

On motion, Messrs. Whiting, Napier, Nelson and Miles were added to the Committee on Bonnets, Hats, and the Manufactures of Straw, Palm Leaf, &c.

Hon. Mr. Shaw, from the Committee on "Wool and Woollen Goods," submitted a report on those subjects, which having been read, was, by request of the Chairman, referred back to the Committee to be transcribed under their direction.

It was then voted that the several Committees have leave to prepare their reports, if desired, for publication.

Mr. Drinker, from the Committee on "Foreign Goods sold at Auction, and Frauds on the Revenue," reported at length; when, a slight amendment having been suggested by Mr. Schenck, the report was referred back to the Committee for reconsideration, with leave to report on a subsequent day.

The Business Committee reported through their Chairman, a resolution that a Committee be raised on the subjects of Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus, and submitted the names of Judge White, Col. C. J. Clark, Dr. Fisher, A. D. Fry and Isaac Edge, as that Committee. The resolution was adopted, and the above Committee appointed.

Mr. Horace Greeley, from the Committee to whom had been assigned the duty to report on "the General Interests of Manufactures, the Labor of the Country, and the necessity of Protection," submitted the report of that Committee, which was accepted.

Mr. C. C. Haven, from the Committee on "The Influence which protection to Home Labor and reciprocal Commerce with Foreign Nations, will have on the general Interests of the Country," reported. Whereupon, some remarks being made as to the meaning of certain clauses in the report, it was, on motion, temporarily recommitted for explanation, and subsequently reported and agreed to.

Dr. J. Thompson, from the Business Committee, called up for consideration the 8th resolution submitted by the Committee, and laid on the table on the previous day, and as now amended by the the Committee. After some spirited remarks this resolution was adopted, as follows:

*Resolved*, That it is hereby recommended to the friends of the American Industry throughout the States, the more effectually to encourage and protect Home Products and Domestic Manufactures, that individuals as well as families and communities, should consume and wear, as far as practicable, American Goods, and the products of their own soil, labor and skill, in preference to those of foreign productions, especially those of countries which refuse us reciprocal Commercial relations.

On motion, by consent of the Finance Committee, it was voted that the assessment of \$1 on each member be increased to \$5, with the view to enable the Committees to publish their reports, and for other expenses of the Convention.

A report having been submitted on the subject of plate, saddlery and hardware, it was referred to the Committee on Iron and its manufactures.

The President here remarked, that an impression having prevailed that the merchants were hostile to the object of this Convention, he was happy to correct the error by assuring the Convention that he felt authorized to say that they were generally and zealously with us in feeling and sentiment.

The Chair further stated, that Messrs. David Felt, and Boardman and Hart, of this city, had generously presented the Convention, its paper, ink stands and other stationery of domestic manufacture, when, on motion, it was voted that the thanks of the Convention be presented to those gentlemen. The Convention then adjourned, to meet the next day at 10 o'clock, A. M.

#### Fourth Day's Session.

NEW YORK, APRIL 8, 1842.

The Home Industry Convention assembled this day at ten o'clock, A.M.

Order having been called by the President, the

Secretary read the proceedings of the previous day's session, when, after a slight amendment, the records were, on motion, approved.

The Business Committee submitted a resolution, that a Committee of three be appointed for the purpose of receiving pecuniary aid, in publishing the documents and proceedings of the Convention, which was adopted, and the Committee appointed.

The President submitted to the Convention a communication from Ex-Governor Kent, of Maine, whereupon it was voted that the same be duly noticed on the records of the Convention.

Mr. Joseph Grinnell, of Mass., from the Committee on Commerce, reported on that subject. The report, on the suggestion of the Chair, was temporarily re-committed.

Messrs. Cook and Wood, from the Committee on Buttons and Pins, reported, and their report was adopted.

The Secretary, Mr. Maxwell, read the report of the Committee on Combs, which was likewise adopted.

The President here alluded, in some forcible and pertinent remarks, to the multiplication of labor by British machinery, and the consequent disadvantages of American mechanics competing with foreign manufactures.

Dr. Fisher, of Va., from the Committee on Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus, reported, and the report was agreed to.

The Secretary read the Report from the Committee on the subject of Leather, and the manufacture of Leather, which was accepted.

Hon. Mr. Denny, of Penn., made a report, in part, on the subject of Agriculture, accompanied by explanatory remarks, which were followed by those of several members of the Convention. The report having been accepted, it was voted that the Committee have leave to report more at large at a subsequent day.

The report from the Committee on Commerce having been slightly amended, in conformity with various suggestions, was again presented and unanimously approved.

Mr. Shepard, of Mass., from the Committee on Cotton and Silk, and goods manufactured of these materials, reported on the first branch of these subjects. A report on the latter branch was subsequently handed in, but not read.

Mr. Arnold, of Mass., from the Committee on the Whale Fishery, Salt, &c., reported, and the report was accepted. An accompanying report was handed in by the same gentleman on the Cod Fishery.

Mr. Bacon, of New York, from the Committee on Currency, &c., reported on that subject, and the report was accepted. A supplementary report was presented by Mr. Treadwell, which was also accepted.

Mr. Clark, of New York, from the Committee on Hats, Caps, Bonnets, &c., reported, and the report was accepted.

Reports on the Mechanic Arts, not enumerated, on Ready-made Clothing, and on Silk, &c., were severally handed in, but the reading of them was dispensed with, the Convention being about to adjourn.

The Committee on Glass and Earthenware also reported, and asked the re-commitment of the report for the purpose of further enlargement, which was granted.

Mr. Haven, from the Business Committee, reported a resolution of some length on the subject of the Public Lands, which, after discussion, was laid on the table.

The Secretary, Mr. Chapin, here stated, on being called on by the Chair, that the number of delegates duly appointed by the various Home Leagues and other associations and meetings throughout the country, as appeared by the credentials in his possession, was over *eleven hundred*. But that about four hundred only appeared to have attended the Convention. The notices, printed and otherwise, accompanying these credentials, gave, however, the most satisfactory assurances of the great interest, and numbers attending the meetings at which the delegates had been appointed, in the various States from which they had been delegated.

On motion, it was voted that the supplementary report on the subject of currency be re-considered. It was then moved that it lie on the table, which was carried.

Mr. Bartlett, of Mass., one of the Secretaries, offered the following resolution, which was passed unanimously:—

*"Resolved, that we recommend to our friends in all parts of the country, to hold mass meetings for the expression of public sentiment on the subject of protection to American labor."*

Dr. Fisher, of Va., offered the following resolution, which was adopted:—

*"Resolved, that the several committees which have, in accordance with their duties, reported to this Convention, be requested to appoint one of their number to constitute a general committee for the purpose of arranging the several reports for publication, if they deem it advisable; and, also, that said general committee be requested to proceed to Washington city, for the purpose of submitting the statistics embodied in said reports to the appropriate committees of Congress."*

On motion of Gen. Godwin, of N. J., it was unanimously

*"Resolved, that this Convention approves of the formation of the Home League, constituted by the Convention held in October last, which was authorized to convoke an Annual Convention, to be held sometime during the Fair of the American Institute in New York, and that the members of this Convention are desired to aid in getting up such a Convention in October next, from all the various sections of the country; and for that purpose, each individual present is desired to use his exertions to have Home Leagues formed in every district of the country where his influence extends; and that the committee representing the Primary League be requested to cause early and extensive notice to be given of the Convention to meet as aforesaid."*

It was then moved that the reports submitted to this Convention, together with the various proceedings thereof, be committed to the Secretary, Mr. Chapin; that he be instructed to prepare them, and that they be published under his supervision. The Secretary declining to assume all the responsibility proposed, moved to amend the motion, by first referring them to the "Central Committee" of the U. S. Home League. The motion, then, as amended, was unanimously passed.

On motion of Mr. Oakley, of N. J., it was unanimously voted, that the thanks of this Convention

be given to the President, and the other officers of this Convention.

The Chair responded to this vote in a brief but eloquent manner.

The Convention then adjourned.

LORING CHAPIN, N. Y.  
Dr. STEPHEN CONGER, N. J.  
HENRY D. MAXWELL, PENN.  
WM. O. BARTLETT, MASS.

# **Report of the Secretary of the Primary U. S. Home League, to the National Industry Convention.**

It is probably not unknown to the majority of this Convention that, in pursuance of public notice and of arrangements made by the American Institute of the city of New-York, a Convention of the friends of Home Industry and generally of American interests was convened in this city, on the 15th of October last. The proceedings of that Convention, though published in the public papers and issued in a circular form by a standing or "Central Committee" duly appointed by the Convention, may require to be briefly recapitulated on this occasion, as the basis of the present Convention.

That Convention was organized by the appointment of Gen. James Talmadge, of the city of New York, as President. Hon. Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey; J. Brewster, Esq., of Connecticut; Judge Harwood, of Maryland, and George Field, Esq., of Florida, as Vice Presidents. Loring D. Chapin of New York, Melvin Copeland of Connecticut and L. A. Sykes of New Jersey, as Secretaries.

There were duly represented at this Convention *seventeen* States and Territories, by a delegation consisting of one hundred and ninety-four members.

The Convention, after preliminary transactions, then unanimously resolved itself into "*THE HOME LEAGUE; for the protection of American Labor and the promotion of reciprocal Commerce.*"

A plan of business having been submitted to the Convention, by a committee appointed for that purpose, a series of Resolutions was reported and unanimously adopted, expressive of the views and objects of The Home League. A committee of one from each State and Territory represented in convention, was thereupon appointed, "to report a plan of organization for The Home League, adapted to states and counties," and designed as a permanent and efficient organization, to carry out the objects and national interests for which the Convention had been called. This committee subsequently reported the following *Preamble, Constitution and Central Committee*; which, upon due deliberation, were unanimously approved and adopted.

*"Whereas, The Agricultural, Commercial, Manufacturing, and Financial interests of the people of the United States, may be promoted by the accumulation and diffusion of facts in relation to them, by means of an Association extending through, and embracing all classes and departments of society; therefore the undersigned do adopt as follows:*

## **THE CONSTITUTION.**

Article 1st. This Association shall be denominated "*The Home League for the Protection of American Labor; and the Promotion of Reciprocal Commerce.*"

Art. 2. Any persons subscribing to this Constitution and paying into its Treasury the sum of one dollar annually, or at any one time the sum of five



dollars, shall be a member of this League, and entitled to all its benefits and privileges.

Art. 3. The officers of the League shall be a President and four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding and Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Central Committee of twelve, to be chosen annually by the members as directed in the by-laws, and the Presidents of the State branches shall be *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents of the Home League.

Art. 4. In each State the League shall form a Central Association to promote the objects of the League, with auxiliary branches in the principal towns and counties, and at each annual meeting delegates are to be appointed to attend at the annual meeting of the Home League.

Art. 5. The stated annual meeting of the Association shall be in the city of New York, during the Fair of the American Institute, when its officers and Central Committee shall be chosen by a majority of voters present.

Art. 6. By-laws for the government of the League shall be enacted by the respective Associations for their own government.

The committees further reported the organization of the Central Committee, as follows; whereupon the members were duly elected by the Convention for the ensuing year;

#### CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

J. Blunt, C. C. Haven, Gen. A. Chandler, Geo. Bacon, New York; R. H. Pruyn, Albany; Joseph Burden, Troy; Col. Charles S. Morgan, Richmond, Va.; Melvin Copeland, Conn.; Benjamin F. Reeves, Philadelphia; Samuel W. Lawrence, Boston, Mass.; William B. Kinney, New Jersey; George B. Holmes, Providence, R. I.

I. TRAVERS, of N. Y., Corresponding Secretary.

L. D. CHAPIN, of N. Y., Recording Secretary.

WILLIAM G. LAMBERT, New York, Treasurer.

The Home League thereafter proceeded to discuss at length the various interests connected with, and the important objects to be accomplished, by its organization, more especially in behalf of the industrial classes of our countrymen; and also to pass resolutions in pursuance of the principles adopted as the sense of the Convention. A Committee was then appointed to address the public at a subsequent day, on the leading interests embraced by the deliberations and conclusions of the Meeting. After further discussion, and the Communication of much important information by the numerous Delegates present, the Convention adjourned.

(A more particular record of the proceedings of this Convention will be found in the Secretary's Report, issued in a Circular form by the "Central Committee.")

The Committee, to which had been referred the subject of an Address to the public, duly reported; and the Address has since been published, and spread before the public in a pamphlet form.

In conformity with the duties with which the Central Committee were deemed to be charged by their appointment, they have proceeded *ad interim* to call and to promote the organization of State and other Auxiliary Associations in various parts of the country; and it has been with the liveliest feelings of pleasure that they have witnessed their efforts crowned with unexpected success. In the discharge of these duties, it should be the special service of the Committee to acknowledge their obligations to the noble and important aid and co-

operation of the New York State Home League, whose zealous and talented members have contributed so largely to the success which has characterized the dissemination of our principles, both here and abroad.

This large and efficient Association completed its organization on the 23d December last, by the adoption of a Constitution, and the appointment, among its other officers, of fifty-eight Vice-Presidents, or one for each county in this State, with instructions to aid in the formation of auxiliary county and town Home Leagues. Numerous large and efficient Auxiliary Associations have thus been formed in very many of the counties, towns, and cities in the State of New York, all designed expressly "for the protection of American labor and the promotion of reciprocal commerce."

It might seem needless to add, in this place, that these Associations among the producing classes of our fellow citizens, whose interests have thus been consulted by a free and honest interchange of sentiment, regardless alike of party distinctions and of local interests, have been productive of the greatest good, in awakening the attention of the people to existing evils, and to their legitimate remedies.

It is with no less pleasure that the Committee and the friends of domestic interests generally, are enabled to state, that Auxiliary, State, County and Town Home Leagues have been formed for the same great national purposes, throughout the country—in the Southern and Western, as well as in the Middle and Eastern States.

This fact is deemed to be the most certain and flattering evidence of the favorable decision of the people upon the principles advocated by the Home League; that the people have become aroused to a sense of what constitutes their true and permanent interests, and that without adequate encouragement to home industry—a system of self-protection and of settled financial policy, based on this all important interest—we look in vain for individual or national prosperity. Nor can it be unworthy of special congratulation that our countrymen of the South are becoming, as is seen by daily evidences, and for clearly established reasons, profoundly sensible of the important truth, that *their* best and permanent interests are intimately and necessarily identified with those of the North and West.

In the further exercise of what they deemed to be a duty at this crisis of our industrial and national affairs, and for the single purpose of further promoting the general good, the Central Committee have called this Convention by the following circular:

#### NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Home League, held at the American Institute, in the city of New York, on the 19th day of January, 1842, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

*Whereas*, It is universally conceded that a readjustment of the tariff should be made before July next; and whereas, the efforts of those opposed to any discrimination in favor of American Industry have hitherto been effectual in preventing any proper inquiry by a committee of Congress for the purpose of laying before that body authentic information as to the effect of such duties upon domestic industry and the interests of the country; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the friends of American Industry and Reciprocal Commerce, and the supporters of Home Interests, be requested to meet in National Convention, in the city of New York, on Tuesday, the 5th day of April next, at 11 o'clock, A. M., to furnish information and devise measures which shall tend to protect existing interests, and to secure in future the labor and enterprise of the country, from the ruinous effects of novel and hazardous experiments at home, and hostile legislation abroad.

*Resolved*, That the respective branches of the Home League in the several States, together with all agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, commercial, and internal improvement associations throughout the country, be requested to collect and transmit, through their delegates, to the Convention, all such authentic information as shall illustrate the necessity of promoting and sustaining American Interests.

Signed, JOSEPH BLUNT,  
ADONIRAM CHANDLER,  
C. C. HAVEN,  
JOHN TRAVERS,  
L. D. CHAPIN,  
WILLIAM G. LAMBERT,  
JAMES C. FISHER.

The Committee addressed a circular to editors and publishers in various parts of the country, accompanied by the above notice, asking their co-operation in giving publicity to the call for the Convention; yet, from local and party prejudices, the call has been very limited in comparison with the importance of the occasion. The N. Y. State Home League has followed up and sustained this call, and the duties devolving, as a consequence, upon the Committee, with a zeal and patriotism meriting the praise and gratitude of every friend of the country. By its weekly and crowded meetings, at which have been discussed with signal ability, not only by our own citizens but by visitors from many other States the great interests involved in our national legislation upon home policy, it has widely diffused information, and inspired an increasing confidence in the justice and importance of our cause.

Communications have been received from Auxiliary Associations, from numerous branches of industry, and from distinguished friends of home interests, transmitting much valuable statistical information. Nor has the League failed to furnish others with such data, in all instances where it might prove useful, or aid the deliberations of those interested in the prospective measure of a tariff of duties. The several committees have zealously and promptly discharged their oftentimes arduous duties; and their reports and inquiries have been at various times spread before the public. All interrogatories, propounded by deliberative bodies, have likewise been as carefully answered, as the sources of information have permitted. And, in this connection, it should be stated, that it was a paramount object in the call of this Convention, to elicit, by a free interchange of opinion and of facts among our countrymen, such information touching this subject as might aid the American people in arriving at safe conclusions, and in enabling their congressional representatives to execute their will.

These subjects and transactions, (minute records of which have been kept) still continue to

engage the attention of the Home League, the Committees, and Auxiliary Associations, more than one hundred of which have already been formed in various sections of the country. And such will, hereafter, constitute the duties imposed upon them, not only by the constitutions which they have adopted, but by a deep sense of the obligations they owe their country at this crisis, by a solemn conviction of the necessity of action by the people, and a consciousness of the purity and singleness of their motives. The demon of party spirit has never been suffered, for a moment, to invade their halls of deliberation, nor have sectional or partizan interests been allowed to obtrude themselves into debate, or to warp the conclusions to which they have arrived. The patriotic of all parties, and from every section of the land, have at all times, been invited to unite in their investigations, for the single purpose of promoting the public good.

And it has been with no common pleasure that they have found such equally interested in discussing "protection to American labor and the establishment of reciprocal commerce." Regardless, alike, of the puny shafts of politicians and the prejudices of the selfish, they have pursued their inquiries and deliberations, as they set out, for the sole purpose of arriving at truth, and with a fearless and honest intention of executing its mandates. In this, they have the proud satisfaction to say, that they have been sustained and borne forward by the concurrent force of popular opinion and the united efforts of the people, in a manner neither anticipated by us nor appreciated by our opponents. So wide-spread and overwhelming, even now, is that opinion, that we hazard nothing in saying, that should the people's representatives longer misrepresent their interests and demands, such representatives will soon have the singular distinction, if such they covet, of standing "solemnly eminent and alone." The people have, indeed, emphatically spoken; and their voice, now reverberating from the east to the west and from the north to the south, is heard in no equivocal echoes from the national halls at Washington.

Justice demands, on this occasion, from the committee, and from every friend of Home industry, an expression of obligation to the *American Institute of New-York*, for its efficient and disinterested efforts, at all times, for the promotion of American interests, and especially at this time, for the signal service gratuitously rendered the Home League, in furnishing its ample and accommodating halls for the meetings and the transactions of the various other interests of the friends of American industry; in addition to the great associate objects for which the institution has been so long and so honorably distinguished.

With these general remarks in reference to what has been done at this point of our country; and, without alluding to the details of business and statistical inquiry, which may, in due order of time and place, subserve the interests of this Convention,—with an earnest desire to hear from the numerous delegates in attendance from other sections of our land;—to listen to and be instructed by their collected wisdom, and to note their deliberations and conclusions for the benefit of others—the committee, with those aiding in calling this Convention, beg leave, most respectfully, to submit to their pleasure the further proceedings of this Con-

vention. It has been to commune with you, gentlemen, on a great, and now peculiarly-interesting question of national policy and of necessity; to concentrate the practical knowledge and embody the wishes of the American people on the vital interests of protection to their industry, and the establishment of a reciprocal foreign commerce, that your deliberative wisdom has been invoked on this occasion. And now, gentlemen, yielding to your wishes and better judgment in all things, the blessings of Heaven are entreated on your deliberations. LORING D. CHAPIN, Secretary.

## REPORT ON A PREAMBLE TO THE TARIFF.

Mr. J. BLUNT, from the committee appointed to consider the subject of a Preamble to the new Tariff Act, similar to that prefixed to the Act of 1789, reported the following Memorial:

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:*

Your memorialists respectfully represent, that previous to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the jealousy of the States and a desire to attract to their ports an undue portion of goods imported for general consumption, prevented the establishment of any general policy; and the American market was left open to the influx of foreign goods, and the whole country was thus flooded with European manufactures, breaking down the American workman and exhausting the country of its currency, in payment for articles, which, if produced by domestic industry, might have been paid for by those productions of our soil, the importation of which from the United States was prohibited by the commercial regulations of Europe.

That the prostrate condition of the country under this unequal system—prohibition and monopoly on one side, and free trade on the other—had produced a general conviction of the necessity of creating some adequate power to remedy the evil; and the result of this conviction was the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which, it cannot be denied by any conversant with our history, was framed with the express design of creating a government to regulate the commerce and protect the industry of the country. With this view the distinguished men who framed the Constitution, and who were selected upon its adoption by their fellow-citizens to organize the Government, as the very first step toward the re-establishment of prosperity, proposed a system of duties on imported goods. On the 8th of April, 1789, the oath to support the constitution was administered to Congress, and immediately after the House was thus organized, and with this solemn promise fresh in their minds, these wise and patriotic men resolved

themselves into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. Mr. Madison then introduced his propositions to levy certain duties on imported goods as the first and most important business for their consideration. Out of these propositions, after a discussion which lasted nearly three months, was framed the first revenue act of the United States. The preamble to this Act is in the following words: "Whereas, it is necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandizes imported."

This is the second act passed by Congress, and it immediately follows the act prescribing the oath of office to be administered to those appointed to the execution of the new Government. It would be difficult to conceive of any contemporaneous construction of the constitution entitled to more weight than one given under such circumstances, when the motives that led to the adoption of that instrument were still operating upon the community, and the men who had borne so active a part in forming the government, were the very persons selected to administer it. This law was approved by George Washington, on the 4th of July, 1789, the anniversary of our nation, which was again signalized by a public act, destined to render us still more independent of Europe, and to confer on the country substantial blessings, scarcely inferior to those obtained by the Revolution. After so striking a contemporaneous construction of the national charter, and after the experience of half a century of the unexampled benefits realized by the country from the encouragement afforded by this policy to domestic industry, it was scarcely to have been expected, that any doubts could be entertained as to the power of Congress to promote American manufactures by discriminating duties, or to pass laws of a retaliatory character with the view of curtailing the market of those nations who shut their ports against the most important productions of the United States.

It would seem, however, that the beneficial results of the exercise of the powers entrusted to the General Government, instead of producing a universal conviction of the propriety of conferring on it such authority, had produced a jealousy of its exercise, which, emboldened by success, has at last ventured to question its constitutionality. It is high time, that this spirit should be put down, and these affected doubts met by a prompt and decisive assertion of constitutional authority.

Already has the country suffered enough from the war of abstractions upon its practical interests and its present suffering condition demands that we should recur to the practical lessons of wisdom and patriotism set us by our revolutionary ancestors. By departing from those ancient landmarks, and deserting the sound policy adopted at the formation of the Government, for the abstract theory of free trade, the country has been placed in a condition not unlike its situation under the old confederation; and this convention earnestly solicits, that Congress will indicate its determination to assert and vindicate the constitutional authority of the government, by adopting as a preamble to the Revenue Act, now before Congress, the preamble to the Act of July 4, 1789.

J. BLUNT,  
A. CHANDLER.

New-York, April 8, 1842.

# REPORT ON AUCTION SALES AND FRAUDS ON THE REVENUE.

[Brought in by W. W. DRINKER, of N. Y.]

*The Committee upon the question of a "Duty on Auction Sales of all Foreign Goods, and Frauds upon the Revenue,"*

## Respectfully Report :

That two of the present Committee were appointed by the New-York State Home League to make a report to that body, which with some modifications, they beg leave to submit to this Convention.

If this question had reference merely to revenue for the General Government, a duty upon Auction Sales would be objectionable as interfering with State Legislation already exercised for that purpose. There are, however, other considerations involved, the operation and effect of which are so intimately connected with, and promotive of disaster to the manufacturing, trading, and commercial interests, and of the country at large, that hesitation on the part of Congress would, in the opinion of your Committee, be a virtual surrender of the principles of self-preservation.

In order to form a correct estimate of the relation and intimate connection existing between the auction sales of foreign goods, excessive importations, and the facility by which, through this medium, foreign interests are sustained to the prejudice of our own, it becomes necessary to show the present condition of our foreign trade, and the mode in which it is conducted in the city of New-York, as the great commercial emporium of the country.

By information furnished by the Collector of this port, it appears that of the entire amount of importations as entered at the Custom-House,

65 per cent from England, on English account

35 " " " on American.

83 per cent. from France on French account.

17 " " " American;

And from all other countries (China excepted) the proportion in favor of foreign importations upon foreign account, is the same as those from France, viz: *eighty-three per cent.*

The imports during the year 1840, which were less than any year since 1832, amounted to \$107,141,519

Of this amount 53 per cent. came in free, or 57,196,206

Leaving a balance paying duty of \$49,945,315

It is estimated that two-thirds of the whole revenue from the Customs is collected in the port of New-York. If so, the amount of imports would be \$33,296,876

Upon which foreign interests are subjected to a duty upon \$24,541,022 56

And American 14,870,913 44

But the foreign imports, free of duty, \$42,325,180 96

And the American, 14,870,913 04

The aggregate in favor of foreign interests is as *seventy-four per cent. to twenty-six.*

Your committee are aware that the mercantile and trading community of the city of New-York have been charged with overtrading, and running themselves and the country in debt by excessive importations and inordinate speculation. But the fact that these importations are in the hands of and controlled by foreigners, representing foreign interests, located in the city for this very purpose, has not been so well understood, and through whom, and by whom, the market is inundated with foreign goods, in which they are principally facilitated by the mode of sale by auction, while from the peculiar character of our commercial regulations and the absence of judicious discrimination, the singular anomaly is presented of our own citizens being driven out of a most important branch of business by the superior advantages extended to those of foreign governments.

That this may be clearly seen, it is only necessary to advert to the fact, that these agents are either connected with, or interested in, foreign manufacturing interests. So far as Great Britain is concerned, there may be a few American Commission Houses engaged in her manufacturing interests as agents, but the majority are aliens. With France and Germany, nearly, if not all, are subjects of foreign governments, exempt from taxation, military and jury duty; many of them not even occupying warehouses, having the right of action in our highest judicial tribunal, which by our constitution is denied to citizens residing in the same state. Without attachment to our free institutions or respect for our laws, they not only yield no equivalent for the superiority thus enjoyed over our own citizens, but are ever most active in efforts to influence the passage of laws in our national councils favorable to their own interests and of those they represent, or to defeat measures protective of our own. Identified with the commerce of the country, swarming in all the avenues of the great commercial emporium of the Union, the very atmosphere of public opinion, where it is of all other places most calculated to have weight and influence, is poisoned by the false theories of free trade, industriously promulgated by the public press, a majority of which, it is well known, are controlled by foreign influence in this city. The position these foreign agents occupy enables them to take every advantage of the enterprise and labor of our manufacturers. And ere the American manufacturer can reap any advantage in the introduction of new and cheap fabrics, the products of his skill and labor, he finds the market inundated by a foreign article, made in exact imitation, even to the very marks and numbers, and stamped with the name, (but of inferior quality); or if an American importer sends his orders to England, the same conveyance that brings his goods will also bring much larger quantities, frequently of inferior quality, but also similar in appearance; and before the American importer can dispose of his goods, (for which he has paid the English manufacturer a large profit) those on foreign account are forced into market through the auctions. The purchasers do not detect the difference, and as they can be sold far below the cost to the American Importer, and are passed through the Custom House at a much lower invoice price, by which a further advantage

is gained in the duties; the consequence is, our own importers are driven out of market, and the monopoly thrown into the hands of the foreign agents in the interest of the foreign manufacturer.

It is plain in these operations to discern the far-seeing and unvarying policy of England. During our Colonial existence, her iron hand crushed every attempt at manufacturing on the part of the colonists. As Lord Chatham remarked, "he would not have the Americans to make a *hob-nail*," and in Parliament it was also said "*nor a razor to shave their beards*." When we became independent as a nation, she inundated us with her manufactured goods for the purpose of preventing our own from rising into existence. After the war of 1812, President Adams in a letter to a gentleman of Providence, remarked, "*he wondered why so much experience has not taught us more caution. The British Manufacturers and Merchants immediately after the peace disgorged upon us all their stores of merchandize [and manufactures, not only without profit, but at a certain loss for a time, with the express purpose of annihilating and ruining all our manufacturers.*" This has been her policy, never for a moment abandoned—a policy which has been seconded by our own course of vacillating legislation upon the Tariff—with her, steady, uniform and unalterable protection, by which alone the permanent interest of any country can be sustained—with us, at one time giving, by a high rate of duty, unhealthy action and speculative competition to our manufacturing interests; at another, unnatural and ruinous depression by a reduction, by which means England has ever been enabled to sustain her own policy and preserve an advantage which a more certain and permanent system of legislation upon our part would have prevented. The consequence is, that not only England, but other European nations, following in her wake, are enabled to inundate and overstock our markets with their own manufactured goods, and supply us also with subjects of their own governments to usurp the business occupations of our own citizens. To all the manufacturing interests of Europe, but especially France and England. Ours is the most important market in the world. The manufacturers in the latter especially are well aware, after supplying the foreign demand at home, there is no place where they can dispose so readily of their surplus stock as in this market, or so speedily realize the avails, by the facilities afforded them through the medium of the auction sales. A simple illustration will serve to show the reason these goods are permitted to be sold at such incredibly low prices frequently as to give rise to the opinion that operations so apparently ruinous in their results, could not be repeated or continued.

A manufacturer in England makes, for example, goods to the amount of \$100,000, and sells of this amount to supply the foreign and home demand \$90,000 at a profit of ten per cent; his profits are consequently in his surplus stock, or \$10,000 remaining. It would be far better for him to burn these goods than to force a sale at a depreciated price at home. He therefore sends them to *our market*, to be forced on us through the medium of the auctions, and, by a parity of reasoning probably calculates, that our dealers here will not permit them to be sold at such sacrifices as will interfere with their trade. But at all events he is the gainer, even if the goods are sold at less than half price,

or at any price short of a total loss. In this operation too, with the general laxity of morals in respect to avoiding the payment of duties, he justifies himself in invoicing these goods far below the cost of manufacture; the shipping freight and other expenses are also taken into account, and hence the cost as put down in his invoices to be passed through the Custom House, will be far below any price at which they could be purchased at the place of manufacture. For this reason, if there were none others of equal weight, it is just that the injury and wrong inflicted upon the American importer and dealer, and the loss of revenue, should be met by a duty upon the only medium through which these foreigners are thus enabled to operate so injuriously upon the interests of our own manufacturers and upon all fair and legitimate trade, which it is the duty of our government to protect.

It is true, that the advocates of Free Trade, as it is called, assert that the consumer is benefited, in that he obtains his goods at low prices. This seems plausible enough upon the surface. It would be easy, however, to show, were it in place here, that so prices, however low, or cheap, as it is termed, is advantageous, unless you put it in the power of the consumer, by encouraging and fairly protecting him in his legitimate business or pursuits, to obtain by his skill, labor and industry, the means of purchase. In the case of these goods, they are not required by the law of supply and demand; the depreciation in price is the result of an overstock and forced sales, bearing upon a market already well supplied; and the effect is to depreciate the market price, by which the fair profits of the dealers are not only affected, but they cause losses and reductions, by which many are prostrated in their business. Again, in our mixed currency, resting upon a specie basis, when our imports exceed our exports, the surplus takes from this basis, and produces contractions in our paper circulating medium, by the withdrawal of those facilities from the avenues of business, upon which the community are at all times more or less dependant, and by making money, as it is termed, scarce, causes a further reduction and depreciation in prices. The merchants and others in business or trade, to meet their engagements, are compelled to offer and sell their property at a sacrifice; and thus confusion and loss of confidence is created, and difficulties accelerated, involving all classes in one common disaster.

Your Committee are aware that the best protection against these evils rests in the proper regulation or correction of our paper credit system of doing business, which rests mainly in our banking institutions; and in respect to foreign importations, to which the auction system is a most powerful auxiliary; the one furnishing the paper circulating medium, and the other acting upon it. When through the medium of the first, the volume of our currency is increased, prices of all descriptions of property rise; importations will then be forced upon us, even in the face of a high tariff; and until the undertow sets in, produced in the end by importing more than we export, every thing appears prosperous. The advantage derived by foreigners, in these importations, is as manifest as the injury inflicted upon the interests of the country, because they receive all balances in their favor, not by an exchange of equivalents, but in specie, the great

basis upon which our paper currency rests, producing the results before referred to. In effect, they draw off the basis of values, and for which we receive their manufactured goods or products, which in respect to those of cotton, while we furnish them with the raw material, they return it upon us with the addition of from two to three hundred per cent. of their labor.

The connection of the auction system with that of the banking, in facilitating and promoting these operations, may readily be determined. Foreign goods are usually sold upon a credit of six months to the purchasers. The credit enhances the price. The auctioneer receives endorsed notes, and being himself a capitalist, with the addition of his own name he is enabled the more readily to obtain the money for such paper, either from the banks, or from capitalists who keep their funds deposited in these institutions for operations of this nature; by which means the auctioneer is enabled to cash the sales made on account of the foreign importers, a few days after they are made. Now, as our bank paper, which is money with us, will not answer for remittances to Europe, in all cases where the balance of trade is against us, the specie is drawn from the vaults of the banks, which bearing little proportion to the amount of their paper issues, they commence at once the process of curtailment in those facilities afforded to the community, and upon which, as before remarked, so much depends.

It will thus be perceived how far the auction system is promotive of difficulty, in its operation, as the medium affording the greatest facility for the certain, speedy and almost unlimited disposition of foreign goods; and that, too, without risk in the credits given in their sale. So well is this system understood in Europe—so accurate is their knowledge of our markets and systems of doing business—so well do they understand our general eagerness to buy cheap, that very large quantities of goods are manufactured expressly for our auction sales. Inferior in fabric, defective in manufacture, deceptive in appearance, worthless to the consumer and made, like Pindar's razors, to sell—they not only injure our manufacturers, while they give employment to the operatives abroad at our expense, but they are passed through our Custom House at prices so far below the supposed cost of manufacture, or at which they can be purchased abroad, as to justify the belief that as gross frauds are practised upon the revenue as upon the consumer.

Time was when a large and respectable number of our own citizens were engaged in the importation of French goods. Now there are but *five* American houses engaged to any extent in the trade; all the rest, numbering some three or four hundred, including Swiss and German, are foreigners. Competition is out of the question, since these goods are invoiced at prices far below those at which they can be purchased for cash at the place of manufacture or exportation. Instances are of daily occurrence where attempts to pass them through our Custom House are made, and though not in all cases successful, yet there is no doubt existing that the fraud, as a general thing, is more or less perpetrated. Now, whether the manufacturer invoices his goods at the actual cost of manufacture without profits, or far below the real value or price at which he would dispose of

them to purchasers at home, the result is the same to the honest importer and the revenue; since, in the first instance, he drives the honest importer out of the business, and is thereby enabled to shut out the proof or knowledge which the latter can alone furnish the appraisers of the cost of the articles purchased by them abroad. The five American importers still remaining, can yet be called in as the only safeguard left. If these are driven out of market, what evidence is left to operate against the oath of the foreigner? Seizure of the goods becomes a farce, as the burthen of proof must be on the part of the United States; and in case of trial, ten witnesses, or foreigners engaged in the same business, can be brought forward, to one on our part. To show that this fraud is practised and well understood in France, a member of an extensive importing house in this city, when in Paris, had the refusal of an invoice of French goods, at that time in demand for this market. He was applied to in his rooms by a native exporter of the article, to join him in the purchase; and as an inducement, said that he would ship them and invoice them at a price far below their cost, by which operation they would save so much in the duties.—It is needless to say the proposition was indignantly rejected. How frequently these frauds have been attempted, let inquiry of the appraisers in the New York Custom House answer.

In every point of view, therefore, a system which promotes foreign interest to the injury of our own, which is the ready medium through which our markets are flooded with foreign goods, driving our own citizens out of a legitimate, and when properly regulated, a beneficial trade, and operating injuriously upon our currency, and giving alien residents an advantage over our own, is alike destructive of the manufacturing interests—and lastly, which is promotive of frauds upon our revenue—cannot otherwise than be regarded as a proper subject of legislative action—and more especially as the duty falls within the commercial scope of government revenue, and the protection of the citizens of the United States against foreign aggression, whether open or disguised.

Your Committee, for these considerations, unanimously recommend that a duty of five per cent, or not less than three per cent, be laid upon all sales of foreign goods at auction; or a duty of three per cent upon package sales, and five upon piece sales, whether the same be bid off at public sale, or duplicated at private sale by the auction house.

They cannot conclude, however, without remarking that much of the prosperity of the city of New York has arisen from this otherwise pernicious system. Being the great auction mart, it has been the centre of attraction for the mercantile and trading community of the Union; but it may well be questioned, for the foregoing reasons, whether the evils which now surround it, even to our citizens, are not greater than the benefits derived. To the country at large, however, the correction is required by every consideration connected with sound national policy and prosperity; while the duty being uniform, it will give no advantage to one section of the country, or city over another—and should the sales continue, the revenue will be of no little importance.

WILLIAM WALN DRINKER, }  
HEMAN NORTON } Committee  
JAS. C. STARKWEATHER, }  
New York, April 6th, 1842.

## REPORT ON THE INFLUENCE OF PROTECTION.

[Brought in by Mr. C. C. HAVEN, of N. Y.]

*REPORT of the Committee appointed to state the influence which protection to home labor and a reciprocal trade with foreign nations has upon the general interests of the country, respectfully report :*

The subject is full of interest, and presents conclusions in favor of protection and reciprocal commerce, too numerous to be given with the brevity desirable on this occasion. The Committee will therefore confine themselves to a few points, which they think have a new bearing on the subject, and such others as, from their irresistible force, cannot be omitted.

Labor is the life of the Commonwealth; capital the product. Prostrate or neglect the former, and every fibre of the community becomes a sufferer.—The social compact which invests Government with the power, parted with by individuals, to protect the interests of the State, implies security to the motive principle of the whole, to wit, *LABOR physical and intellectual*. That nation stands highest in moral and physical greatness, which gives the highest rates of wages and the largest returns for labor. It approaches nearest to an equal and mutual dependence, which is the most elevated state of national independence of which society is capable. It is equally removed from the wretchedness of pauperism and the oppression of the overgrown capitalist. Such has heretofore been the situation of our favored nation.

As the choice in the pursuits of labor rests with individuals, the measure of protection to each branch thereof is vested in the Government,—with that Government which the people can make or unmake. Wise or successful legislation cannot always be expected of those entrusted with Government; but fidelity to the expressed will of the people should be demanded. It cannot be doubted that the nation now wills, that protection, ample and permanent, should be given to American labor in all its branches. And why?

Because, in addition to the foregoing reasons, it involves protection to our Agricultural and Manufacturing interests, and secures, by a reciprocal Commerce, at home and abroad, the possession of free trade, based on reciprocity of equivalents. None other should a free people tolerate.

Is it asked, what is meant by protection to labor? It is *OCCUPATION*—secure, productive, steady and unshackled—free from foreign aggression, sectional favoritism, and vacillating party compromise; occupation, that tends to satisfy individual preference, if in connexion with national advantage, but not otherwise. With the Government, as has been stated, rests the choice of discriminating what is most worthy of protection; and, unless the people choose to throw away their strength for that vassalage to party which prefers the husk to the golden grain, the right of suffrage must decide what occupations have most votes.

Political collusion, or party log rolling, as it is called, may defeat the true interests of the country for a time, and this crime deserves at the hand of Congress the punishment of treason to the State; but if there is not virtue or suffering enough among the people to correct this abuse, the Commonwealth must remain a cripple. We think, how-

ever, there is both, and that this Convention is a prognostic of renewed health in the body politic.

The measure of protection to each interest seems difficult, but, if it is adequate to all, the difficulty vanishes. The fear of giving too much protection—and the preference of a low, back-sliding, sinister scale of duty, tending downward, until it is no protection whatsoever, has been the fruitful source of our embarrassments. Sectional jealousy and meaner envy have influenced some, but a popular delusion has been the principle cause of our present predicament. We now, however, perceive light dawning again in that quarter from whence first beamed the protecting policy of the country, and the stars which have irradiated her long night of error, already are becoming pale at the return of day. The South is awakened by her own sense of danger; and roused from her magnetic sleep, the new discovers that she, most of all perhaps needs protection in no stinted measure.

To protect home interests, however, is no longer a question of policy in *any part of the country*. It is necessary.

Protection is due to all branches of industry in the planting and agricultural States, as well as to our commerce, navigation and fisheries; but in an especial manner, to manufacturers, artisans, and mechanics; not merely because they support a high rate of wages, but the former have large capitals invested, and, in connection with both the latter, are constantly introducing the arts, sources of wealth and independence to the country. They more than pay for all the fostering care they get from Government, not merely by inventions, new improvements, consumption of home products, employment of female industry, and encouragement to commerce, but in the direct cheapening of the cost of every thing they manufacture. The sequence which produces this is a known matter of fact, and has the brevity of a syllogism to exemplify it. *PROTECTION,—HOME COMPETITION,—AND REDUCTION IN PRICE*. These follow one another as faithfully as the shadow the sun. The reduction in price, too, *where protection is ample*, will go to the lowest extent that will sustain the manufacturer, which must depend on the cost of the raw materials and price of labor; but deprive him of protection, and you muzzle the ox that treads out the corn; you give your children's bread to the dogs, and asking alms of foreign countries rather than be rich and independent within yourselves.

But our manufacturers and laboring artisans will not now be content without protective aid. *War is protection to them*. They know it. And yet, *friends of peace and the peaceful arts as they are*, is it to be supposed that, if denied protection by the Government, and not permitted to eat the bread of their honest industry and enterprise which they have been accustomed to earn, they will not foment the causes of war, so rife at this moment, and bring about that forced state of protection which would at once afford them profit and employment? Low murmurings of this policy are already heard from discharged workmen and wretched laborers. Is not this feeling a natural one, and full of apprehension to the reflecting? Ample protection to their interests is absolute protection to that of all others; and yet how lingering, slow and reluctant are measures of relief talked of, as if our legislators were conferring a boon on a set of pensioners! How long the talking

is to continue is a matter of deep apprehension to thousands, but Congress cannot adjourn without setting the principles of a Tariff for revenue as well as protection. It is a grave business, one in which the millions represented by us in this convention, as well as those who are not represented here, have a deep interest; and it should be attended to.

No party, no secret sectional conclave, is here met, to agitate treasonable or unconstitutional influence upon the Government, or any part of our beloved country; but delegates from all parties, and all the broad interests of the nation, come together openly, and with patriotic motives, to devise measures of relief to our suffering constituents. Relief must come to the hearth of every family, and the bosom of every American throughout the land; relief from want and the dread of want everywhere. We ask with one voice for PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR; and to this motto we are sure that every star in our national banner will lend its radiance, and the eagle which sustains it will carry victory on its wings—that victory which is peace—peace with protection and not war without it. Let it no longer be said that in this country, foreigners and smugglers are alone protected; and that we are ready enough to resist a right of search and trespass on our property, or slaves on the ocean; whilst our harbors and home markets, and even our pockets, are searched by adventurers from every foreign country on earth. No such abuse do we find tolerated by any European government, and our citizens need no such exotic patronage; but they are becoming tired of being fleeced and shorn of their fair proportion of their own trade, and ask legislative enactments to protect them. Will not Congress listen to them?

The advocates of free trade, falsely so called, and of low wages, where high rates would give larger products to labor and capital, seem not to know where their delusive theories would land them. How low would they have wages reduced in the country? To the almost starving prices in Europe, or the still lower pittance meted out in the Oriental countries? How near to nothing would they reduce their compensation for a day's work of an American freeman? To nothing or the next thing to it. Their theory leads them to this, and free trade is just about as consistent. It is Utopian—a gull trap for the unwary, and a fraud on common sense.

But there are those who cannot be persuaded that the protective policy will be a good one, because it produces such striking instances of want and wretchedness in England. A moment's consideration ought to convince them, that these apprehensions are groundless. A monopoly of land holders in Great Britain whose small insular territory allows of their being protected by aristocratic influence and corrupt moneyed interference in elections, causes a depression in the rates of wages, permanently unfavorable to the humble laborer. There he is oppressed, and we fear is likely to be so. Even a repeal of the Corn Laws, it is feared, will not now give him ample employment. It is too late. The number of operatives is too large to be maintained by an overgrown manufacturing system, which has lost its advantages by a cupidity, that has turned customers into rivals. The evils England has to contend with, may be mitigated, but cannot be cured, with-

out a new formation of the elements of its social compact. Our own unrivalled advantages, in point of time and position, must inevitably place us, ere long, far above her highest point of numerical or physical strength. Our territory is almost boundless. Open competition will prevent monopolies either by land holders or capitalists. The laboring classes in all departments, if protected against foreign fraud and interference, will have ample occupation and demand for what they produce, and a paralysis, such as now exists, and which ought never to have existed, will probably not occur again in many years. It is true, that a people may become bankrupt in principle before they are in resources, but this insanity cannot long continue; and when once our credit is restored, there may be danger of our running again into debt to foreigners, to be again crippled in our finances, as we are at this moment. But with proper protection to our industry at home, and due encouragement to a reciprocal commerce, to enable us to exchange our surplus products for such necessities or comforts as we may require, the evils of overtrading abroad will be limited; and with a well regulated mixed currency for exchanges, on a sure metallic basis, and the aid of a revenue, collected every where in cash or its equivalent, the prosperity of our country cannot be questioned, nor need any doubt exist that its glorious destiny will be accomplished.

of which is respectfully submitted.

C. C. HAVEN,  
S. EARL HOWARD, } Committee.

## THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTECTION.

[Brought in by H. GREELEY, of New-York.]

Mr. H. GREELEY, from the Committee appointed to consider the General Interest of Manufactures and of American Labor, and the necessity of Protection, reports—

The several Productive Interests of the Country, whether Agricultural, Manufacturing or Commercial, being otherwise referred to able and enlightened Committees, it seemed the more appropriate duty of your Committee to consider generally and abstractly the Principle and grounds of Protection:

Protection is the fundamental necessity, the primary object, of all rightful government. To protect each other against the felonious practices of the swindler, the burglar, the assassin, or the more formidable assaults of barbarian hordes, of ambitious chieftains, of invading armies, the members of a community unite to bear the burthens and submit to the restrictions of natural right incidental to the existence of government. Each individual, on his part, incurs the obligations, submits to the restrictions, and assumes the burthen of citizenship, on the implied but palpable contract of the government to protect him in the full enjoyment of those rights reserved to him under the social compact; in the undisturbed and absolute use of the products of his own labor and skill,



and in the right to employ advantageously all his faculties in the acquirement of an adequate subsistence.

Very few have ever denied to Government the right and duty of protecting its people from overt acts of aggression and violence. That an invading foe should be resisted, a law-breaking villain arrested and confined, or a domineering, encroaching nation checked and resisted, are propositions so plain that no writer of note on Government has doubted or demurred to them.

Now it cannot be seriously, considerably denied, that a nation may be injured as certainly and vitally by the policy of a rival as by its arms. An Order in Council, an act of legislation, may cripple the Commerce and blight the Industry of a distant Nation, when open hostility would have been wholly unavailing. The Navigation Act of Great Britain did more to destroy the commercial importance of Holland than all the fleets that ever issued from Portsmouth and Plymouth. History is full of examples of the decline and destruction of nations from causes which they failed clearly to recognise, but which later and clear-sighted observers have readily detected in the grasping policy and deep-laid plans of a subtle and determined rival.

Your Committee, therefore, hold it self-evident that it is as clearly and fully the duty of a government to guard its citizens against the insidious influences of hostile foreign policy, as against the more direct and manly assaults of foreign armies. And they insist that a wise and paternal government will as carefully guard, as unsleepingly watch against the machinations of foreign cabinets as the, shock of hostile fleets and battalions.

To illustrate this position, let us adduce a case such as has substantially happened at least once in the history of our own country. Let us suppose that the great mass of our People are satisfactorily engaged in Agricultural pursuits, and that they obtain their Manufactured goods by an exchange of their surplus Wheat for the fabrics and wares of Great Britain. No duty, or a very moderate one, for revenue merely, is charged on either side. At length, however, Great Britain resolves to produce all her own grain, and to this end imposes a heavy, a prohibitory duty, on its importation from abroad. By this act our farmers are left without a market for their produce, its price depreciates, and it remains a drug on their hands. British fabrics are still pouring into our ports, are sold for *fewer dollars* than it would cost to produce them here, and thus fill all the channels of trade. What is the duty thereby imposed on our Government? Free Trade affirms that it should do nothing, but simply wait until the inevitable bankruptcy of our business classes, the continued decline in price of our great staples, the withdrawal of our specie and the degradation or destruction of our circulating medium, shall have reduced the price of American Labor, and with it all results of Labor, so low that the Manufactures we need can be produced here at as low a money price as in England. This is what is implied by leaving trade to 'regulate itself.' But we insist that it is neither a wise nor a stable adjustment of the difficulty. It is not wise, for it involves our People in an infinity of suffering, stagnation and pecuniary loss; it is not stable, for the first gleam of prosperity in our land—if such gleam

could be under that policy—would draw hither cargo after cargo of British goods, and ensure a repetition of our disasters. Now the true and manifest policy of our Government, as it appears most obvious to us, is to meet the aggressive policy of our rival at the outset—to countervail duty by duty, restriction by restriction—to protect and foster our Manufactures as fast and far as Britain at our expense shall favor her Agriculture—and thus to preserve our People from the bottomless abyss of foreign debt and bankruptcy, extend the sphere of their industry, and lay deep and enduring the bases of a substantial National Independence of all foreign policy whatever.

Let us offer another illustration. Great Britain, about two hundred years ago, passed her Navigation Act, allowing goods to be imported into her ports in British vessels at a lower rate of duty than the same goods must pay if imported in foreign vessels. This simple act of aggressive fostering her own commerce is the foundation of her long career of overwhelming Commercial and Marine ascendancy—an ascendancy which would never have existed to any such extent if the other nations of Europe had at once perceived the absolute necessity of countervailing this advantage. They did not, however, and the consequence is seen in the decline of their Commerce and Marine to the verge of extinction, and in the elevation of their once humble rival to the proud station of Mistress of the Seas. Under the blighting effect of this grasping policy our own Commerce languished during the whole term of our peaceful existence as a Confederation.

But when the terms of a 'more perfect union' had been agreed on, and a Congress assembled clothed with power to watch over and protect the interests of our People, we find that one of its first acts was aimed at the express Protection and encouragement of Manufactures on our own soil, by a duty on the importation of foreign goods, and the next was intended to countervail the Navigation Act of Great Britain, by enacting that a corresponding discrimination should be made between the import hither of dutiable articles in foreign and American vessels—to be waived in behalf of the ships of all nations which did not discriminate against our own. This immediately brought Britain to terms. She consented to admit American vessels to her ports on the same terms with her own, upon our doing the same, and this arrangement remains still in effect. But for this timely and efficient countervailing of the British Navigation Act, American Commerce in our own vessels would be as that of Holland now is—as that of Venice has long been. Protection has secured to us a genuine Freedom and Reciprocity, where one-sided Free Trade would have soon stripped us of any Trade at all.

For many years no man has dreamed of or asked for the repeal of our countervailing or protective Navigation Act, while thousands fiercely clamor against all other Protecting imposts! On what principle is this distinction made? Are our Free Trade importers and ship-owners unwilling to submit their own business to the policy they would impose on the internal industry of the country? Do they cling to Protection for their own interests, yet deny it to those of all other classes? These are questions which should not longer remain unanswered.

But the principle of Protection is impreguably entrenched in other considerations than that of defence against positive foreign aggression. We maintain that there is obvious policy, wise economy, and true, far-seeing statesmanship in that view of Protection which regards it in itself, and without respect to the course of other nations, as a means of fostering into healthful vigor new branches of industry and increasing the general product of the country. We disclaim all aggressive Protection—all legislation or policy whose aim shall be to enable American producers to undersell those of other nations abroad. We demand simply that the toiling masses of our own goodly land may be enabled to sit in peace beneath their own vine and fig-tree secure in their several employments, and finding a just reward and stimulus for their industry in ministering to each other's wants and enjoyments to mutual advantage. We seek to build up no policy like that of Great Britain, to make our own Country the Rialto of Nations, the maker, and refiner, and trafficker and carrier for all other Countries. We do not want other Nations constrained by policy or craft to bring their bread to be baked in our ovens, any more than to carry our loaves to theirs. We ask no policy like Britain's which shall bring hither the gold and gems of all climes and kindreds, and pile them up on our shores. It is because we are utterly hostile to that grasping selfishness which seeks to secure and perpetuate in its own hands a monopoly of the Trade and Manufactures of the World, that we combine to resist it, and counsel our countrymen to see that it be steadfastly counteracted, so far as it affects ourselves. Those, therefore, who argue against defensive Protection from the effects of British policy in the depression of British labor, wholly mistake the nature and essence of the controversy. That depression is a part of our case—it is an impressive, urgent reason why the Colossus of British monopoly should be attacked and overthrown, as injurious to the great laboring mass even of Britons as well as others. It is for this reason that, while the restrictive policy of England is felt as an intolerable burthen by her own working people, the countervailing acts of Germany and the other Nations of Continental Europe are recognized by their People as essential to their individual welfare no less than to National Independence and Prosperity.

We cannot therefore but regard the assertion that proper Protective Duties will not promote the interests of the Laboring Classes here because what are called Protective Duties have an unfavorable effect in England, as addressed to the ignorance rather than the understanding of those whom it is employed to influence. There is nothing like analogy in the cases—the seeming resemblance is one of sound, not of sense. Those who employ it are careful to keep it as far from the light as possible.

Let us endeavor, by an illustration, to place this important truth in a yet clearer light, and establish at the same time the wisdom and necessity of genuine Protection. We will take the case of Great Britain, a country of boundless wealth, experience and skill in mechanical processes and arts, great and established facilities for all branches of manufactures, and abundance of cheap labor; on the other hand we will set our own States of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois—States as yet

mainly agricultural, imperfectly subdued and tilled, with labor scarce and in demand, and a soil yielding abundantly all the fruits of the earth. If Britain were wise enough to take freely of these States their grain in exchange for her cloths and wares, it would seem at first blush their manifest interest to procure of her their supplies of Manufactures. Beyond doubt they might thus obtain their goods for fewer dollars than by encouraging their production on their own soil. But experience abundantly demonstrates that, in order to buy their cloths of England at the cheaper money prices at which they, being of trifling bulk, could undoubtedly be transported and sold, our Western farmers must sell their grain at such prices as would admit of its transportation to England and sale there in competition with the grain of all other countries. Estimating the average price of Wheat throughout the world at one dollar a bushel, it could hardly, under a system of Free Trade, command more than a dollar and a quarter in England; and, in view of the close proximity of the great grain-growing regions of Germany and Poland, with their cheap labor, we may well doubt that it would be so high. The effect of absolute Free Trade would therefore be to supply the farmers of the West with British cloths at prices little above those of Leeds and Birmingham, but to reduce the value of their own products far below that of the corresponding products of Germany and Poland, by reason of the far greater extent of the devious, varied, and for months of each year interrupted transportation to England. Allowing that the average price of Wheat in England would be a dollar and a quarter, its average price throughout the West could not certainly exceed fifty cents, and would often fall below twenty-five. Admitting, therefore, that the money cost of producing the Cloth on their own soil would for a time be twenty-five per cent more, the simple question to be decided by the farmers of the West is, whether they will pay five dollars a yard for Cloth in Wheat at a dollar a bushel, or buy it at four dollars a yard and pay in Wheat at thirty cents a bushel. The answer could not long detain any one who had mastered the simple rules of Arithmetic.

Or, we may state the question in another form: Which is cheaper—to send Flour from Peoria and Chicago to Leeds and Sheffield for cloth, paying four barrels out of six for transportation—or to invite the cloth-makers to our own soil, and here pay them two barrels instead of two for the cloth, and yet save two of the six to the farmer who raised the Grain and buys the Cloth? It is most manifest to your Committee that the policy which keeps the cloth-makers on one continent and the grain-growers in the heart of another, is one of flagrant improvidence and waste—a wanton throwing away of the enormous cost of reciprocal transportation—reducing greatly the essential reward of labor on either hand, and thus depressing the condition of the laborer. How shall this conclusion be avoided?

Your Committee, therefore, do not advocate the Protective policy as advantageous to our own People merely, but to all who in the sweat of their face eat bread—who by honest industry add to the sum of human products and comforts. So far as may be necessary to the home production of all articles essential to subsistence and well-being, and to which production there exists no natural

obstacle of climate or soil, we hold the Protective policy to be the true and obvious policy of all nations, with regard as well to the general as to their individual good. We hold such Protection to be dictated by a wise Economy as well as a true Independence. Whatever articles are 'far-fetched' are proverbially 'dear-bought;' inevitable necessity dictates this, and commercial rapacity aggravates it. Very many articles are now daily charged to the consumer at least *six times* the price that was paid to the producer. But this can only take place to any extent where the producer and consumer are widely separated from each other—usually by oceans or continents. Let us encourage and diversify Home Production until every thing to which our position is genial shall be produced on our own wide-spread territory and fertile soil, and this enormous disparity will cease.

In support of the views here adduced, we may add that even the Free Trade authorities of England do not counsel an abandonment of Protection in any case analagous to ours. Adam Smith, the great oracle of that faith, expressly approves and justifies the British Navigation Act, which is not merely exclusively Protective, but aggressively so; and even Mr. J. Deacon Hume, whose evidence before the late Free Trade committee of Parliament, is so widely quoted and so sweeping against the British Protective system, in that same evidence insists that the Free Labor of Jamaica should not be left to a naked competition with the annually recruited Slave Labor of Cuba, "I conceive," says he, "that *this question is taken entirely out of the category of Free Trade.*" We need not indulge in any comment.

Your Committee have refrained from pressing the argument that the multiplying and varying of the pursuits of industry in our own Country must inevitably afford fitting and congenial employment to a far greater variety of talents, capacities, and inclinations, than would otherwise be absorbed in them, and thus vastly increase the product, wealth and happiness of the People,—and that these fabrics of which the domestic production has been fostered by adequate Protective duties have always been afforded at cheaper and cheaper rates, until they vastly undersold the foreign competitor. Neither have they taken occasion to show, as they might easily have done, that many articles which can be produced here as cheaply, even by the dollar standard, as elsewhere, still need a moderate duty on imports to protect them against the fluctuation of European markets, a glut in the foreign production, or the desperate efforts of a foreign rivalry, which understands that by breaking down our Home Manufacture it may secure to itself a monopoly of our market for years, and thus reward itself for an outlay of thousands by a profit of hundreds of thousands. Neither have we dwelt on the importance of preserving the Industry and Currency of our Country from a degrading and ruinous dependence on the fluctuations of the Stock Exchange of London, the machinations of a few commercial capitalists in the dark purlieus of the Bourse of Paris or the Bank of England. All these considerations will doubtless be exhibited in the Reports of those Committees to which the respective topics more properly belong. But without extending farther our illustrations, we would respectfully submit that the Principles of Protection appear to us those of true Political Economy, far-seeing

Wisdom, and practical Statesmanship; their spirit and tendency consistent with universal benevolence and good will; and their observance and enforcement in our legislation and policy essential to National Independence and general well being.

All which is respectfully submitted.

HORACE GREELEY,  
STANFORD NEWELL,  
S. EARL HOWARD,  
H. D. MAXWELL.

## REPORT ON CURRENCY.

[Brought in by GEORGE BACON, of N. York.]

The Committee to whom was referred "The Currency, and its relation to the Protection of American Industry," beg leave to

### Report:

Among the topics which have intensely occupied the public mind for several years, none is more prominent than that of the Currency, and on none is there a greater conflict of opinion. It has been the ground of fierce party strife; and your Committee therefore approach it with diffidence, feeling that great circumspection is required to treat it in such a manner as not to enlist the prejudices of party, and thereby to defeat the object in view—the conciliation of the public mind, and to make a judicious disposition of the subject, in conformity to the object of the Convention—the public good.

The intimate relation which exists between the currency of the country and its tariff of imports, will be obvious on a careful examination.

Under any circumstances, either with a currency of metal or of credit, such as is in use in the United States, it is through the channel of the currency that the influence of an injudicious tariff reaches us. Were the exchange of the world barter, we might obviate the difficulty growing out of the want of protection, by introducing a substitute for any article of which too large an amount was abstracted by foreign commerce. If too much wheat were exported, some other article would comfortably supply us with food; but there is no substitute for currency; our laws of contract preventing the adoption of any other medium of ultimate payment than metal; we are, therefore, unable to turn aside the blow directed at this essential interest. The Tariff is, therefore, necessarily a question of currency, and a judicious arrangement of the Tariff is indispensable to the enjoyment of a steady, ample and permanent medium of exchange and measures of value, without which there can be neither individual nor national prosperity.

In determining the influence of the tariff upon the currency, it is not necessary to confine ourselves to a currency of paper; the same general effects would follow whether it were constituted of metal or paper, but with different forces. The precious metals bring the objects of universal desire, as the best form of active capital, are sought for with avidity by commerce wherever they are *relatively* cheap; and as they must be *relatively* cheap where labor and its products are relatively dear, that community in which labor commands the highest price, whether that price arise from the expansion of currency by the use of credit, or the better condition of the laborer, will always be most exposed to the loss of its currency by the introduction of the surplus commodities of cheap countries to be exchanged for metal, when-

ever no better article can be offered to meet the demand arising from their sale. All such countries are driven to the necessity of protection, unless they are willing to descend to the general level of the world. The American farmer, artisan and laborer must be content to occupy the same condition in relation to the comforts of life and intellectual culture, as is occupied by the same classes in Europe, or they must defend themselves by the protection of a tariff, which is a charge upon the product of foreign labor equal to the advantage they have over them in their better political and social condition. On any other plan of operation he will inevitably be subjected to the equalizing process of commerce which is the present condition of the world—the transfer of commodities from countries where labor is poorly compensated, to those where it has a liberal reward, as well as to distribute the products of different climates. That the charge of duties upon foreign imports is not, as is generally supposed, a tax upon the American consumer, but principally upon the foreign producer, may be easily demonstrated. It is collected by ourselves, and goes either to swell the amount of our capital, or to pay the expenses of Government, which would otherwise be paid from taxes levied upon our own industry; it protects our currency from derangement and the loss of its basis, and secures employment to our own labor at the expense, not of ourselves, but of foreign nations. On what other principle can we account for the fact that during the twenty years, from 1815 to 1835, we paid a debt of 150 millions, and distributed to the States 25 millions, with a much smaller population than we now possess, and with scarce a tithe of our present capital and means of creating wealth, without at all feeling the burden it imposed, or retarding our prosperity; while in six short years, under the opposite policy, both State and National credit are reduced to a depth of degradation painful to the heart of every American. This great principle is also obvious, not from a theory but from the estimation in which duties on imports in the United States are held by the nations of Europe whose trade is most extensively interested in the question.

The force with which the non-protective policy will operate, will depend upon the proportion which capital in metal bears to credit in the constitution of the currency. If the proportion of capital be large, the influence will be less—but if the proportion of credit be large, the capital only being abstracted by commerce, the general currency must rapidly diminish, as our experience for the last few years amply demonstrates. That portion of the country, therefore, where obviously the accumulation of capital is least—the South and West—are most interested in the question under consideration. On them will fall with redoubled force the evils of a deranged and diminished currency. In the eastern section of the Union, where the accumulation of capital is large, from whose surplus much of the currency of the South and West is derived, and where, under any condition of things, a large amount of the more profitable pursuits of mechanical industry will find scope to operate, the evil may be borne with comparative ease by recalling capital and diminishing the price of the raw products of the planter and the agriculturists, whose necessities force him into market. Absurd theories may for a time continue to lead

astray the South and the West, but the laws of human action on the great theatre of the commercial world are like the laws of the material universe, uniform and fixed, and will ultimately demonstrate in the ruin of their interests, that the planting and agricultural sections of the nation are those which most need the protection of a wise, discriminating tariff, having in view the perfect security of the entire circle of American Industry as its primary object—the security of the currency, and an ample revenue for the national defence and expenditure. This necessity will arise, not directly, but from the action of an unsteady and inadequate currency produced by the force of foreign commerce, which, disgorging upon us without reciprocity the surplus products of foreign labor, will continue to abstract the basis of our currency of credit, the only one which the accumulations of those sections of the Union will permit.

To our fellow citizens of the South and West let us appeal, beseeching them to reflect upon their present condition as proof of our position, and assuring them that we have no sectional object in view. We can bear the pressure of our unwise legislation better than they, but it is painful to see the energies of a great nation wasted, its power crippled by the adverse commercial action of foreign and rival nations, without the wit to detect the evil—to see our country exposed to hostile action, and rapidly becoming too poor to make successful resistance; and implore them to abandon their absurd theories of Free Trade, which have brought us to our present degraded condition.

GEORGE BACON,  
GEORGE M. TIBBETS,  
T. B. WAKEMAN,  
W. A. F. SPROAT.

## REPORT ON IRON, COAL, HARDWARE, &c.

[By D. O. KELLOGG, of Troy, N. Y.]

*The Committee to which was referred the subjects of the Manufacture of Iron; the Coal Trade and Manufactures from Iron, beg leave to*

### Report:

THAT they have given to the several subjects committed to them all the consideration the limited time of the Convention would seem to permit, with an anxious solicitude to arrive at conclusions befitting their great importance. The extended and very general and increasing use of iron, direct and indirect, in all the departments of human industry, and its indispensable necessity to the pursuits, the comfort and defence of man, give it a place among the necessities of life second only to food and clothing. Its general use is, and has ever been, a distinguishing characteristic of civilized life; and its production, depending essentially, as it does, upon the agency of Coal, for smelting and elaborating it, renders that good gift of nature scarcely less important.

All history and observation show that the production of it to the amount of supply to the home demand is a cardinal element of commercial independence; and that the extension of it to a successful competition for the supply of foreign markets with the ordinary forms, and the manufactures from it, is one of the most certain sources of national wealth. Indeed, no nation in the present

state of the arts, can be truly independent, that relies upon a foreign supply. To prove this beyond controversy, we have only to look at the Iron Trade of Great Britain, where such a policy has been fully carried out. There the Iron interest has long been regarded as the most valuable and important of the kingdom, excepting only the great and paramount one of the landed interest, upon which human subsistence depends; and there it very early became the first and surest source of public wealth.

Our country is blessed with inexhaustible resources in mines, water-power, wood-lands, native skill, and all the materials of manufacture, and needs only protection for our labor, and a certain and remunerating market, to develop the same results. Were the iron interest, only, to be benefitted by protection to this branch of industry, your committee would be diffident in urging the policy, but it will be found that all the interests of Labor are involved. The successful prosecution of the Iron trade, in all its departments, cannot fail to invigorate a very great amount of collateral interests. It will act and re-act upon other branches of industry until *all* must feel its influence.

In pursuing the investigation of the subjects before them by your committee, they were found to divide themselves, very naturally, into three branches, viz., the Manufacture of Iron, including Nails; the Coal Trade, and Manufactures from Iron. The better to consider these subjects in all their bearings, the Committee sub-divided themselves, therefore, into three sections, and will now proceed to give their conclusions under the three several heads.

#### Report on the Production of Iron,

[By S. OAKLEY, Brooklyn, N. Y.]

The Committee in relation to the Manufacture of Iron, respectfully submit to the Convention the following remarks, to which they have appended a Table Compiled from the Census of 1840, showing the quantity and amount of Iron manufactured; the amount paid for labor; the number of persons employed and sustained; the amount of agricultural products consumed; the number of establishments in being, and the capital employed in the business. But as it is evident to all persons engaged in the Business that the Census is incorrect in many of its details, the Committee also take the liberty to subjoin a statement predicated upon information obtained with great care and labor from other sources than the Census which the Committee are persuaded approximates much nearer the truth than the other.

Much might be said in favor of fostering this cardinal interest of the country, but the short time allotted to the Committee to make this Report, and to collect and arrange the numerous facts embraced, prevents the discussion of this matter at large. From the facts herein set forth, the importance of the subject to our national prosperity in times of peace will be readily inferred, and it will not be denied that it is of paramount necessity in time of war. The Committee will therefore only make a few observations and advert to a few of the leading considerations that stand in connexion with the subject, and that occur to them at this moment.

A large majority of the establishments east of the Allegany Mountains for making Bar, Sheet, and Hoop Iron, and Brazier's Rods, &c. that were in being in 1828, notwithstanding the high duty that then prevailed, were employed for a considerable time after that period at a less, or at best without profit. Subsequently, however, by the increased knowledge and skill acquired in the management and prosecution of the business, many establishments, by the practice of the most vigilant care and rigid economy, realized moderate profits until the year 1840. It must be remembered here that Iron in 1839 was several pounds higher in Europe than it is at this time, and it is owing to this circumstance that our manufacturers were enabled to sustain themselves during that year.

In 1840, although iron continued to command in England much more than it does now; most of our manufacturers sustained a considerable loss. Since 1840, all have suffered calamity and disaster. Many works have already been stopped, and the workmen discharged. All others must stop as soon as they shall have manufactured the raw stock which they have on hand, unless the government shall come to their relief. For the truth of the above remarks, the Committee would appeal to the common observation of the community. Any one that will take note of the history and results of the several iron establishments east of the Allegany Mountains for the last fourteen years, must assent to the above conclusions.

It has often been averred, that iron has received large protection for the last fourteen years, and that improvements have not been made in this branch of manufacture at all commensurate with many others. To this it may be answered, that it is fair to presume that persons engaged in this business are not in the average more stupid, less enterprising, or less industrious than those of other employments, and that the interests of men are the surest guarantee that their best talents and energies will be called forth and put in requisition. There must therefore, have been some obstacles to advancement in this business that are not common to all, and it may not be impertinent to enquire briefly what these obstacles are, and whether they may be hereafter removed or not.

In England, Pig and Wrought Iron are made almost exclusively with Mineral Coal; in this country a considerable part of both is made of Charcoal. The former fuel, as obtained in England, is incomparably cheaper than the latter in this country.

Since 1828, many Rolling Mills have been built in the United States that use Mineral Coal, and until the last three years, a considerable portion of this coal used near the sea board, was brought from England or from Nova Scotia. If the ore be smelted and the iron puddled with bituminous coal, the mode in use in England, it required an average of about six tons of Coal for every ton of Iron. If the ore be smelted with charcoal and puddled with bituminous coal, the mode hitherto in common use in this country, then a little less than two tons of bituminous coal is required. Bituminous coal costs at many of the works in Great Britain less than one dollar per ton, and the average will not exceed one dollar and fifty cents per ton. The same coal costs when we get it to our works, situated generally on some fall a little

removed from navigable water from seven to nine dollars per ton, and the difference in the cost of the charcoal used here for smelting, and the bituminous coal used there is also very greatly in favor of England. From this statement in relation to fuel, it will be perceived at what an enormous disadvantage we have hitherto contended with England in this respect. Add to this the cheapness of labor, the abundance of capital, the maturity of skill and the notorious combinations entered into by the overgrown capitalists of England for the destruction of all foreign competition, and is it strange that the iron manufacturers require the fostering hand of government extended to them?

The Committee are happy, however, to assure the Convention that these disadvantages are passing away, and that the time is not distant when, if the Government pursue a wise policy, we shall be independent of foreign countries, not only for iron but for coal also. A mode of using the Anthracite Coal both for smelting and puddling, has recently been discovered, and its utility—determined beyond peradventure—the hot blast has been brought into general use, machinery has been improved, the internal improvements of the country are being pushed into the interior, where there are vast and inexhaustible fields of iron ore, and of coal in juxtaposition, both of excellent quality. Those are the regions in which to make iron. In many places Coal can be mined for 25 cents per ton, and iron ore lying within a few rods of the Coal, may be mined and placed by the side of the Coal at the turnel heat of the furnace for less than one dollar per ton. Some of these regions (and there are many in the United States,) are situated remote from the sea board, and not yet accessible by any Canal or Rail Road; others have lately been brought within reach by these improvements.

If our Iron Manufacturers can be sustained, it is morally certain that ten years will not elapse before establishments will be made in those regions adequate to the supply of the whole country, and they will manufacture, at a price as low as the English, allowing for the difference in the price of labor, and the worth of capital in the two countries. It must here be borne in mind, however, that transportation from these interior regions to the sea board, will cost on an average twice as much as freight from England or Scotland, and that this consideration will operate to a considerable extent as a bounty on foreign iron used near the Atlantic. If our present establishments are compelled to fall, the skill in the art that has been already acquired must of consequence be lost to the country, and men will be slow to engage again in a business the remembrance of which will be associated with disaster and ruin, even should war or any other cause call for its resuscitation.

The duties now required to sustain the manufacturers, are, in the judgment of your Committee as follow, to wit:

Such Iron as paid in 1828 \$37, and in 1834 \$30 per ton, should now pay \$25 per ton.

Such Iron as paid in 1828 \$22 40, and in 1834 \$18 per ton, should now pay \$17 per ton.

Rail Road Iron should pay the same duty as other rolled iron, with such exceptions and qualifications as are made in the law of the extra session relating to that subject.

Pig, and such other Iron as paid in 1828 \$12 50 per ton, and in 1834 \$10 per ton, should now pay \$8 per ton.

Sheets, Brazier's and Spike Rods, Hoops, Band and such other Iron as paid in 1828 3½ cents per pound, and in 1834, 3 cents per pound, should now pay 2½ cents per pound.\*

A proportional reduction on all other Iron could be submitted to by most of our manufactures, but the duty should on all Iron be specified. The rates here proposed, are not so much by more than 40 per cent. on an average, as these of 1828, and not so much, by more than 20 per cent. as those of 1834. The improvements in manufacturing iron within these periods, is much more than is indicated in this reduction; but the English have also reduced their prices in so great a measure that the rates above mentioned are barely sufficient to sustain the business. The Committee will now respectfully submit the tabular statements referred to in the former part of this Report.

#### According to the Census.

Amount of Iron manufactured. According to the Census of the U. States for the year 1840, there are 804 Furnaces which produce 286,903 tons of Cast Iron. It is believed that ¼ of this quantity, to wit, 71,726 tons, is made into forms, such as Hollow Ware, Machinery, Plough Castings, Stove Plates, &c., and when so made is worth in market an average of \$80 per ton.....\$ 5,738,080 00

The remaining 215,177 tons of Pig Iron is converted into Wrought Iron, and is merged, (allowing for waste in the manufacture,) in the 197,233 tons mentioned below.

2d. According to the same authority, there are 795 Bloomeries, Forges and Rolling Mills, which produce 197,233 tons of Bar, Hoop, Sheet and other Wrought Iron, which is worth in market \$85 per ton..... 16,764,805 00

3d. According to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1840, there were 5,515 tons of Pig Iron imported in that year, which were converted into forms at an average cost of \$50 per ton..... 275,750 00

The whole value of Iron made in the United States in 1840.....\$22,778,635 00

#### Amount paid for Labor.

4th. The labor bestowed on the manufacture of a ton of Pig Iron varies in different locations. It depends on the convenience and contiguity to each other of the various materials required. It will average, including mining, coal-ing, hauling, transportation and all other charges, \$20 per ton, which, on 71,726 tons, as before

\* Iron wire not exceeding No. 14, 3½ cents per pound, over No. 14, 6 cents per pound. Bonnet or Cap wire covered with cotton thread or other materials, 8 cents per pound.

mentioned, which are used for casting forms, is.....

1,434,520 00

5th. Labor bestowed in converting 71,726 tons of Pig Iron made in the United States as per foregoing statement into cast forms, such as Hollow Ware, Machinery, Stove Plates, Plough Castings, and other articles of use, made of Cast Iron, including labor in mining and procuring fuel and all other things necessary, will average at least \$30 per ton.....

2,151,780 00

6th. Labor bestowed in converting 5,515 tons of Pig Iron imported into the United States, calculated as in the last foregoing article, at \$30 per ton.....

165,450 00

7th. Labor bestowed in making Wrought Iron, in procuring the materials and consolidating them, varies even in more than in Pig Iron, because the materials are more numerous, and are liable to be farther asunder, and the descriptions of Iron are more diverse. If, however, the Mineral Coal used is the product of the United States, all the labor, including smelting, mining, coaling, hauling, transportation, and all other incidental and necessary charges for labor, will average at least \$60 per ton, which on 197,233 tons, as set forth in the Census, amounts to.....

11,833,980 00

Whole sum paid for labor annually in making Iron in the United States.....

\$15,585,730 00

#### *Amount of Agricultural Products Consumed.*

According to the Census, the number of men employed in producing the foregoing Iron, including miners of iron, is 30,497. To this number may be added Miners of Coal and Lime Stone, Wood Choppers and Charcoal Colliers, Carriers and Carters, Builders and Mill Wrights, and other incidental workmen who will probably increase it to 50,000, and this number will each receive \$365, per year. It will be remembered that all the work in the manufacture of iron and incidental thereto, is heavy, and requires the physical power of men, that consequently women and children are excluded from this employment, and that most of the men have large families. It may be assumed, without extravagance, that, as an average, each man has a wife and three children depending upon him for support. Allowing this supposition, the whole number of persons sustained by the labor on and incidental to the manufacture of Iron, including men, women and children, is 213,505.

Allowing each of these persons to consume each day 12½ cents worth of agricultural products, and the amount in 365 days is.....

\$9,741,166 00

#### *Capital Employed.*

According to the Census, the Capital employed in manufacturing the before mentioned Iron, exclusive of Wood land, and Mines of Iron and Coal, held in connexion with the Furnaces and Forges, and subservient to the business, is.....

\$20,432,131 00

Add amount of Woodland and

Mines of Iron and Coal above

excluded, say,.....\$8,000,000

Whole amount of capital employed \$28,432,131 00

The foregoing statement is predicated on the returns of the Census. The general results there shown are not very far from the truth, but to a person acquainted with the subject the details are evidently erroneous. The whole number of Furnaces set forth in the Census is 804. This number is too great, yet it is well known that the products of the Furnaces in being is much greater than shown by the Census. The Committee therefore append hereto a statement which they confidently believe is more than verified by facts.

#### *Amount of Iron Manufactured.*

It is believed from facts and data ascertained and admitted, that there are in the United States 450 Blast Furnaces, and that the average yield of each is 772 tons per annum. This is the average ascertained of 70 Furnaces, making an aggregate total of 347,400 tons, worth in market \$30 per ton;.....

\$10,422,000 00

It is believed that one fourth of

this quantity, to wit: 86,850 tons, is converted into forms; such as Hollow-ware, Machinery, Plough Castings, Stove Plates and other articles of use made of Cast Iron, and when so converted is worth on an average, in addition to the worth of Pig Iron, \$50 per ton.....

4,342,500 00

In addition to the 86,850 tons above mentioned, there were imported into the United States, according to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1840, 5,515 Tons of Pig Iron, which, also converted into forms, were worth when so converted, \$50 per ton more than Pig Iron.....

275,750 00

There are 795 Bloomeries, Forges, and Rolling Mills in the United States.

The remaining  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the 347,400 tons of Pig Iron made as shown above, which is not remelted, to wit: 260,550 tons converted (allowing 20 per cent. for waste), into 208,440 tons of Bar, Rod, Hoop, Sheet and other wrought Iron by puddling and refining, which is worth in market \$85 per ton, \$17,717,400

From which deduct 260,550 tons Pig Iron, reckoned in first item above at \$30, per ton 7,816,500.....

9,990,900 00

To the Wrought Iron mentioned in the foregoing article may be added 11,774 tons of Bloomed Iron, worth in market \$70 per ton.....

824,180 00

Whole value of Wrought and Cast Iron, when in market, made in the United States in 1840.....

25,765,330 00

#### *Amount Paid for Labor.*

The amount of labor bestowed on the manufacture of a ton of Pig Iron varies in different

localities. It depends on the convenience and contiguity to each other of the various materials required. It will average, including Mining, Coaling, Hauling, Transportation to Market, and all other charges, \$20 per ton, which, on 347,400 tons, assumed as the manufacture of the United States, is.....6,948,000 00

Labor bestowed in converting 86,850 tons of Pig Iron made in the United States, as shown in the foregoing statement, into cast forms, such as Hollow-ware, Machinery, Steel Plates, Plough Castings, and other articles of use made of Cast Iron, including labor in mining and procuring fuel and all other things necessary, will average \$30, per ton.....2,605,500 00

Labor bestowed in converting 5,515 tons of Pig Iron imported, calculated as in the last foregoing article, at \$39 per ton,.....165,450 00

Labor bestowed in converting Pig into Wrought Iron, in procuring the materials and consolidating them, varies even more than in making Pig Iron, because the materials are liable to be further asunder & the descriptions of Iron are more diverse. If however the *Mineral Coal* used is the product of the U. States, all the labor, including mining and procuring fuel, hauling, transportation and all other incidental and necessary charges for labor, will average at least \$40 per ton, which on 208,440 tons, as set forth above, amounts to.....8,337,600 00

Labor bestowed in Blooming 11,774 tons of Wrought Iron, including all charges as set forth in the foregoing articles, will average \$60 per ton.....706,440 00

Whole amount paid for labor in the manufacture of Iron in the United States in 1840,.....\$18,762,990 00

*Amount of Agricultural Products Consumed, and Men Employed.*

It is believed that the number of men employed in the manufacture of the above Iron, including miners of Iron Ore, Coal, and Limestone and Wood Choppers and Charcoal Colliers, Carriers and Carters, Builders and Mill Wrights, and other incidental workmen, is 51,405. This number will each receive \$365 per year. It will be remembered that all the work in Manufacturing Iron and incidental thereto, is heavy, and requires the physical power of men; that consequently women and children are excluded from this employment; that most of the men have large families. It may be assumed without extravagance, that as an average, each man has a wife and three children depending on him for support. Allowing this supposition the whole number of persons sustained by the labor in and incidental to the manufacture of Iron, including Men, Women and Children, is 257,025.

Allowing each of these persons to consume each day the worth of 12½ cents of agricultural pro-

duce, the whole amount consumed in 365 days is \$11,726,766 00.

This falls a little short of the facts actually ascertained at several establishments owing principally to grain and ferage fed to Horses and Cattle employed in the business.

#### Capital Employed.

It is ascertained that the Capital employed in the Manufacture of Iron at several establishments is a little less than the amount of the annual products of these establishments, and it is believed that this rule will hold true throughout the country, if we exclude the value of the large quantities of Wood Land, Iron and Coal Mines held in connection with many of the Furnaces and Bloomeries.

The Capital employed in such establishments will therefore amount, according to this rule to about.....22,508,000 00

Add to this the amount of Wood land, and mines of Iron and Coal above excluded, say.....8,000,000 00

Whole amount of Capital employed.....\$30,508,000 00

SAMUEL OAKLEY, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
J. F. WINSLOW, Troy, N. Y.  
JOSEPH GARDNER, Pennsylvania.  
MARTIN I. RYERSON, New Jersey.  
DAY O. KELLOGG, Troy, N. Y.  
J. BURDEN, Troy, N. Y.

#### Report on Coal.

[Brought in by Dr. J. C. FISHER, of Va.]

THE sub-Committee to whom was referred the subject of Coal, would respectfully report, that they have examined the state of the Coal trade of this country in as thorough a manner as the limited time they have had at their command would permit, with such imperfect data as could be procured from different sources. The statistics obtained from the late census of the United States, are evidently far below the reality, as may be seen from the following statement, which will serve as a fair example. The whole amount of Anthracite Coal raised in Pennsylvania, in the census is given at 859,686 tons, while the amount that was actually sent to tide-water, and not including the amount consumed in the country in the manufacture of iron, and in other ways, was, for the same year, 865,414 tons. Your committee believe that the same is the case with the other Coal regions of the United States, and while they would base their report on the statistics furnished by the census, they wish the above fact to be distinctly remembered, and a fair addition to be made to the amount of this great interest. According to the above-mentioned statistics, the amount of all the Anthracite Coal raised during the year 1840, was 863,489 tons, which, at \$5 the ton, which may be assumed as the fair market value of the Coal, would amount to \$4,317,445. The amount of Bituminous Coal raised in the same year was 27,603,171 bushels, which at \$5 the ton of 28 bushels, amounts to \$4,878,780. By far the larger proportion of this Coal was raised in Pennsylvania and Virginia. The number of men employed in the actual mining of Coal, ac-



cording to the same authority, is 5,769, a number we believe to be much below the reality. This does not, of course, include the families dependent upon them, nor those who are engaged in the transportation of the Coal to market, and in the various coal yards and other places where it is delivered, all of whom depend upon this branch of business for their support. Your Committee believe that, including all these various branches, the number employed should be estimated as at least four times as great, viz.: 23,176. All these, from the nature of the business, are, and must be, adults, and if we allow to each four other persons as depending upon him, the number of persons depending upon this interest for their daily sustenance, will be not far from 90,000 souls. If we allow for the daily support of each of these individuals 12½ cents per day, not including, of course, clothing and other necessities, the amount will be \$4,097,000 for the agricultural productions of the country. Your Committee have thus far examined the subject without reference to the Iron and other manufactures of the country, and have exhibited only its direct bearing upon the agricultural interest. When, however, we come to view it in connection with the great manufacturing interests of the country, it rises immeasurably in importance. From examinations that have, within a few years past, been made under the state authorities by competent Geologists, we find that this invaluable mineral has been placed by an All-wise and beneficent Providence in rich abundance throughout our land. It is not necessary for your Committee to particularise the various locations of Coal throughout the United States. It would swell this report to such a size as might serve to divert and embarrass our attention from the great facts which we wish to impress. Suffice it to say, coal abounds throughout the middle, and western, and south-western states. Associated with it, and imposed upon it, frequently occur strata of iron, lime, sandstone, and fire clay, needing only the capital and skill which a steady and efficient protection would afford to develop them, and furnish to our country new and vast sources of wealth and power. So long, however, as we shall, by our own unwise legislation, favor the foreign manufacturer, and prefer to build up the iron manufacturers of Wales and England, rather than our own, so long the vast storehouses of wealth with which our country abounds will remain unopened, and our commercial and financial affairs will be in continual derangement. Had the money which has gone abroad to Europe for the single article of railroad iron, been expended in our own country in procuring it, it would have built up our iron interests, and developed our resources of Coal to an extent which your Committee can scarcely calculate. Instead of being oppressed with a foreign debt, to the extent that we now are, and having all our business relations deranged, we should now be in a happy and prosperous condition. There is no necessity resting upon us that a single pound of Iron, or bushel of Coal, should be introduced into this country from abroad. We have all the materials in greater abundance than any other country on the globe; and we have the skill necessary from those materials, to manufacture an article equal, if not superior, to any that can be produced elsewhere. In order, however, that capitalists may be induced to embark in this branch of industry,

they require that there should be some prospect of a secure market for the results of their investments. So long as the home market is left unguarded and exposed to all the fluctuations of foreign countries, and a fluctuating and unsteady course of legislation at home, they will not engage in the manufacture of Iron, and the mining of Coal, because they know not but that as soon as their fortunes are enlisted in the enterprise, they may be at once reduced to poverty by the combined efforts of the foreign manufacturers who wish to secure the market for themselves.

Your Committee would now refer to the subject of foreign Coal, and show in what way it affects us injuriously. The only source from which any great quantity of foreign Coal can be introduced into the United States is the British Provinces on our north-eastern boundary. All of the mines of coal in our own country, with the exception of those in Eastern Virginia, are at a distance from tide water, of from 100 to 200 miles, and upwards: those in Eastern Virginia are, on an average, fifteen miles from tide water. Now, as Coal is a bulky article, the cost of transportation is very great, and adds much to the first cost. It is true, that by our canals and railroads leading from the mines to the sea-board the price of coal has been, and by fair competition, and greater economy, will be still more reduced to the consumer. This result, however, cannot be expected until more capital shall have been invested, and more persons induced to embark in the business. At this time, the Coal of the Sydney and Pictou mines, not equal in quality to our own, can, if due protection be not given, be thrown into our Atlantic ports, where the great demand at present exists at such prices as will forbid all hope of profit to our own Coal miners, and thus prevent others from engaging in the business. When our own miners are crushed by foreign competition, they can then ask such prices as they please, and we must pay them. When we look at this subject in the light thrown upon it by the late improvements in navigation, it would seem as if there could scarcely be a dissenting voice throughout our country, to an efficient protection for this great interest.

Steam is rapidly changing the mode in which war will hereafter be made between civilized nations. Already England has built up a powerful fleet of steam vessels of war, and her great resource and reservoir for the supply of fuel for that fleet, in the event of a war with this country, will be the mines of Nova Scotia. Shall we, then, go on to cripple our own energies, and develop the resources of a neighboring country, and thus arm her against us?

Your Committee believe that a specific duty of 6 cents a bushel on all foreign coal imported into this country will prove an efficient protection against the fluctuations arising from foreign competition, and will produce a greater degree of confidence in capitalists, leading them to embark their money in developing our resources, and will not materially, even at the present time, enhance the price to the consumer. We believe that the great interests of the country call for such protection, for there is no one interest on which so much depends.

Respectfully submitted by

JAMES C. FISHER, VA.  
MICHAEL MURPHY, PA.  
R. F. HART, Troy, N. Y.

**Hardware, &c. &c.**

(By PHILIP RIPLEY, Hartford, Conn.)

The Sub-Committee to whom was referred the manufactures of Hardware—would respectfully beg leave to submit the following report, respecting the manufacture of Hardware and other goods embraced in these interests, and they would submit the Statistics embraced in the Census of 1840, as data upon which their estimates are founded. The manufactures for the year 1840 are as follows:

	Men emp'd.	Capital inv'd.
Machinery .....	\$10,890,581	13,091
Hardware and Cutlery...	6,451,987	5,491
Other Metallic Wares...	9,779,442	6,577
Musical Instruments...	225,324	908
Mixed Manufactures...	6,545,583	15,995
Carrriages and Wagons...	10,897,887	21,994
274 Iron Cannon.....	41,100	
88,073 Small Arms.....	800,000	1,744
Total.....	\$48,438,404	48,721
Persons dependent on laborers, 21 each	114,309	100,023
Cost of food, paid to farmers, for the above persons	\$7,300,051	
Amount paid the Real Estate owner for house rent	810,000	
Do. paid for Cotton clothing per annum.....	1,145,025	
Do. paid for Woolen do do .....	914,424	
Total of these items.....	\$10,167,497	

*Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of CANNON cast and SMALL ARMS made, number of MEN EMPLOYED, value of HARDWARE and CUTLERY manufactured, in the six Eastern States, viz: Maine, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont.*

Hardware, &c.	Men em.	Cnn.	Small's.	Men em
New-England.....	\$3,941,273	2,781	50	37,219
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
New-York.....	1,666,974	982	112	8,305
New-Jersey.....	85,575	183		2,010
Pennsylvania.....	786,982	770	5	21,971
	\$2,437,531	1,855	117	31,889
SOUTH MIDDLE STATES—(Del. Md. Va. N. C.)				
Aggregate.....	\$83,374	236		10,495
COTTON STATES—(S. C. Ga. Ala. Miss. La. Tenn.)				
Aggregate.....	\$122,376	236	4	1,344
WESTERN STATES—(Ky. Ohio, Ind. Ill. Mo. Ark. Mich. Pa. Wia. Iowa, D. C.)				
Aggregate.....	\$461,413	451	108	7,126

*Amount of value and quantity of Manufactures of Iron imported into the United States from all other countries in the year 1839.*

Manufactures of Iron, and Iron and Steel, paying *ad valorem* duties, (viz: side arms, fire arms, drawing knives, cutting knives, hatchets, axes, adzes, socket chisels, steel-yards, scale-beams, vices, sickles or reaping-hooks, scythes, spades, shovels, squares of iron or steel, wood screws, and articles not specified,) amounting to \$5,585,061.

Manufactures of Iron and Steel paying specific duties, viz: Muskets, rifles, cap and bonnet wire, tacks, brads, sprigs, nails, spikes, cables, chains, mill cranks, mill saws, anchors, anvils, blacksmith's hammers, sledges, round iron or brazier's rods, nail or spike rods, sheet and hoop, bard scroll or casement rods, slit or hammered bar, manufactured by rolling, otherwise steel.

Amounting to.....	15,980,793 lb.	\$839,221
Muskets and Rifles...	3,404 "	9,524
Mill Saws.....	2,241 "	7,385
Iron Castings.....	2,921,877 "	79,740

Total importation of iron manufac...\$6,806,226

It appears evident from these statistics that in the employment of 27 millions of capital, more than 10 millions of dollars are annually paid out, for the food and clothing and house rent of the mechanics, and their families, and so far as the Eastern States are concerned, a very large propor-

tion of this expenditure is paid for clothing and food to the Southern planter and Western agriculturist; and goes most conclusively to show the intimate connection and mutual interest between these several sections of our common country; and also that it is essentially important to the producers of food and clothing, and the owners of real estate, that the manufacturer and mechanic should be encouraged, protected and sustained, in their several arts and employments—not only to prevent them from being compelled to cultivate the soil for their subsistence, but to retain them among their most valuable, permanent and accessible customers.

It can scarcely be doubted that a tariff of duties on importations of foreign manufactured goods, of sufficient amount and discriminating application, to protect the domestic manufacturer in the safe investment and employment of his capital and skill, will have the same direct and immediate effect on the success and prosperity of the farmer, in affording him a permanent and ready market for every thing he has to sell. These are interests inseparably connected in their progress and welfare. And encouragement and protection to the mechanic, will give health and vigor and happiness and prosperity alike to both; and no other interest will be sacrificed or suffer harm in their progress to wealth and permanent independence.

In attempting to describe such a tariff of duties as may be applicable to our wants and circumstances, your Committee cannot recognise any policy as being truly American but such as will guard and protect American labor. And while our laws and public documents are generally drawn up by men learned and skilled in language, it not unfrequently happens, on their practical application, that their provisions and designs are found defective and are easily avoided.

We have often heard it asserted, and by some of the public journals the doctrine is supported, that the Middle and Eastern States are clamorous for an excessively high rate of duty for their special aggrandizement and protection. From a careful and protracted examination of the subject, your Committee feel bound to declare that they have found no sound evidence whatever to sustain these unqualified and positive assertions, and we are well convinced that a fair estimate of *specific* duties, equal to the legal rates of 1839, would be ample encouragement, and entirely satisfactory to the country. To obtain a fair collection of the duties imposed, every thing, as far as practicable, should be made *certain* and *specific*, and thus avoid the annoyance of appraisement and the dishonesty of false invoices, against which the *honorable* importer, has so long and so unsuccessfully had to contend.

Let it be known to the country, and understood by Congress, that a high tariff of duties on the importation of hardware, is neither expected or desired, and that with very few exceptions, a duty of 30 per cent. in a specific form, fairly collected, would be entirely satisfactory in all its endless variety of articles.

In order to sustain this extensive and valuable branch of home industry, nearly all articles required for its consumption as raw stock, and not produced in this country, should be admitted *duty free*. And this policy would afford more immediate and effective relief than high rates of pro-

section on finished goods. But the Eastern mechanics will never object to paying a fair rate of protection on any good article of *American* production consumed in their business, no matter what section of the country it may come from.

The article of Sheet Iron has never been made for market, east of the Hudson River, and while it is quite probable that two thirds of our whole consumption of it is in the Eastern States, there is not an honorable-minded mechanic in New England who will object to paying 2½ cents per pound duty for the encouragement and protection of the Iron masters in the Middle and Western States, where this article is made.

By the operation of our former tariff laws, there are many articles of hardware which are entirely prohibited, or must be imported under great disadvantages. The articles of sheet, hoop, rod, scroll and plate Iron, have been for many years protected by a duty of 3 cents per pound while all kinds of finished hardware made from these articles have been admitted under 25 per cent. duty, and the articles of bed-screws, bellows-pipes, door-bolts, iron castors, coal hods, dust-pans shovel blades, iron fenders and iron hoops, were imported by the pound weight, for less cost than similar goods from which they were made, and the articles of butt hinges, chains of all kinds, (except for cables,) chest handles, coffee mills, curry combs, blind fastenings, gridirons, fire irons, wood screws, latches, locks of all kinds, iron rivets and many other articles, have been imported so as to occasion great disadvantage to the American manufacturer, and but little above the cost of the raw material.

These laws tend to give *direct* bounties to foreign labor, and also to defraud the revenue and the mechanic of this country, and encourage the importation of a class of goods strictly belonging to the production and employment of our home manufacturers.

The Committee cannot dismiss this part of their duty without expressing their full conviction that all this class of goods should be chargeable with the same *specific* duty per pound weight, as are the materials from which they are made, and with at least an *ad valorem* duty of 20 per cent. generally and 30 per cent. on wood screws, for the protection of home labor, required in finishing the goods.

On bed screws, fire irons, hooks and hinges, trace-chains, and all other articles made of iron, partly or wholly, which, delivered at Liverpool, cost not over ten cents per pound weight, there should be a specific duty of three cents per pound.

The following articles are mentioned as a specimen of the difference in the raw material and the manufactured article:—

	Weight.	Cost delivered at Liverpool.	Amount of Duty at 30 per cent.	Duty on the Iron of which they are made at 2½ cts pr lb.
1 gr. Bed Screws, . . . . .	31 lb	\$1.20 or 4 cts pr lb	36	77½
1 csk Hooks & Hinges, 370		15.80 or 3½ do	5.28	14.25
1 " Trace Chains, . . . . .	522	18.90 or 3½ do	5.67	15.00

Let it be known to the country—to producers and consumers—that a high tariff is not to be dreaded or dreaded for the purpose of materially augmenting the price of the article: but it should be

made *permanent*, and be sufficient to give confidence to our home manufactures to engage and invest in the business with a reasonable belief, that in perseverance and skill, and good quality, we can fairly compete with foreign producers, without being much under bid, or driven out of the market.

There is no principle of trade better known and established, than that an increase of duty *does not* augment, in the same degree, the cost of the article to the consumer. Very often the price is ultimately *reduced*, and sometimes immediately, notwithstanding the increase of duties.

The article of cut nails has long been protected by a duty of five cents per pound, and copperas by \$2 the 112 lbs. By the use of improvements in machinery, and greater skill, combined with fair competition, both these articles have been supplied in great abundance from our home sources for less than the rates of the duties. It had been contended that all duties should be laid with principal reference to revenue; and that no more money should be raised in this way than may be found necessary for the safe defence of the country, and the prudent and dignified administration of the Government; but within this view it is believed that *discrimination, encouragement, and protection* should be made, and the duties imposed in such a manner, that, while no class will suffer loss or inconvenience, a most beneficial and nourishing degree of assistance will be extended to the mechanics and manufacturers, and the whole country will partake of its beneficial influence, and become healthy, prosperous, and happy. Such a state of things is within the scope of Congress to effect, by prompt, prudent, and efficient action.

It is a subject of honest pride and patriotic congratulation, that this country can fairly bid defiance to the manufacturing skill of *all Europe* in some of its productions; and while the unrivalled character of our *axes* and many other articles is known and acknowledged throughout the boundaries of civilized life, we may well be justified in asking Congress to foster and encourage such skill and industry, as will tend emphatically to establish so important a branch of national independence.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

PHILIP RIPLEY,

Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Hardware.

#### Cut Nails.

[Report Supplementary to the foregoing.]

In adverting to the article of Cut Nails, we are furnished with data whereby to illustrate the beneficial effects of a protective policy upon the industry of the country. Prior to the year 1828 the quantity of Nails made in this country was, as compared with the quantity now made, insignificant, and a large portion of all then produced, were made in part by hand labor—the price ranging from 9 cts. to 14 cts. per pound. The imposition of the duty of that period of 5 cts. per pound—a rate equivalent to a prohibition against their introduction from abroad, was marked by an immediate reduction in the price and consequent increase of demand. This demand created an increased production and competition; this competition provoked improvements in machinery and economy in the detail of manufac-

ture to such an extent, that at this time Nails are selling in our markets, from American material of good quality, at 4½ cts. per pound—one half cent per pound below the rate of duty which prevailed from 1828 to 1833—so that to-day we are prepared to say that with a future protective duty of 3 cts. per pound upon Cut Nails, we shall be satisfied in this department of manufactures.

With the article of Wrought Nails and Spikes, we are enabled by means of machinery of American origin, to supply the demand for ship-building, and for fastening the many thousand miles of railroads in our country, at rates below those at which they can be introduced from England; whereas before the imposition of the duty of 1828 of 4 cts. per pound; and before the application of machinery to their manufacture, the price of ordinary boat Spikes was 12 cents per pound, while such as were suitable for railroad purposes were unknown as an article of manufacture. The duty now required to sustain these branches of manufacture is 3 cents upon Spikes and 4 cents for nails. With this protection we can successfully sustain ourselves against foreign interference.

The statistical matter belonging to this department of the Iron interest, I do not here exhibit. This is included in the report of the Subcommittee having charge of "Articles made from Iron," which will be submitted to the Convention.

J. F. WINSLOW, Troy, N. Y.  
Of the Sub-Committee.

#### Wood Screws.

OFFICE OF THE NEW-ENGLAND SCREW CO.  
PROVIDENCE, R. I. April 4th, 1842.

To the Chairman of Committee on Hardware,  
of the Home Industry Convention, New-York:

DEAR SIR: Below I send you a statement of facts in relation to the manufacture of Brass and Iron Wood Screws in the United States, as far as I have been able to learn from those acquainted with this branch of industry. There are in our city two manufactories of Wood Screws, with a capital of *Two Hundred Thousand Dollars*—making *two thousand gross per day*—employing 50 men, 200 females, and 50 boys, whose daily wages amount at the present time to *Two Hundred Dollars*. They use annually 600 tons American refined iron, reduced to quarter inch rods, worth \$130 per ton; 750 tons Anthracite Coal; 1000 gallons Sperm Oil; 300 carboys Sulphuric Acid, \$3000 worth of Paper and Twine, together with many other small articles, which in the aggregate amount to a very considerable sum.—The capital invested by other manufacturers, in the States of Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, amounts to more than \$300,000—with machinery capable of manufacturing a much greater quantity than the two in our city, most of which, I am informed, are now lying idle for the want of a sufficient protection, and when in operation, making an article generally superior to any imported into our country from Europe. It is my opinion that this branch of industry cannot be sustained in our country without a legislative valuation on the pound weight or gross, with an ad valorem duty of at least 30 per cent. Should you desire any other information in relation to this business, I shall be pleased to give it, if in my power to do so.

I am truly your obedient servant,  
ALEX. HODGES, Agent, N. E. Screw Co.

#### Plated Saddlery and Hardware.

The Committee on Saddlery make the following report:—

The amount of home manufacture is necessarily very limited, not exceeding twenty thousand dollars per year in the city of Newark, while there is imported for that city alone more than sixty thousand per annum. The material for manufacture is all domestic, and comprises about one-half the cost. A principal part of the material is iron which has a protection in the unmanufactured state. The balance is labor, which is at least fifty per cent. higher here than in the countries from which the wares are imported; and the material, owing to a protection in this country, costs the manufacturer about forty per cent. more here than it does in the countries from which the goods are imported. This makes the wares cost here about forty-five per cent. more than there—thus requiring an ad valorem protection, of thirty-five or forty per cent. on a home valuation, to enable the home manufacturer to compete successfully with importers, though it is thought a specific duty would best tend to that result, by the prevention of frauds in foreign invoices. An ad valorem duty virtually leaves it with the foreign shipper, in making out his invoice, to say what the duty shall be here; or, if carried out, it would absolutely defeat the design of a protective tariff, by affording inducements to other Governments to offer an export bounty, thus enabling the shipper to make his invoice, say ten per cent. less, knowing that for ten per cent. in his invoice he receives thirteen per cent. here.

In establishing a protective tariff for home manufactures in general, there are many other reasons why a specific duty would more effectually tend to the result which is most needed.

Newark, April 7, 1842.

#### REPORT ON BUTTONS AND PINS.

[Brought in by EDWARD COOK, of N. Y.]

The Committee on Buttons and Pins beg leave respectfully to

##### Report:

**FIRST ON BUTTONS.** There are six manufactories of gilt or metal Buttons, having eyes or shanks, in the United States.

The amount of capital invested in this business is \$600,000.

The number of persons employed, when in full operation, is from 450 to 500.

The annual amount of goods produced is about \$750,000.

Your committee state, that since the manufacture of buttons has been introduced into this country, the price has been greatly reduced to the consumer.

The duty of 30 per cent proposed by the committee on manufactures, of the House of Representatives will afford sufficient protection to Buttons of every description, except the lowest priced. The labor of these is the chief item in their cost, the material being of small comparative value. Your committee therefore recommend the following proviso to be inserted in the Tariff:

"All metal buttons not exceeding in value one dollar per gross, shall be valued at one dollar per gross."

The capital employed in the manufacture of other descriptions of buttons, such as lasting and other covered buttons; dead-eye buttons of metal, pearl, bone, horn, &c., amounts to not less than \$300,000, employing 2000 persons, and affording an annual product of \$350,000.

The aggregate capital employed in the manufacture of buttons of all descriptions, is \$1,400,000.

The total number of persons employed is 2,500, and the total value of goods produced annually is \$1,550,000.

The quantity of anthracite coal used by the button manufactures, is not less than 400 tons per annum, together with very large quantities of wood and charcoal.

The value of paper, printing and twine consumed annually is not less than 25,000.

If we include the families of persons directly employed in button making, and those incidentally employed in connection with it, the number of persons depending on this trade for employment and subsistence, may be safely estimated at not less than 10,000.

SECOND, on Pins. Your Committee beg leave to state that there are two manufactories of Pins in the United States, both of which are in their infancy.

The amount of capital invested in these manufactories is from 75 to \$100,000.

The number of persons employed is from 80 to 100.

The annual amount of Pins produced is about \$100,000, and is increasing.

The Brass wire and paper used in this manufacture, together with the printing, boxes, twine, &c. give employment to a considerable amount of American labor and capital. The foreign manufacturer of Pins gets his wire and paper at a much lower price than they can be obtained here, these articles being produced much cheaper in Europe than in the United States, and being subject to a protective duty when imported into this country. The labor also employed in the manufacture of Pins in Europe, is of the cheapest kind, much of it being that of paupers and prisoners. Your committee therefore believe that pins could not be manufactured in the United States by manual labor, without a very high—perhaps an unreasonable degree of protection. They would, however, state that the manufacture, as at present established, is carried on by means of labor-saving machinery, and the manufacturers believe, that a reasonable protection will enable them to afford their Pins as cheap as those now imported, provided they could be secured against frauds in importation, by under-valuation or false invoices. They would therefore prefer specific duties.

Your Committee further state, that American Pins are of the kind called "solid headed," that is, having the whole pin to consist of one piece of metal, and they are therefore preferable to common pins, inasmuch as the heads are not liable to come off. All which is respectfully submitted.

EDWARD COOK, Chairman.

JNO I. HOWE, Secretary.

## REPORT ON JEWELRY, &c.

[Brought in by T. ADDISON, of N. Y.]

*The Committee, to whom the subject of Jewelry was referred, in the absence of the Chairman and two of the members, appointed three gentlemen to fill the vacancies, as authorized by resolution of the Convention; and the Committee, thus organized, proceeded to discharge the duties assigned them. They have, with as much diligence as the shortness of the time would permit, collected such facts as, in their opinion, are of importance; and they would respectfully*

### Report:

That no reliance can be placed upon the statistics of the Sixth Census, so far as they relate to the subject under consideration. In proof of this the Committee will instance one of the most palpable errors—being that of the State of New Jersey, which is there stated to have but seven persons engaged in manufacturing the precious metals; whereas the Committee can point to more than seven manufacturing establishments in the city of Newark alone, which have employed more than two hundred persons. Your Committee, from the best information they have obtained, consider it a low estimate to compute the number of persons employed in manufacturing jewelry, watch cases, silver ware, pencil cases, &c., at twenty thousand, of which number nearly seventeen hundred reside in the city of New York. And the amount of precious metals annually manufactured, they estimate at five millions of dollars; a large proportion of which consists of old jewelry and silver ware re-manufactured. The balance is foreign coins and bullion remitted from the Southern States. The remainder of the old jewelry and silver ware is sent to the Mint to be coined; consequently the amount of precious metals withdrawn from circulation in this way is comparatively very small.

An argument made use of by those who oppose duties on jewelry, &c., is that, by the importation of articles manufactured of the precious metals, the country adds to its supply. Your Committee are satisfied that the average value of precious metals, in imported articles of this class, will barely reach twenty-five per cent of their cost in this country; so that, for every one thousand dollars of the precious metals imported in this shape, we have to send four thousand dollars in coin out of the country.

The capital employed in the different manufactories is very large, though the amount your Committee are not prepared to state. The competition which the gold and silver artisans have to contend against, is almost entirely confined to that class of imported articles employing the greatest amount of labor and the least value of material; and it is well ascertained, that every article of superior quality of workmanship or material, can be manufactured as well in this country as in Europe, and at such prices as that there can be no inducement to run the risk of confiscation by smuggling. *Articles of jewelry, &c., should not therefore be classed with, or subjected to, the rules applying to such articles of small bulk and great value as must of necessity come from abroad.*

Many of the different patterns originated in this country have been purchased by the dealers in the foreign article and sent to Europe, to be imitated in materials of an inferior quality, though of the same general appearance as those of our own; and these imitations are sent here to be sold upon the credit established by the superior article of our manufacture.

In addition to the utility of the articles now under consideration, the intimate connection which has ever existed between the different creations of cultivated taste leads us to suppose that encouragement to genius will continue to be extended; and as these articles ever have been and will continue to be in demand—forming the connecting link between the Fine Arts and ordinary mechanical employment—they will ever be appreciated by those who have taste to discern, or a desire to see the useful blended with the ornamental. The point at issue, therefore, is, whether the demand is to be supplied from the home manufactures, or whether we are to pay foreigners the heavy excess before mentioned.

Your Committee are of opinion that the present rate of duty of twenty per cent. is barely sufficient to compensate for the difference between American and European labor, and afford that protection to our artisans to which they are justly entitled.

The Committee take this occasion to state that the present mode of levying duties upon solid gold and plated articles at the same rate is productive of great benefit to the revenue, as it was customary with many importers to enter all articles as gold jewelry that were solid in any part; thereby paying but twelve and one-half per cent., when the correct rate of duty would have been twenty-five per cent., according to Comptroller Anderson's decision made in 1833.

The Committee having observed that this branch of business has met with direct opposition from importers and others interested in foreign manufactures, they have been induced to examine the origin and character of such opposition. It is perhaps but natural that the numerous foreigners who are engaged in this business should exert themselves to advance the interests of the foreign houses with which they are connected; and in their efforts to reduce the duties, they have been joined by the importers generally, who, to use their own language, claim, "as honest importers, protection against smugglers," when these very memorialists sell *ninety* per cent. of all this class of foreign goods sold in this city! The remaining ten per cent. is sold to a class of "pedlars, &c." with whom they have but limited dealings, and they, therefore, do not require protection against this competition. Your Committee, from a conviction of this truth, do not hesitate to say, that, if these "honest importers" will not deal, *under any circumstances*, in goods that they know or suspect to have been fraudulently brought into the country, there will be but a small amount of these articles smuggled into this port. And the sympathy they have expressed for us, as manufacturers, together with their pretence of memorializing Congress for our protection, by the reduction of duties, is as heartless as it is entirely uncalled for. All of which is respectfully submitted.

THOMAS ADDISON,  
HENRY J. HOYT,  
WM. ADAMS,  
STEPHEN H. PALMER,  
M. C. BALDWIN.

## REPORT ON COMMERCE.

[Brought in by JOSEPH GRINNELL, of Mass.]

*The Committee appointed to report on the "present condition of the Commerce of the United States, and the effects of our own and foreign Legislation thereon," beg leave to*

### Report!

That since the falsely called Reciprocity Treaties were entered into and concluded by this country, there has been a constant increase of Foreign Tonnage employed in the Commerce of our country, that the injurious effect of the low price of labor in Europe is operating on the American ship owners to as great an extent as on any of our products or manufactures, and that the important interest—the Navigation of the Country—requires the fostering care and protection of our Government.

To illustrate the impolicy of this specious Reciprocity system, we will notice its operation on the commerce of this country with the Hanseatic Towns—a small territory containing less than 400,000 inhabitants\*. In our treaty with them, the reciprocity principle is carried so far as to allow their vessels to import from any part of the world the products or manufactures of any country into our ports on the same terms as if imported in American vessels, thus opening to them a market of 17 millions of inhabitants, for the privilege of importing into their ports the manufactures and products of any part of the world to a market of 400,000 inhabitants!—The mere statement of these facts is deemed to be sufficient to show the real inequality of this Treaty, and of its injurious effects upon our Commerce. To show that the direct trade between those towns and this country is principally carried on in their vessels, we will state the amount of Foreign and American Tonnage employed therein, as reported by the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress, for two years, ending September 30, 1840, by which it appears that over three fourths of this trade has been carried on in Foreign vessels.

	AMERICAN TONNAGE.		FOREIGN TONNAGE.	
	Entered.	Cleared.	Entered.	Cleared.
1839.....	10,721	4,892	37,741	29,998
1840.....	12,717	17,849	38,177	42,324
	23,438	22,741	75,918	72,322

(See H. R. Doc. No. 251, 26th Cong. 1st Session, page 274. Senate Doc. No. 122, 2d Session, 26th Congress, page 268.)

The vessels of the Hanse Towns also compete with ours in the trade between this country and other countries, particularly with Brazil. A few years since it was confined almost exclusively to American vessels. To show the rapid increase of Foreign vessels in this trade, we will give the comparative statement from the Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury for two years, ending September 30, 1840.

	AMERICAN TONNAGE.		FOREIGN TONNAGE.	
	Entered.	Cleared.	Entered.	Cleared.
1839.....	34,457	39,431	2,367	3,183
1840.....	32,588	34,189	5,578	1,764
	67,045	73,620	7,945	4,947

(See H. R. Doc. No. 251, 26th Cong. 1st Session, page 274. Senate Doc. No. 122, 26th Congress, 2d Session.)

showing that the Foreign Tonnage entered from Brazil, in 1840, was more than double that of 1839.

Your Committee are informed by merchants of this city, in whom they have full confidence, that, in 1841, over 100,000 bags of Coffee was imported into this country from Brazil in Foreign vessels, being nearly one fourth of the whole import! This alarming increase of Foreign Tonnage in the Commerce of our country, is sufficient to show, that unless our Government adopts regulations for the protection of our Navigation, we shall lose the principal part of the carrying trade, to and from Foreign countries. One further proof that the Tonnage employed in our Foreign commerce, has not increased with the growth of the country, we state from the official Reports to Congress, the Registered Tonnage, in 1815, was 854,294 tons, and in 1840, 899,764 tons.—[Senate Doc., 26th Cong. 2d Session, p. 304.

We attribute the cause of this mainly to the adoption of Treaties upon the principle, falsely called Reciprocal, and to the low price of Labor in Europe. In the Hanse Towns, the wages of a ship carpenter is 50c. per day—in this country, \$1.75. The wages of ship masters \$15 to \$20 per month—in this country \$50 to \$75; of seamen \$8 per month—in this country \$12 to \$15. Many of the articles for building and equipping vessels are also much lower than in this country, viz., duck, cordage and iron.

There is an important consideration arising from the difference in the Laws of the Hanseatic Towns and our own. They allow their citizens to purchase vessels wherever they can buy them cheapest, and clothe them with their papers and flag, and thus nationalize them; whereas the American ship owner is confined to vessels built in this country. In case of a profitable carrying trade to or from this country, the Hanse Towns can furnish immediately almost any amount of Tonnage, entitled, in our Ports, to the same privileges as our own.

Your Committee are informed that the present Secretary of State has prepared a Report on this subject in detail, giving a comparative statement of our Commerce with every country; that he is in favor of protecting this important interest; and we may hope that he will present such able and conclusive arguments on the subject, as that early and decisive action may be adopted, giving it such advantages over Foreign Tonnage as may be just and wise.

The subject of Warehousing Foreign Goods, having been added to the duties of your Committee, they beg leave to Report that they are of opinion, that it would be wise to admit Foreign Goods to be put into stores provided by Government, for one year, on the following conditions, viz: that they may be entered for consumption at any time within one year after importation, on the payment of the lawful duties, in cash, with interest thereon, from the time of importation—and that they may be exported at any time within one year after importation from the Warehouse, on the payment of storage, and other actual expenses. If not entered or exported at the expiration of one year, the Collector shall then sell the goods, and pay to the owner any surplus beyond the duties, interest thereon, and expenses. Your Committee are of opinion that this system is indispensable, if duties are to be paid in cash.

In conclusion, your Committee recommend the adoption of the following Resolutions:—

1st. That it is the duty of our Government to terminate the Reciprocal Treaties, so called, with Foreign countries as speedily as it can be done with good faith, except such as are limited to the direct trade, and in which we have equal privileges.

2d. That Laws should be adopted, giving advantages to our own vessels, when it can be done consistently with our Treaties with other nations, by imposing additional duties on goods imported in Foreign vessels.

Per order of the Committee.

JOS. GRINNELL, Chairman.

*Statistical Table showing the aggregate number of COMMERCIAL HOUSES in FOREIGN TRADE, number of COMMISSION HOUSES, and Capital Invested.*

	Commercial houses in Foreign Trade	Number of Commission houses	Capital Invested
Maine .....	70	14	\$1,646,926
New Hampshire....	18	6	1,330,600
Massachusetts.....	241	123	13,881,517
Rhode Island.....	44	57	2,043,750
Connecticut.....	10	13	565,000
Vermont.....	...	...	.....
Total.....	373	213	\$19,467,793

NORTHERN STATES.		MIDDLE STATES.	
New-York.....	469	1044	\$49,583,001
New-Jersey.....	2	8	99,000
Pennsylvania.....	194	178	3,662,811
Total.....	665	1230	\$53,344,812

SOUTHERN STATES.		MIDDLE STATES.	
Delaware.....	...	.....	.....
Maryland.....	79	117	\$4,414,000
Virginia.....	31	64	4,299,500
North Carolina.....	4	46	151,300
Total.....	105	227	\$8,864,800

SOUTHERN OR COTTON STATES.			
South Carolina.....	41	41	\$3,668,050
Georgia.....	4	82	1,543,500
Alabama.....	51	101	3,355,012
Mississippi.....	7	67	673,900
Louisiana.....	24	381	16,770,000
Tennessee.....	13	52	1,495,100
Total.....	140	724	\$27,505,562

WESTERN STATES.			
Kentucky.....	5	50	620,700
Ohio.....	53	241	5,928,200
Indiana.....	11	26	1,207,400
Illinois.....	2	51	333,800
Missouri.....	3	39	746,500
Arkansas.....	10	10	91,000
Michigan.....	...	26	177,500
Florida.....	23	21	542,000
Wisconsin.....	1	7	63,000
Iowa.....	...	14	92,300
Dis. of Columbia...	7	2	310,000
Total.....	115	487	\$10,112,400

Statistical Table showing the aggregate value of Ships and Vessels built in the United States.

Eastern States.		Cotton Growing States.		Northern Middle States.		Western States.	
Value of ships & Vessels built.		Value of ships & Vessels built.					
Maine.....\$1,844,902		South Carolina.....60,000		New-York.....797,317		Kentucky.....	
N. Hampshire...78,000		Georgia.....		New-Jersey....344,240		Ohio.....522,855	
Massachusetts.1,349,994		Alabama.....		Pennsylvania...668,015		Indiana.....107,223	
Rhode Island...41,500		Mississippi.....13,925		Total.....\$1,809,572		Illinois.....39,200	
Connecticut....428,900		Louisiana.....30,500		Southern Middle States.		Missouri.....	
Vermont.....72,000		Tennessee.....229		Delaware.....35,400		Arkansas.....500	
Total.....\$3,815,296		Total.....\$154,654		Maryland.....279,771		Michigan.....10,500	
				Virginia.....136,807		Florida.....14,100	
				North Carolina..62,800		Wisconsin.....7,159	
				Total.....\$514,778		Iowa.....	
						District of Col'n.20,259	
						Total.....721,796	

Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of Domestic Trade and Commerce, Capital Invested, Men Employed, &amp;c. in the United States.

	Retail Dry Goods, Grocery & other Stores	Capital invested	Lumber Yards & Trade	Capital invested	No. of persons employed	Internal Transportation No. of Men employed	Railroads, Packets, &c. No. of men employed	Capital invested
EASTERN STATES.								
Maine.....	2,220	\$3,973,593	68	\$365,850	2,068	123	56	\$95,150
New-Hampshire.....	1,075	2,602,422	9	29,000	626	117	38	54,120
Massachusetts.....	3,625	12,705,038	137	1,022,360	3,432	799	480	407,850
Rhode Island.....	930	2,810,125	41	254,909	262	53	83	71,050
Connecticut.....	1,630	6,687,636	57	438,425	582	293	76	162,065
Vermont.....	747	2,964,060	14	45,506	321	183	11	26,090
Total.....	10,227	31,742,874	326	2,096,041	7,291	1,573	744	816,326

## NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

New-York.....	12,207	42,135,795	414	2,694,170	9,592	7,593	804	2,833,916
New Jersey.....	1,504	4,113,247	86	410,570	1,280	423	30	204,900
Pennsylvania.....	6,534	35,741,770	284	2,241,040	5,064	2,146	466	727,850
Total.....	20,245	81,990,812	784	5,345,780	15,936	10,162	1,300	3,766,666

## SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

Delaware.....	327	967,750	22	83,280	140	23	6	13,800
Maryland.....	2,562	9,246,170	48	307,300	1,330	103	211	28,880
Virginia.....	2,736	16,684,413	41	113,210	1,454	931	103	100,680
North Carolina.....	1,068	5,082,835	20	46,000	432	213	24	9,000
Total.....	6,693	31,981,168	131	549,790	3,356	1,270	344	152,360

## SOUTHERN OR COTTON GROWING STATES.

South Carolina.....	1,253	6,648,736	14	100,000	1,057	125	46	112,900
Georgia.....	1,716	7,361,838	26	75,730	442	194	17	12,885
Alabama.....	899	5,642,825	9	1,800	73	49	57	93,370
Mississippi.....	755	5,004,420	11	132,175	228	40	15	4,250
Louisiana.....	2,465	14,301,024	121	260,045	597	3	291	144,523
Tennessee.....	1,032	7,357,300	9	6,700	1,126	31	5	98,811
Total.....	8,120	46,316,293	190	576,450	3,523	442	431	466,739

## WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky.....	1,685	9,411,826	95	105,925	571	101	183	183,850
Ohio.....	4,605	21,282,225	78	373,268	2,891	854	1,061	4,617,570
Indiana.....	1,801	5,664,687	37	90,374	767	2,705	237	532,165
Illinois.....	1,348	4,904,125	39	93,350	405	117	268	642,425
Missouri.....	1,107	3,158,802	45	318,029	345	79	128	173,650
Arkansas.....	263	1,578,719	9	12,220	263	.....	3	600
Michigan.....	612	2,228,988	15	45,600	312	142	4	39,200
Florida.....	239	1,240,380	16	64,050	92	87	32	12,200
Wisconsin.....	178	661,550	14	21,180	133	62	3	14,100
Iowa.....	257	437,550	3	16,250	29	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	285	2,701,890	11	140,000	49	.....	70	59,100
Total.....	12,380	58,270,742	362	1,280,246	5,857	4,147	1,989	6,324,860



## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMBS.

Your Committee on Combs beg leave to

### Report:

That the amount of Combs now manufactured in this country from ivory, tortoise shell, horn, wood and metal, is valued at one million seven hundred and forty-four thousand dollars.

The number of workmen employed in manufacturing is estimated at two thousand one hundred.

This trade has been encouraged by a protective duty; but had there been no duty, this branch of our industry must have been cut off. Should the same protection as formerly be continued, this branch of our manufactures will continue to prosper; but if no protection is afforded, it must be abandoned or greatly reduced.

### Report of the Committee on Brushes, &c.

Amount of Brushes manufactured in the United States, \$1,750,000.

Number of workmen employed, 3,000.

Wages for men, \$1—females and boys, 50 cents per day.

Average price for each person, 75 cents per day.

### Wages paid in foreign countries.

Germany and France—Men 20 cents—females and boys, 10 cents.

Average price for each person, 15 cents per day.

(Pauper and prison labor not estimated.)

The cost of labor in the manufacture of Brushes is from one-half to three-fourths of their value.

The raw materials used in the manufacture of Brushes are—bristles, horse and cattle hair, leather, bone, horn, ivory, cotton, hemp and flax, twine and thread, pitch, rosin, glue, paints and varnish, brimstone, sal soda, pearlsh, soap, brass and iron wire, brass and iron nails, tacks and brads, mahogany, ebony, rose, satin, holly, maple, whitewood, black walnut, birch, beach, apple and pine wood in plank, boards and veneers, &c. &c. Imported bristles being of an entire different quality from American bristles, do not interfere with them.—The cost of raw material to us is rather more than foreigners obtain them for in their own country.

To manufacture one hundred dollars' worth of Brushes, for example, in this country, allowing the raw material to cost equally in all countries—

*Brushes, the cost of which is 1-4 raw material.*

Raw material,..... \$25 00

100 days' labor at 75 cents per day,.... 75 00

\$100 00

*To make the same quantity in Germany or France.*

Raw material,..... \$25 00

100 days' work at 15 cents per day,.... 15 00

\$40 00

*Brushes which cost 2-3ds in labor.*

1-3d Raw material,..... \$33 33

88 5-6ths days' work at 75 cts. per day, 66 67

\$100 00

*To make the same quantity in Germany or France.*

1-3d raw material,..... \$33 33

88 5-6ths days' work at 15 cts. per day, 13 32

\$46 65

*Brushes which are 1-2 raw material and 1-2 labor.*

1-2 raw material,..... \$50 00

66 2-3d days' work at 75 cents per day, 50 00

\$100 00

*The above would cost in Germany or France—*

1-2 raw material,..... \$50 00

66 2-3d days' work at 15 cents per day, 10 00

\$60 00

### Recapitulation.

Brushes composed of 3-4ths of their cost in labor, and 1-4th raw material, and the same in quantity, can be bought for,

*In Germany or France. In America.*

\$40 00.....\$100 00

Composed of 1-3d

raw material &

2-3ds stock,.... 46 65..... 100 00

" of  $\frac{1}{4}$  raw material &  $\frac{1}{2}$  stock.

60 00..... 100 00

Foreign cost,.....\$146 65 Cost in Amer. \$300 00

From the above facts, it is demonstrated that the small price of foreign labor enables them to undersell or import them for 50 per cent lower than they can be made for here. The price of one day's labor in America, 75 cents, will pay for *five days' labor* in Germany, at 15 cents per day.

Eight hundred workmen were formerly employed in the manufacture of bone, ivory and horn, tooth, nail, hair and shaving brushes; the greater part of the value of which, or over 3-4ths of their value, is for the labor in manufacturing them.—This business is now wholly abandoned. Every branch of the brush making business is brought to greater perfection in this country than in any other. The superiority of the American brushes formerly, in a great measure protected us; but of late years samples of our work are bought and sent to Germany and France to order from. The foreign agents now get the right quality and style, and we have no more protection from that source. The same quantity of tooth-brushes which would cost one hundred dollars to make, (owing wholly to the difference in price of labor,) can be bought in Germany or France for forty dollars. Other branches of the business must be abandoned for the same reason; and at this moment over fifteen hundred workmen in this business (many of them with families) are out of employment. We ask no protection for want of skill or enterprise; all we ask for is the protection of *manual labor*. And shall mechanics who have at great expense acquired a trade, be compelled to labor for 15 cents per day?—or shall we emigrate and seek refuge in Europe, where human beings are compelled to labor and support their families on this small sum.

Brush making has a direct bearing on many other interests, and especially on the agricultural. The article of bone and horns, since the abandonment of tooth-brush making, have almost become a worthless article; whereas before, they were eagerly sought after. It will be found, also, on examination, that every other branch of business, the greater cost of the value of whose articles being for labor, and not made by machinery, will eventually need an amount of protection equivalent to the difference in price of labor—the raw material costing equal in both countries—except bulky articles, the freight of which will in a measure protect them.

Your Committee also report that the estimated amount of bellows manufactured in this country is valued at \$100,000; and the number of hands employed 200.

JULIUS PRATT,

L. C. IVES,

WILLIAM H. CARY,

JOHN G. McMURRAY,

} Committee.

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 1

Office No. 50 Ann-street,  
Near Astor House, Broadway.

NEW-YORK, JUNE, 1842.

{ Price..75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$1.

## CONTENTS

### OF THIS (JUNE) NUMBER:

I..A 20 PER CENT. DUTY—(Editorial).....	Page 65
II..THE ADVERSARIES OF PROTECTION, &c.— (Editorial).....	95
III..REPORT ON SUGAR AND SUGAR REFINING— (By WM. A. COX, of New-York).....	66 to 68
IV..REPORT ON PHILOSOPHICAL AND CHEMICAL APARATUS—(By J. C. FISHER, of N. Y.).....	68 to 69
V..REPORT ON HATS, &c.—(By J. R. CLARK).....	69 to 70
VI..REPORT ON THE MANUFACTURE OF STRAW, &c.—(By E. CLARK, of New-York).....	70 to 71
VII..REPORT ON COTTON AND SILK, with STA- TISTICS, (and a LETTER ON COTTON AND SILK from J. UNDERWOOD)—By S. SHEP- ARD of Massachusetts).....	71 to 73
VIII..REPORT ON WHALE FISHERY—(By J. AR- NOLD, of Massachusetts).....	73 to 75
IX..REPORT ON COD FISHERY—(By J. ARNOLD, of Massachusetts)—[Statistics 78].....	75 to 76
X..REPORT ON SALT—(By J. ARNOLD).....	77
XI..REPORT ON EARTHENWARE.....	78
XII..REPORT ON GLASS, with STATISTICS—(By T. B. WAKEMAN, of New-York).....	78 to 79
XIII..REPORT ON READY-MADE CLOTHING—(By A. S. BAKER).....	79 to 80
XIV..REPORT ON WOOL AND WOOLENS, with STA- TISTICS—(By H. SHAW, of Massachusetts).....	80 to 82
XV..REPORT ON LEATHER, [Supplement and Sta- tistics]—(By G. C. DAVIS).....	82 to 84
XVI..REPORT ON PAPER, with STATISTICS.....	84 to 85
XVII..REPORT ON METALS OTHER THAN IRON, &c., with STATISTICS.....	86 to 88
XVIII..FLOOR OIL-CLOTH.....	88 to 89
XIX..REPORT ON MECHANIC ARTS NOT ENUMER- ATED, with STATISTICS.....	89 to 92

## APPENDIX.

Art. 1..INTRODUCTION.....	93
" 2..GYPSUM.....	93
" 3..CANVASS.....	93 to 94
" 4..HEMP AND CORDAGE, with STATISTICS.....	94 to 96
" 5..STATISTICS—(PRINTING, BINDERIES, &c.).....	96

☞ We surrender this number of *THE LABORER* almost entirely to the conclusions of the REPORTS AND STATISTICS of the HOME INDUSTRY NATIONAL CONVENTION. So comprehensive and lucid an account of the condition and wants on all the great Producing Interests of the Country has never before been given in any publication as we have compressed into the last and present numbers of *The Laborer*, at the trifling cost to its readers of eight to twelve cents each. It could hardly have been procured hitherto for so many dollars. We hope it will be widely disseminated and read.

—Having now laid a broad and solid foundation, we shall proceed in future numbers to construct an impregnable fabric of argument and fact in support of Protection to American Industry.

### A 20 per cent. Tariff.

There are many well-meaning but not well-informed people who profess a willingness to afford incidental Protection and encouragement to Home Industry, but who contend that a *horizontal, uniform duty of 20 per cent. on all importations will do it.* To this class we would address a few facts.

I. The article of *Paper* is one of the most extensive and important of all our Manufactures after those of Wool, Cotton and Iron. The capital invested in it is Sixteen Millions; the annual product about the same; the number of men directly employed in it is Five Thousand. The whole number of persons supported by it is probably over Fifty Thousand. Now Paper is dearer here than in Europe,

mainly because rags are twice as high here as there. The number of readers is so small in Europe that the rags are not all wanted for paper, and are a drug; while here the consumption of paper exceeds the supply of rags, and we import large quantities of them. The average price of paper here is doubtless less than if our manufactories were broken down and our whole supply imported; yet under a horizontal 20 per cent. tariff enormous quantities would be poured in upon us, especially from France, where the price of paper is lower than here, and all our great manufactories would be overwhelmed in one common ruin.

'What!' says a Free Trader; 'can't they stand with 20 per cent. Protection?' My good sir, will you not see that a *horizontal duty gives them no Protection whatever!* There is a duty of 20 per cent. on Paper, it is true; but there is also a duty of 20 per cent. on Rags and other materials, while the domestic article is twice as high as the foreigner has to pay. In other words, the *American Paper-maker will pay as much duty on his stock as the foreigner will pay on his paper*, and then have to pay workmen a dollar a day while his European rival pays twenty-five cents. The result is inevitable ruin—the 20 per cent. horizontal duty affording no protection whatever.

—The principle here illustrated applies with more or less exactness to the manufacture of Hats, Boots and Shoes, Refined Sugar, and a large proportion of our domestic products. They can be saved from destruction by a judicious Discriminating Tariff, and that only.

☞ The adversaries of Protection are chuckling over a Treasury statement (very loose evidence) that during the ten years of Protective policy this Country exported more Specie than was imported, while during the last ten years of a descending Tariff we have imported considerably more than we exported. We admit the fact, and ask them to consider the corresponding circumstance that, *during ten years of Protection we paid off over One Hundred Millions of Foreign Debt; while during ten years of comparative Free Trade, we incurred a Foreign Debt of Two Hundred Millions.* What says Free Trade to this?

We are willing to admit that under Free Trade with credit abroad we should import more gold than under Protection, because the continual strain on our moneyed institutions caused by a balance of trade against us would create a greater need of it. We prefer *not to need the Fifty Millions of Specie we have got out of Foreign Nations under Free Trade*, rather than to *create the barren necessity for it and pay Three Millions a year interest on it*, as we now do. Which is right?

## HOME INDUSTRY CONVENTION.

REPORTS....[Continued from Pg. 64.]

## REPORT ON SUGAR &amp; SUGAR REFINING.

[Brought in by Wm. A. Cox, of N. Y.]

*The Committee on Sugar and Sugar Refining of the Home Industry Convention, beg leave to offer the following information as the result of their investigations. For the convenience of reference, the statements and deductions have been arranged under separate heads, embracing all the most important matters relating to the subjects of their inquiry.*

*Extent of the Refining Trade in the U. States.*

All the sugar imported into this country from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, with the exception of an unimportant quantity from China, is consumed by Refiners.

There are now in Philadelphia, Boston, New-York, Baltimore, New-Orleans, Cincinnati and St. Louis, 41 sugar refineries, in which is invested capital to the amount of \$3,700,000; and 63,990,000 lbs. of raw sugars are annually manufactured by them, giving employment to a great number of workmen, the whole of whom, in case of the annihilation of this trade, must necessarily be added to the laboring classes, causing a reduction in the amount now paid to operatives, by this branch of trade alone, of \$1,260,000 per annum.

By inspection of the last Report on Commerce for the year 1840, by the Secretary of the Treasury, it will be seen that there were imported 121,000,000 lbs. raw sugar, valued abroad at \$5,600,000. This sugar was imported from twenty different countries, and more than ninety per cent of it in American vessels. The great bulk of these importations, however, was from six of these countries, viz. Danish West Indies, Dutch East Indies, Philippine Islands, Cuba, and other Spanish Islands, and the Brazils. 120,000,000 of these sugars, valued abroad at \$5,500,000 were imported from these six countries. Our exports, during the same year, to those markets, amounted to \$9,390,026 of this amount:

Cotton, rice and tobacco amounted to ..	\$1,914,138
Flour, grain and bread-stuffs .....	2,191,644
Beef, pork, tallow, butter and cheese .....	989,787
Live animals, horses, mules and sheep ..	23,717
Timber, lumber, naval stores and ashes ..	1,204,978
Potatoes and apples .....	38,874
	<b>\$6,363,138</b>
Tallow candles and soap, \$245,347	
Manufactures of cotton .....	807,348
	<b>1,052,695</b>
	<b>\$7,415,833</b>
Products of the fisheries, \$649,414	
Manufactured and other	
articles .....	1,324,779
	<b>1,974,193</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$9,390,026</b>

Thus 4-5ths of the American products exported to these countries were furnished by our agriculturists. In fact, these six places are our customers for one-fifth of the flour and one-third of all other agricultural products which the prohibitory policy of other countries permits us to vend abroad. We receive back sugar and other productions of their soil, employing, in the transportation to and from

these six places alone, 13,056 men, 319 boys, say 1787 vessels, equal to 282,639 tons.

If, then, we deprive these countries of their only means of paying us, for such of our products as they require, they will look to other markets for supplies, and the consequence will be that our agriculturists will be the greatest sufferers, and our commerce will be diminished in all its ramifications, to the extent to which it is now pursued in the importation of 63,000,000 lbs. of raw sugars, and the exportation of the home produce above alluded to. If we cannot purchase the crops of sugar-growing countries, they will look for their supplies to those places where their customers are.

*Note.* By the export of the nine millions' worth of produce alluded to above, and the importation of the raw sugars, two freights are secured to our maritime interest.

In further illustration of the importance of this branch of our home industry, we would refer to some of its ramifications, which affect the lumber trade in the manufacturing of hhds. boxes and barrels for packing, items for which a single one of our refiners pays between \$20,000 and \$30,000 per annum. The paper required to cover the sugar is used to a very great extent, and the material from which it is made would be rendered unavailable, unless so used. The mining interest in this country, and the inland freighting of their products (coal,) together with the foreign coals used and their freights, become important items in this branch of manufacture, as the refiners do not consume less than 25,000 tons per annum. The potters, machinists, copper-smiths, nail-manufacturers, twine-spinners, printers, and various minor manufacturers, all partake of its advantages.

*Exports of Refined Sugar as connected with the Refining Interest and our commercial relations.*

Owing to the facilities afforded by the government of the two Sicilies, especially to sugars shipped from the United States, and the drawback of five cents allowed to the exporter of Refined Sugar by our own government, the shipment of this article has formed an item of considerable importance, both to the manufacturers and ship-owners of the United States. The gradual development of this branch of industry, resulted in the fact, that, the return to the exporter of five cents per lb. was slightly excessive, in consequence of the gradual reduction of duty on the raw, whilst the drawback remained the same. Accordingly, by an act of Congress of the 11th Sept. 1841, it was reduced from five to three cents, and since Jan. 1st, 1842, to two cents, a diminution much greater than the former excess. The effect of this act has been to arrest the export trade of this country. It is, therefore, evident, that a drawback of two cents is insufficient to admit of its continuance—a trade so coveted and fostered by European governments on account of its contingent advantages.

The home demand for Refined Sugar, being principally during the spring and fall months, it has been necessary for the refiner to avail himself of foreign markets, thus enabling him to dispose of his midsummer and midwinter products during the absence of a home demand, and, consequently, to work continuously. Should he remain idle during such seasons, his expences, while thus unemployed, must necessarily be added to the price of Refined Sugars used for home consumption.

It is respectfully urged that this subject may be so presented, as to secure for it such a consideration as its merits may fairly entitle it to receive.  
*Legislation necessary for the continuance of the Refining Interest.*

Until a very late date, the duty on raw sugar was two and a half cts. per lb. and on Refined Sugars ten cents per lb. amounting to a prohibition on the latter. This security has been given by the government to the refiner, ever since this branch of industry was introduced into our country—And it was under this regulation, protecting both our free and slave labor against the legislation, commercial regulations, and restrictions of other countries, in relation to this article, that the Refiners in our country were induced to invest the large capitals now employed in this business—introducing, at great labor, ingenuity and expence, all the important improvements in the art of Refining Sugar as they came into use in Europe, or suggested themselves to their experience—thus furnishing us with the refined article, at prices lower than that at which any other country in the world consumes it. In England the price to the consumer is from 17 to 23 cts. and in France from 17 to 20 cts. per pound.

Refined Sugar was formerly sold in this country for home consumption; at from 16 to 30 cts. per lb. since which a competition, arising out of a supposed guaranteed protection, has reduced the price at from 10 to 13 cts. per lb. If a duty, equal to that of 1839, be retained upon the refined article, (6 cts.) and the proposed or any approximate amount be charged upon the raw sugars, the business of Refining would still be properly pursued for home consumption.

*Causes requiring the legislation asked for above.*

The proposed legislation becomes necessary to counteract the policy of the British Government in relation to this branch of trade, it being well understood that the English refiner, under a general 20 per cent duty, will pay a less amount on 100 lbs. of refined sugar, than will be required from the American refiner on the quantity of raw sugar necessary to produce the same quantity of refined. Again, whilst our government have seen proper to rescind the drawback that would allow an export of our refined sugars, the policy of other governments is to allow a very considerable bounty to their refiners; and thus, instead of being protected, we are subjected to a positive tax by the legislation of those countries; and it is the policies of those countries, comprising Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Russia, to prohibit entirely refined sugar from this country by a duty of not less than seven times that charged on raw sugar: *Loss inevitably accruing to the revenue should a general ad valorem duty be adopted.*

To show such loss for one year from this cause, it will be necessary to ascertain the average quantity of refined sugar from an hundred pounds of raw sugar; this, of course, must vary according to the quality of the raw material used, and the skill of the refiner. It will suffice for the proposed calculation to assume the data furnished by the Select Committee of the House of Representatives January 3, 1828, of which the Hon. C. C. Cabrelleng was Chairman, and which was appointed to examine witnesses and books of refiners. That Committee ascertained from such examination,

that from 100 lbs. of sugar, composed of one-third white Havana and two-thirds brown, the product would be 51 2-3d lbs. refined. Taking the price abroad to be \$6.86 for 100 lbs. white Havana, and \$5 for brown, being the actual rates of last year, the duty of 20 per cent ad valorem on the 100 lbs. of raw material would be \$1.12. The present value of English refined sugar ready for export is 6 cents per lb.; the 20 per cent ad valorem duty on the 51 2-3d lbs. of such sugar would amount to 62 cents—showing a loss to the revenue between the importation of the raw material and the refined article in its condensed state. Thus, the Government would collect a revenue on 32,550,000 lbs. of refined sugar, instead of a revenue on 63,000,000 lbs. of raw material, which, at 20 per cent ad valorem duty on both, shows a loss to the revenue of \$315,000 per annum, and a loss to individuals of many times that amount.

From the above it may clearly be deduced, that the American refiner will pay more duty to this Government on the raw sugar necessary to create 100 lbs. of refined, than would be demanded of the importer of the same amount manufactured abroad.

*Loss to the Refining Interest, should an ad valorem duty be imposed.*

The capital now invested in the business of refining, consists of buildings, machinery and utensils, all of which are totally unfitted for other uses, and incapable of being made to realize more than one-third of their present value.

Your Committee believe it incumbent on them, before concluding this Report, to present for the consideration of the Convention, a brief explanation of the means by which, as it appears to the Committee, the sugar refiners may be saved from the ruin which awaits them under the present and prospective tariff laws.

The remedy would consist in a return to the differential duty of 1839, which will be adequate to protect them from the disadvantages they now labor under in respect to a duty on the raw article and the foreign bounty. Or, we believe the same result can be accomplished without any infringement of the spirit and true intent of the Compromise Act; and in illustration of our views on this point, we offer the following statement:

On the exportation of refined sugar, our Government now proposes to return the whole duty that was paid upon the raw material producing it. It follows, therefore, that if we import 200 lbs. raw sugar, which pays to the Government (say for example) 1 1-2 cents per pound, we have \$3 as the amount paid. If we now export the product—say 100 lbs. refined—and receive back 3 cents per lb., the account is balanced. There is no protection, no revenue, and no loss to the revenue.

If a home value based upon the foreign cost be established, the illustration would be as follows:

Say the refiner imports 200 lbs. Havana	
brown sugar, costing abroad 5 cents	
on board, .....	\$10.00
And 100 lbs. Havana white at \$6.86	
abroad, .....	6.86
	<hr/> \$16.86

And to establish the home value we add for charges, such as freight, &c. 1 1-2 cents per lb. on 300 lbs. .... 4.50

Home value of 300 lbs. raw, .... \$21.36

Now assess the duty, 20 per cent, on \$21.36, and we have \$4.37 for the benefit of revenue.

For comparison, say the merchant imports a similar quantity, 300 lbs. refined sugar, costing abroad 6 cents per lb. ....	\$18 00
For charges, (freight, &c.) 1 12 cts.	
Per lb. ....	4 50

Home value of 300 lbs. refined, ... \$22 50

Now assess the duty, 20 per cent, on \$22.50, and we have the revenue, \$4.50, being less than 6 cents difference between the duty on 100 lbs. raw and the same quantity refined sugar.

Thus, it will be perceived there would be a positive *bounty* offered to the foreign refiner to manufacture for the American market, because *he* would pay but a fraction more upon *his* refined than would be charged upon half the raw material which produced it. This would insure the importation of refined sugar at about the same price as the raw material—being, of course, utter ruin to the Louisiana sugar planter as well as to the American refiner.

The cotton manufacturer pays no duty upon his cotton; while, therefore 20 per cent serves as a revenue for Government, it is a protection to them. Therefore, to place the sugar interest in a similar position of security, and at the same time preserve the spirit of the Compromise Act, we propose that the duty upon manufactured articles shall in all cases be 20 per cent for the rate that may be established by Congress, in addition to that upon the raw material of which it is composed; and that a fixed home value without regard to foreign cost, be established. For example—

Say the home value of 100 lbs. raw sugar shall be 7 cents; 20 per cent on \$7 gives duty, .....	\$1 40
---	--------

Say home value of 100 lbs. refined sugar shall be .....	\$13 00
---	---------

20 per cent gives duty, .....	\$2 60
-------------------------------	--------

Now to establish the equality above spoken of, add duty on the raw, .....	1 40
---	------

Gives duty on 100 lbs. refined, ....	\$4 00
--------------------------------------	--------

All which is respectfully submitted by  
WILLIAM A. CGX.  
For the Committee.

## REPORT ON PHILOSOPHICAL AND CHEMICAL APPARATUS, &c.

[Brought in by JAMES C. FISHER, of N. Y.]

*The Committee to whom was referred the subject of Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus, beg leave respectfully to*

### Report :

That in the opinion of your Committee, there is no one branch of industry in the country, the importance of which has been so much undervalued and its encouragement neglected; while in foreign countries it has been deemed worthy, not only of royal patronage, but princely rewards have been offered to stimulate those engaged in its pursuits to attain the most perfect success; in our own, it has not only been left to struggle unaided against foreign competition, but we have even, by the course pursued by our government, and by a false tone of public sentiment, apparently endeavored to discourage it as far as possible. Under all these untoward circumstances, it has made headway in our country

to an extent far greater than perhaps any, even of those engaged in it are aware. The amount of capital now employed in the United States in the manufacture and sale of Philosophical, Mathematical, Nautical, and Chemical Apparatus, is but little short, from the data with which your Committee have been furnished, of \$5,000,000. This amount may appear to many to be far more than the reality; but when they reflect upon the many pursuits in life which are in some degree, if not entirely, dependent for their success upon instruments furnished by those engaged in this business, their incredulity will cease, and they will wonder that they have not before reflected upon its importance. Not to speak of the extensive collections of apparatus which the progress of science renders necessary for our Universities, Colleges and Academies, there are many of the arts which require for their successful prosecution the possession of some one or other Philosophical instrument. The thermometer is not an instrument of mere idle curiosity, by which we determine whether the temperature of the air to-day is the same that it was yesterday; but one by which various important branches of business are conducted to a successful issue. The Barometer is not merely a curious contrivance by which we may ornament our dwelling, and by an occasional glance determine what sort of weather we may have to-morrow; but an instrument by whose unerring indications the hardy mariner is often saved from shipwreck and destruction. The Sextant, the Quadrant, the Chronometer, the Barometer, and the Thermometer, are as indispensable on board our ships as the compass and the chart. Our railroads and canals could not be made were it not for the aid furnished from this source, nor could our titles to the real estate we may hold be considered as fixed and not liable to be disturbed were it not for the assistance derived from the manufacture of the Surveyor's Compass. Not to refer to instruments of a larger character, and which do not come so directly in the view of the public, how few have reflected on the importance of that branch of business which almost restores sight to the blind: how many are there in this convention who owe a great debt to the manufacturers of Spectacles, by which their failing sight is restored, and they are enabled to read the works and enjoy the writings of their fellow men in comfort and convenience. An opinion has prevailed to a very great extent in this country, that the Philosophical, Mathematical and Nautical Instruments manufactured in this country were not of equal accuracy and value with those manufactured abroad. This opinion has been countenanced by the course pursued by our own most wise and prudent Government. Instead of proving the various instruments required in the Navy and Army, from American artisans, and thus giving them at least the encouragement of their custom, almost all their various articles must be imported from abroad. Is an Exploring Expedition to be sent out, it must be delayed till a special agent can be sent to Europe to procure, at a great extra expense, the necessary Philosophical and Nautical instruments. Is a Boundary Line to be run, or a Coast Survey undertaken, it must be delayed until the instruments can be obtained from Europe. Is an Observatory to be erected at Washington for rating the Chronometers of the Navy, it cannot go into operation till the Astronomical Clocks and other apparatus can

be procured from Europe. Is a Ship-of-war to be despatched on a voyage, she must not hoist sail until furnished with a full set of nautical instruments from Europe. In fine, there is scarcely any branch of the Government that employs apparatus of this character, that does not procure it from foreign countries. Such conduct as this your Committee do not hesitate to denounce as utterly unworthy of any Government, much more of the Government of the United States. Instead of by their custom encouraging and building up this important branch of business, they do all in their power to discredit and discourage it. It is not at all wonderful, therefore, that the opinion of the inferiority of our people in this important branch of industry should have gained currency; and in order, as it would seem, to stamp and fix a mark of contempt, our tariffs permit all apparatus of this character specially imported for the use of Schools, Academies, and Colleges, to be imported duty-free, and also Philosophical apparatus generally. Is this opinion well founded, and is this mark of reprobation justly deserved? Your Committee believe that an examination of the facts in reference to this matter is all that is required to show that this opinion is utterly incorrect and unfounded, and that the Philosophical, Chemical, Nautical, and Mathematical apparatus made in the United States, will not suffer in a comparison with that of any other nation. Those gentlemen who have attended the Fairs of the American Institute for some years past, may recollect the superior character of the various instruments of this class which have been there exhibited. This superior character is not only in the beautiful finish of the instruments, but also in their accuracy and correctness. Some of them have undergone very severe tests, and have stood the test triumphantly.

The Chronometers exhibited at the last Fair would not suffer in a comparison of their rates with any imported into this country, either on Government account or for private use. Two of the members of your Committee have, in the course of the business in which they have been engaged, had occasion to use instruments of both foreign and native manufacture; and they do not hesitate to say they have given the preference to the American instruments, not on account of any patriotic prejudice, but from a full conviction of their superiority and accuracy. It is indeed surprising, under the obstacles they have had to encounter, and the prejudice they have been obliged to combat, that they have been so successful, and have literally fought their way into life. It affords a convincing proof that American skill and industry can overcome obstacles that to any other people would be insurmountable. Had they received that patronage which other Governments have been proud to extend to the same important branch of business among themselves, how much greater advances should we not have witnessed? Truly we might almost say, in the language of Scripture, "If these things are done in the green tree, what might we not expect in the dry?" Your Committee believe that this branch of industry, important as it is to the various trades and professions that in some measure or other depend upon it, and important as it most unquestionably will be to our Navy and Army, in the event of war with any European nations, should receive the special fostering care of Government; and they hope that when the present financial difficulties are removed, and our

country once more restored to a state of prosperity, that liberal reward will be offered for the encouragement of perfection in the various nautical, philosophical, and mathematical instruments required for the use of the different branches of our national service and defence. They would recommend that no apparatus, for the use either of Government or any other purpose, should be imported free of duty; that a duty of thirty per cent. ad valorem be imposed on all philosophical and mathematical instruments or apparatus, made of gold, silver, bone, or ivory; a duty of thirty-five per cent. on like instruments of wood, brass, iron, or steel; and on chronometers and nautical instruments, including sextants, quadrants, barometers, and binnacle compasses, telescopes, thermometers, also thirty-five per cent. ad valorem. Your Committee believe that if this protection be steadily given for a series of years, the result will be in the highest degree favorable to the progress of science and philosophy in this country, and that a degree of accuracy and correctness in the manufacture will be obtained such as no other country will be able to show.

Respectfully submitted by

JAMES C. FISHER,  
BENJ. WRIGHT,  
A. D. FRYE,  
EDWARD CLARK.

## REPORT ON HATS, &c.

Brought in by J. R. CLARK.

LARGE numbers of Silk Hats have been imported during the past year, under the duty of 20 per cent. imposed during the extra session of Congress; and particular attention is called to the fact, that the same duty of 20 per cent. was imposed, and is now paid, on every article (except the body) used in the manufacture of silk hats, and on the plush, being an article composed of silk and cotton, 25 per cent. We will state how the present duties affect this branch of our trade. The cost of the plush will average one-half of the cost of the hat—duty on that article, half of 25 per cent.,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  in trimmings, (made of silk,) one tenth of the cost, 2 per cent. duty. Importers' profits, and cost of importation, 5 per cent. on the above, making  $19\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and leaving us a protection of just 3 per cent., by means of which we are to compete with the cheap labor of Europe. Let us see how that will work. The cost of labor bestowed on silk hats will average from 50 to 60 cents on each hat. The cost of the same labor in France is not more than 25 or 30 cents at the highest, making a difference to us of 50 per cent., and to them 100 per cent. on the price of the labor, and a difference of about 12 per cent. on the cost of the hat when complete. This is believed to be a very liberal estimate, and we think that 15 per cent. against us would be nearer the truth. No one can fail to see, on whose side the advantage is, and we call on all men to contradict our statement of facts, if they can.

On hats made entirely of fur, we have to compete with the cheap labor of Europe, and a duty of about 2 per cent. on the cost of the silk trimmings, together with the profits of the importer, whatever they may be. The raw material, fur, being admitted free of duty, the charge to us, on that article, is the profits of the importer and of

the home merchant, not less than three or four per cent. on the cost of a hat. The cost of the labor bestowed on a fur hat, which costs, when complete, \$3, averages from \$1 to \$1.20, being from 33½ to 40 per cent. on the whole cost. The cost of the same labor in France and Germany cannot exceed 50 cents, making a difference of 50 to 70 cents on the labor, and at least 16½ per cent. on the cost of the hat. Add to this the 2 per cent. duty on the trimmings, and the 3 or 4 per cent. importer's profits on the raw materials, and we find ourselves under a disadvantage in comparison with the European manufacturer, of more than 20 per cent. We have not the means of stating precisely, what wages are paid to the journeymen hatters of France and Germany, but it is believed that we have made a liberal estimate, and that they receive less, in reality, than we have here stated, which, of course, operates still more to our disadvantage than the preceding statements show.

It may be thought by many that a rate of duty amounting to a protection against foreign competition, will increase the price of the American article, but uniform experience has shown the contrary to be the fact. We will assert, without fear of contradiction, that there has not been a single article of American production adequately protected that has not been more or less reduced in price from the cost of either the foreign or domestic article, before such protection was afforded. In the article of hats, the reduction in prices will amount to 25, 30, and even 50 per cent. below the former cost. This may sound strangely, but it is not the less true. Fur hats of passable quality and appearance, can now be sold at a reasonable profit for one dollar and fifty cents, at retail, and some at even less; whereas, some eight or ten years ago, the lowest retail price of an article no better, was from \$2 to \$2.50. The finest qualities of hats, ten years ago, were sold at prices ranging from \$6 to \$10. An article, equal in beauty and utility can now be sold for \$5. Hats made of beaver fur, are nearly as costly now as they were then, owing to the decrease in quantity and consequent increase in price, of the fur, which costs now, at an average, twice as much as it did ten years ago.

The causes of the reduction of prices in the face of the sufficient protection we have heretofore enjoyed, are 1st. A steady demand for the products of our labor, and protection against injurious, and sometimes ruinous fluctuations caused by excessive importations and forced sales at one time, and small importations and high prices at another, as it may suit the purpose of the foreign capitalist. Every one engaged in any branch of manufactures, knows that where there is a regular demand for any article of home production, the supply can be regulated, to such demand without injury to any one, or as much risk as must be incurred if the demand is continually fluctuating, as it must be and is, where great quantities of foreign goods can be thrown into our market at any moment, and sold at prices that the regular manufacturer cannot compete with.

2d. The superior manner in which American mechanics perform their labor. It is an incontrovertible fact that an American mechanic with equal advantages, can, and does perform his labor with more ingenuity and neatness than the mechanic of any other nation. In our trade, this is a well known fact. We can produce hats in a better

style than the hatters of Europe, with the exception of silk hats, and those we can make better than they, if we receive sufficient protection to enable us to compete with them on equal terms.

In addition to the facts before stated, we would mention that it has been computed that the importations of Leghorn, Panama and Manilla hats into the city of New-York during the present spring, will not fall short of a million of dollars, a fact to which we invite particular attention. These statements have been put together in such haste, that many things relating to this subject, and which we would have otherwise presented, have been omitted.

It was intended to present this report to the Convention, but it was completed at too late an hour, and therefore we would submit it to the Central Committee of the Home League for such action as they shall deem expedient. In behalf of the Committee.

JOHN R. CLARK, Chairman.

I fully concur in the above,

WM. E. LAYTON.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE MANUFACTURE OF STRAW, &c.

[Brought in by E. CLARK, of N. Y.]

*The Committee appointed to take into consideration the Rate and Character of the Duties necessary to be imposed on Imported Articles manufactured of Straw, in order to sustain this branch of our Home Production in a prosperous condition:*

### Report:

That, on an examination of the various matters referred to them, they are constrained, in the absence of correct statistical information, to treat the subject in a very brief and imperfect manner.

From the statistical returns made of the Materials employed in taking the last Census of the United States, it appears that the amount of capital and labor employed in the manufacture of Hats and Bonnets from Straw is included indiscriminately in the tables with those which relate to the manufacture of Hats and Caps.

The value of the Straw Bonnets and Hats manufactured in the U. S. as shown in those returns, is \$1,476,500, while the value of the Hats and Caps manufactured in the U. S. as shown in the same returns amounts to \$8,704,342. The capital employed in these various branches at the time of taking the Census, was \$4,465,300, and furnished employment for 20,176 persons. But as before remarked, what proportion of this capital and labor were employed in the manufacture of materials composed of Straw, they are unable to determine.

They have, however, received information from gentlemen who are extensively engaged in this branch of trade, both domestic and foreign, that until quite recently, the manufacturers from Straw in the States East of New-York have furnished employment for at least five thousand persons, chiefly women and children. There are also large numbers of the same classes employed in this business in various other portions of the U. S.

From the same source your Committee also learn that the manufacture of Straw in the U. S. is, on account of the importation of foreign Bon

nets, Hats and flats at low prices, very materially on the decline; and should the law now in force be continued, there is now doubt it will, so far as our domestic trade is concerned, be wholly discontinued.

Such a result should be looked for as a necessary consequence of the difference in the prices of this kind of domestic and foreign labor. The prices, in the various States of Italy, compared with those of our own country, are about as one to five, or perhaps eight.

The consequence of the low price of foreign labor, goods of the description in question can be produced in Italy at so low a rate, that an ad valorem duty proportioned in any degree to correspond with the rates imposed on most other articles not subject to specific duties, would, measurably, prove no protection to this important branch of domestic manufacture. To secure the protection due, more especially on account of the kind of labor employed in the manufacture, your Committee are of opinion that specific duties should be levied on all foreign articles composed of Straw, which may hereafter be imported into the U. S. and according to the following rates, viz.:

One dollar and fifty cents or two dollars on each Leghorn Bonnet, Hat or Flat.

One dollar and fifty cents on each Straw Bonnet or Hat.

One dollar on each Hat made from the palm leaf, or leaf of the palmetto.

One cent a yard on all varieties of braids designed to be manufactured into Hats or Bonnets.

Fifty cents on each straw basket.

Five cents on each square yard of straw carpeting made, and matting of flags and other materials; and that bleached Manilla grass and palm leaves be admitted free.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

EDWARD CLARK, Chairman of Com.

## REPORT ON COTTON AND SILK.

[Brought in by SILAS SHEPARD, of Northampton, Mass.]

*The Committee appointed on the Manufacture of Cotton and Silk, having duly considered the important subjects committed to them, respectfully*

### Report:

That the manufacture of Cotton by machinery, was commenced in this country about the year 1737; and for the succeeding twenty years, made a slow progress in its increase, until the embargo, the non-importation, and the non-intercourse Acts of the General Government, succeeded by the war of 1812, gave to this interest an unnatural stimulus, and greatly increased its productions. By the Peace of 1815, this important interest, thus fostered and stimulated by the Acts of Government, was nearly prostrated. But your Committee are happy to state, that in this important crisis, the Government of our country did not leave this branch of American industry to perish; but, aided by the Tariff Act of 1816, in connection with the introduction of the power loom, it was successfully revived, and through the influence of the several acts of 1824, 1828, and 1832 has been carried to the extent indicated by the statistical tables appended to

this report. This important interest, thus far protected by the patronage of the Government, has, in the opinion of your Committee, successfully solved the problem, that a liberal protection of an important branch of manufacture, aided by the skill, ingenuity, and industry of American artisans, will not eventually increase the cost to the consumer of such manufacture; but will enable him, through the competition thus created, to purchase the article cheaper than it could be otherwise obtained. Thus far your Committee have contemplated the bright side of the picture of this branch of our national enterprise. But there is a more sombre shade thrown over it by the approaching consummation of the Compromise Act of 1833. By the terms of this Act, after the 30th day of June next, all protection will be withdrawn from this important interest. This circumstance, so depressing to the prospects of the Cotton Manufacture, and also to the other various manufactures of our country, is greatly aggravated by coming upon us at a time when the markets of Europe, gorged with the over production of their own establishments, are throwing upon our shores an immense amount of their surplus products; which, through the facilities of our auctions, are sold for the most they will bring, and frequently for less than half their original cost. The effect of the circumstances above recited, is the stoppage of a portion of our factories, the entire loss of profits of a larger portion, and a fearful apprehension of the entire prostration of this important branch of American industry. As a remedy for the evils above stated and apprehended, your Committee believe that in the adjustment of a Tariff, which shall produce a sufficient revenue for the support of the Government and defence of the country, —by a judicious discrimination in laying an import duty on imported goods—this interest has a right to claim, and expects to receive, from the national government, such an amount of protection as will secure to it the home market for the products of its industry. The amount of duties which, in the opinion of your Committee, ought to be levied on imported goods to produce the effect desired, should not be less than six cents per square yard upon all uncolored cotton goods, and seven and a half cents upon all colored or printed goods; and it is the belief of your Committee, that even a greater amount of duty on colored or printed goods, would benefit the country. Your Committee are perfectly aware that the above mentioned duties are more than is necessary for the protection of much the largest portion of our cotton goods, which are now afforded to the consumer at a less price than they could be procured, even if they were freed from an import duty. The proof of this statement will be found in the fact, that we have for several years past annually exported more than three millions of dollars of the various descriptions of manufactured cottons.

From a retrospective view of the effect which has been produced by the protection hitherto afforded by the several acts of our Government, your Committee are clearly of opinion, that many branches of our cotton manufactures have been introduced and hitherto sustained by this system of policy, and some of them firmly established; and they are of opinion that domestic competition has brought down the price of the article manufactured to the lowest rate



for which they could be imported under the most moderate revenue duty.

Among the articles which owe their origin and support to this system of policy, is the immense amount of printed calicoes, most of which are now afforded to the consumer at prices lower than they could be imported at under a Tariff imposed only for revenue. One of the reasons which induce your Committee to believe that the best interests of our country require a continuance of this system of policy which has been so beneficial, is, that by its continuance, the cotton manufacturers will be enabled to advance in the finer and more difficult branches of their art, until our country shall become independent of all foreign nations for a supply of this article, so important to the comfort and convenience of our citizens. Your Committee are assured, from their experience in this occupation, and from the facts herein detailed, that the amount of duties on importations of foreign manufactured cotton here recommended, will not operate as a tax on the consumer of such or similar articles, any longer than the time necessarily required to establish and perfect such additional branches of this manufacture as it may be expedient to introduce. Intimately connected with the manufacture of cotton, is a large and hitherto prosperous class of artisans and machinists, by whose ingenuity, skill and industry, our machinery has been brought to its present high state of perfection, while its cost has been gradually diminished. The present condition and future prospects of this numerous and useful class of our citizens, (under our existing Tariff of duties,) is depressed and gloomy. While a large portion of them are now destitute of employment, most or all of them see no prospect in the future but to seek their subsistence in other avocations, for which their educations and habits of life have rendered them very unfit.

Your Committee are impelled to the conclusion, that if the present Tariff of import duties be permitted to remain as it now stands on our statute books, the cotton manufacturers will be compelled either to suspend their operations, or greatly to reduce the wages of labor. In such an event it is perfectly obvious to your Committee that the greater amount of suffering will fall on the laboring classes; and so far as operations may be suspended, a portion of the evils apprehended will fall upon those who produce the 300,000 bales of cotton now consumed by these establishments, and upon the immense amount of agricultural productions necessary for the sustenance of the multitudes employed in and connected with them.

The subject of the growth and manufacture of Silk, has been submitted to a branch of your Committee, who will make a separate report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

S. SHEPARD, Chairman.

To the Chairman of the Committee on Cotton, Silk, &c. :

SIR,—I would respectfully recommend the following for the consideration of the committee, viz.

In order to protect the honest importer against the under-valuations now almost daily going on at our custom-houses, as well as to secure to the government its honest and just dues, the duties on all manufactures of silk, or of which silk is the material of chief value, should be levied by the pound weight, and I believe the rates should be as follows, viz.

1st. On all manufactures of silk, or of which silk is the material of chief value, known as *piece goods*, and sold by the yard, two dollars the pound weight.

2d. On all other manufactures of silk, or of which silk is the material of chief value, (excepting *sewing silks and twist*,) three dollars the pound weight.

3d. On all sewing silks and twist, two dollars the pound weight.

The duties on silk goods, as reported by the Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington, is in my opinion too high, as they would diminish the revenue, and induce smuggling to a great extent.

JOHN A. UNDERWOOD.

Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of Manufactures of Cotton in the several States and Territories of the Union, viz :

	Cotton Manufactures	Number of Spindles	Dyeing and Finishing	Value of Manufactures	Persons Employed	Capital Invested
Maine.....	679	29,738	9	\$370,367	1,414	\$1,308,000
N. Hampshire	48	195,183	4	1,192,305	6,991	5,525,200
Massachusetts	278	665,095	22	16,553,423	20,928	17,413,089
Rhode Island	309	518,817	17	7,118,792	12,065	6,526,000
Connecticut	118	181,519	6	5,715,964	5,154	8,152,000
Vermont.....	7	7,254	1	115,000	282	118,100
Total.....	674	1,597,394	52	\$1,611,880	46,834	\$4,931,399
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.						
New York.....	117	211,659	12	3,640,237	7,407	4,900,772
New Jersey..	43	63,744	13	2,086,104	2,400	1,722,819
Pennsylvania.	106	146,934	40	5,015,007	5,522	8,325,400
Total.....	266	421,897	65	10,759,349	15,347	9,946,782
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.						
Delaware....	11	23,492	—	332,272	586	330,500
Maryland....	21	41,182	3	1,150,580	2,274	1,304,400
Virginia.....	22	42,562	1	446,063	1,816	1,230,620
N. Carolina..	25	49,934	—	488,800	1,319	995,300
Total.....	79	155,870	4	2,367,815	5,885	3,920,220
COTTON-GROWING STATES.						
S. Carolina..	15	16,335	—	339,000	570	617,450
Georgia.....	19	42,559	2	304,942	779	573,695
Alabama.....	14	1,502	—	47,507	82	38,575
Mississippi..	63	318	—	1,744	81	6,420
Louisiana....	2	706	—	18,000	23	22,000
Tennessee... 38	16,313	—	—	323,719	1,542	463,240
Total.....	141	78,263	2	1,021,262	3,077	1,718,240
WESTERN STATES, &c.						
Kentucky....	58	12,550	—	329,380	593	316,113
Ohio.....	8	12,838	—	139,578	236	113,500
Indiana.....	12	4,985	1	135,400	210	142,500
Arkansas....	2	90	—	.....	7	.....
Total.....	80	31,187	6	604,158	986	574,233
Aggregate in the U. States.	1240	2,234,631	129	46,350,458	72,119	51,102,359

Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of Manufactures of Silk, Number of Males, Females, and Children Employed, and Capital Invested, in the United States.

	No. pounds reeled, thrown or other Silk made.	Value of the Silk.	Males employed.	Females employed.	Capital Invested.
EASTERN STATES.					
Maine.....	94	\$91	1	1	\$125
New Hampshire.	82	924	5	26	865
Massachusetts..	4,633	38,079	30	116	68,719
Rhode Island....	16	15	..	..	..
Connecticut.....	6,901	55,495	23	100	85,430
Vermont.....	39	99	5	2	1,150
Total.....	11,682	94,693	63	245	156,289

## (STATEMENT—CONTINUED.)

No. lbs. value Men em. fem. em. cap'l  
ree'd &c. of slk. ploy'd ploy'd inv'd

## NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

New-York .....	377½	2,415	35	66	8,034
New-Jersey .....	158½	858	10	7	2,020
Pennsylvania .....	2,350	14,644	64	88	88,917
Total .....	2,886	17,917	109	161	93,971

## SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

Delaware .....	15	117	..	1	.....
Maryland .....	40	..	2	18	5,000
Virginia .....	94	515	11	10	2,714
North Carolina .....	7	55	..	1	.....
Total .....	156	687	13	30	7,714

## COTTON GROWING STATES.

South Carolina .....	46	380	1	3	50
Georgia .....	97	458	11	7	955
Alabama .....	13	99	..	..	75
Louisiana .....	70	420	..	3	.....
Tennessee .....	19½	218	14	31	2,500
Total .....	245½	1,575	26	44	3,580

## WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky .....	86	819	3	11	5,467
Ohio .....	652	3,740	23	27	2,290
Indiana .....	9	94	4	1	3
Illinois .....	17	235	..	1	10
Michigan .....	8	34	2	..	50
Florida .....	1½	15	..	..	.....
Wisconsin .....	1	5	..	1	.....
Total .....	774½	4,942	32	41	72,200

## REPORT ON WHALE FISHERY.

[Brought in by JAMES ARNOLD, of Mass.]

The Committee appointed on the subject of the  
Whale Fishery, Report:

That, from tabular schedules, accurately kept at New Bedford, your committee estimate the whole number of vessels employed in the Whale Fishery, at 650; tonaging 193,000 tons, and manned by 16,000 officers and men. Of these vessels we estimate that 360 are employed in the spermaceti, and the remainder, 290 vessels, in the common Whale Fishery.

To outfit and equip these vessels on each voyage which they perform, among other materials, are the following:

1,300,000 barrels of iron-hooped casks, worth \$1 40 cts. per bbl. which amount to \$1,820,000.

To make these casks will require,  
7,554,000 staves, at \$62  
per thousand,.....\$474,672

5,223 tons of iron hoops, at  
100 dols. per ton,.....522,300

4,564,000 feet of southern  
pine heading, at \$25 per  
thousand,.....114,100

Cooper's labor, making  
1,300,000 bbl. casks, .....708,928

127,000 bbls. of beef and  
pork, estimated value for  
the last ten years, \$10  
per bbl. ....\$1,270,000

106,800 bbls. of flour, at 6 dols. 640,800

32,500 bushels of corn, (av-  
erage price for 10 years)  
70 cts. ....22,750

6,509 bushels of beans, at  
\$1 25 cts. ....8,125

1,306,000 lbs. of manufac-  
tured tobacco, at 11 cts. ....143,000  
1300 try pots, at 60 dols. ....78,000

650,000 lbs. of rice, at \$3  
per 100 lbs. ....49,500

65,000 bushels of potatoes,  
at 35 cts. ....22,750

325,000 lbs. of cheese, at  
8 cts. ....26,000

325,000 lbs. of butter, at  
17 cts. ....55,250

312,000 lbs. of dried ap-  
ples, at 4 cts. ....12,480

3,900 bbls. of vinegar, at \$3  
6,500 bbls. tar, at \$2 25 cts. ....14,650

3,250 whale boats, at \$60 ....195,000

2,600 sets of oars, (6 oars  
to each set,) at \$10, ....26,000

300,000 feet of pine boards,  
at \$20 per thousand, ....60,000

4,330,000 lbs. of sheathing  
copper and nails, at 24 cts. ....1,039,200

3,000,000 yards domestic  
cottons and prints, at  
10 cts. ....300,000

Estimated amount paid for  
labor of carpenters, caul-  
ers, riggers, block and  
lail-makers .....1,246,000

Backsmiths' bills for stock  
and work, .....291,000

Clothing for the men and  
slops for the voyage, in-  
cluding 63,400 pairs of  
shoes, .....1,704,000

6,210,000 lbs. cordage and  
tow lines, at 12 cts. ....745,200

Of this sum 4 cts. per lb.  
or 1-3d, goes for labor  
of the rope-maker at  
home, say \$248,400.

24,840 pieces of heavy fo-  
reign duck, at \$19, .....471,960

14,800 pieces of light duck,  
at \$9, .....133,200

592,000 gallons of molas-  
ses, (average price ten  
years,) at 25 cts. ....148,000

404,000 lbs. of sugar, at 8  
cts. ....32,320

404,000 lbs. of coffee, (av-  
erage 10 years,) at 10 cts. ....40,400

.....72,720

.....\$10,610,060

The labor and material herein before estimated,  
is for ordinary outfit, and not for plank, timber,  
copper and iron-fastening, or labor of mechanics  
and others where ships require what is termed re-  
pairs, which, as is well known, occurs after a few  
years, more or less according to the quality of the  
vessels, and which, when occurring, involves an  
expenditure from near the cost of a new ship,  
down to \$1,000 each.

We estimate the whole value of the ships and  
outfit, as they sail, at \$20,120,000.

The length of voyages on vessels in the Sperm  
Fishery at three years, and on the Right Whale  
Ships at twenty months.

The proceeds, or imports from the Fishery in 1841, was of Spermaceti Oil 5,018,076 gallons, worth 95 cts. per gallon, or.....\$4,767,172  
 Of Right Whale Oil, 6,531,462 gals. at 33 1-3d cts. \$2,177,154  
 Of whale bone, 2,073,480 lbs. at 20 cts.....414,696

2,591,850  
 \$7,359,022

Of which returns, the officers and crew would draw for their services on the voyage about 30 per cent. or \$2,207,706.

The articles used in the outfit of the whaling fleet, and contained in the foregoing statement, it will be found that there were :

Of articles purely agricultural, or the direct produce of the forests, the value of.....\$2,752,757

Articles, the material of which is the product of our soil and the labor of our artisans,.....724,000

Articles, the materials the product of our own as well as foreign countries, and the labor both foreign and domestic, but which might both be domestic, viz.

Clothing for the crews and for slops.....1,704,000

Iron hoops, manufactured at home from foreign iron.....522,300

Try pots, cast in our own furnaces as well as imported.....78,000

2,304,300

Articles of which the material is not produced in our country at all, or to that extent as to afford any considerable portion of supply, wrought by American as well as foreign hands :

Sheathing copper and nails, \$1,039,200

Cordage and tow lines, from Manilla and Russian hemp,.....745,200

Molasses \$148,000,  
 Sugar \$32,320.....180,320

1,964,720

Articles foreign in material, and labor, viz.

Heavy sail cloth,.....471,960

Light do. do.....133,200

Coffee.....40,000

645,560

Direct labor, viz.

Carpenters, caulkers, riggers, block and sail makers,.....1,248,000

Coopers,.....708,928

Blacksmiths,.....291,000

Boat-builders.....130,000

For the voyage of the fleet, \$2,377,928

Add to this the shares of officers and men for their services, on oil, &c. which arrived in 1841, ..2,207,706

\$4,585,634

The foregoing estimate of the agricultural and other supplies consumed in the prosecution of our Whale Fishery, is confined to the voyage at sea

only; but if we take into view the consumption occasioned by it at home, by the numerous class of men whom this branch of industry sustains, in managing all departments of the business, and connected with it in all its branches and effects; the mechanics, laborers, coasters, and other persons occupied in carrying its products to the home and the foreign market, and again returning the supplies which it needs, your Committee feel confident that they speak within bounds, when they say, that as relates to many items of the statement, the amount may be quadrupled: thus making the aggregate consumption of the products of our soil, simply, \$11,011,028, and some other products and the item of labor somewhat in proportion.

For direct protection, those who are engaged in the Whale Fishery do not seek. The skill and enterprise of the men who conduct it, can meet that of any country, in any mart, from which they are not excluded.

The duty of twenty cents per gallon on oils generally, proposed by the bill from the Committee on Manufactures, as it respects Sperm and Whale Oil, your Committee believe may be held nugatory, and that it will neither increase the revenue nor the markets for these articles. The duty imposed on other foreign oils we deem proper.

The prosperity of the various agricultural, manufacturing, and other industrial branches in our country (in a great measure the only customers and consumers who will receive from us the products of our fishery) is of vital importance to this branch of business, and we therefore ask leave further to say, that your Committee, in common, as we believe, with most of the practical men in our country, having become fully convinced that our manufacturing and mechanical establishments, and through them our agricultural and various other industrial pursuits, (so essential to our country, and indispensable to its restoration to, and preservation in, a sound and prosperous state,) requires from Congress a prompt and decided action for their preservation and protection.

Your Committee deem it their duty to lay before you their unqualified conviction that this important branch of enterprise requires the measures alluded to, to save it also from the lowest depression.

Could your Committee believe, that the subject on which they now address you in its future bearing had relation only to the measures of our own country, under the present sectional and other views entertained by many of our legislators, we should not at this time trouble you with our convictions, but should wait with what patience we might, until every section of our country, and every intelligent man in it should, from their own experience, become convinced of the necessity of that protection to our domestic industry which is now withheld.

But we fear that ere such a result shall take place, the control of various and most important domestic productions now in the hands of our citizens, will have passed into those of foreign countries; and when after such a result our country shall awake to the consequences, it will be difficult by any legislative measures to restore them.

Your Committee cannot but believe that Congress have now before them throughout our country, ample evidence of how much easier it may be

to preserve our resources than to restore them when lost.

The produce of our Whale Fishery now finds its market and consumption chiefly with our numerous agricultural, manufacturing and various mechanical establishments, as well as other operators throughout our extended country; and the fishery requires, in return for its prosecution, the products of our agriculture, and that of the various industrial pursuits alluded to. Let these once become depressed or broken down—let them by any means be transferred to other countries—let the various supplies required by the American citizen, and now furnished directly from American industry, pass into the hands of foreigners—and your Committee, as practical men, are fully convinced that in the same proportion the American Whale Fishery must decline, or follow such removal, and also go into foreign hands. They are also fully convinced that a fear of the last result, under causes so well calculated to produce it, is no visionary anticipation.

So far as the immediate interest of the fishery is concerned, should the present measures of our government be carried out, and the large portion of mechanical and manufacturing products now produced by the industry of our own citizens come to us from foreign labor, causing, as this would, a proportionate increased demand abroad for the products of the Whale Fishery—could such portion of the products of our fishery be transported to and sold in such foreign markets on the same easy conditions on which we seem disposed to receive their products, however the change might affect our agriculturists, our manufacturers and artisans—those engaged in the whale fishery might bear it. But such reciprocity does not exist, nor in the opinion of your Committee is it at all to be anticipated. In the ports of Great Britain the products of our fishery is met with a duty of £26 12s. sterling, with five per cent. addition thereto on the imperial ton of 302 2.5 gallons meant to be prohibitory, and is so, except when an occasional state of their market admits of the introduction of a comparatively insignificant quantity paying this enormous duty—when (as with our bread stuffs and most other agricultural products) it is only admitted under the most extreme want.

In the ports of France, such is the policy pursued by that government, that oil from our fishery is excluded and never shipped there. That government having first encouraged the introduction of the whale fishery by a bounty, it is now successfully prosecuted in their own ships.

Thus the two countries, into whose hands, if our present system is continued, your Committee fear our present home industry will in a great measure fall—offers in such an event, or in whatever degree it may so fall, no substitute or resource for our whale fishery, but that if too, in the same proportion, must also go into foreign hands.

Your Committee beg leave to present some facts, which they think may go to prove that their fears and anticipations are by no means imaginary:

Some years ago, the British government deemed it desirable to further the Spermaceti Fishery from England, and to this end availed itself of the energy and skill of American officers, and granted liberty to an American gentleman to introduce American ships and material on the most favorable terms, who with this aid pursued this business with a success equal to that of our own ships.

This period, however, was followed by the introduction of manufacturing establishments and various other operations of industry similar to the British in our own country—and soon opened a fair and extending field of enterprise to our citizens in the whale fishery from their own country, which they naturally preferred to a foreign one—and this branch of our industry increased from about 30 ships, averaging 200 tons each, to not less at the present time than 650 ships, tonnage 193,000 tons, manned by 16,000 seamen, full one half of whom are green hands at sailing, and return seamen.

The French government, as the only means of introducing this important branch of industry, offered a temptation to American enterprise to commence it, and it is now permanently established in France.

Within 11 or 12 years the fishery has been commenced, and is now carried on from St. Johns, New Brunswick, with the British market open for the oil they take, protected by the enormous duty to which we have alluded—whilst the owners of whale ships in that province are constantly visiting our ports to procure our officers for their ships to conduct their voyages.

Can there be a doubt, then, that in the event of the measures of our government causing a decline of our own whale fishery, and with it the loss of its valuable products taken from the ocean, that our enterprising citizens who command and navigate our whale ships, and who for perseverance and skill in this business stand before the people of any other country, must and will be driven to pursue their accustomed vocation in those foreign countries where they will be most welcome, and where their enterprise will meet a reward which may be denied them at home.

Before leaving the subject of the Whale Fishery, the Committee will allude to one branch of its national importance—its agency as a nursery of seamen—especially at this time, when, under the operation of our present system, our foreign carrying trade appears to be fast passing into foreign hands.

For the Committee, JAMES ARNOLD.

## REPORT ON COD FISHERY.

[Brought in by JAMES ARNOLD.]

In offering their report, on the *Cod Fishery* your Committee beg leave to say:

That they much regret that it is out of their power, at this time, to present to the Convention such statistical and other precise information as, in their opinion, this important branch of our industry deserves.

Your Committee regret this circumstance the more from the conviction that, were it in their power here to present tables accurately exhibiting its extent and importance, this branch of our domestic industry would exhibit an extent and importance, which, as has been the case with many others, would impress this Convention with patriotic pleasure, if not with surprise.

Your Committee are of opinion that the protective duty of \$1 per quintal on foreign Codfish, with the aid which has heretofore been extended to this branch of our country's enterprise, may be all it requires, in relation to the home market.

A few years since, the Mediterranean markets were open for the introduction of our Codfish.—Your Committee are informed that the British Government, with their usual forethought and skill,

have, by treaty stipulations, secured to their subjects advantages in the ports of Portugal, and Naples, if not in those of Spain, for vending the products of this part of their national industry.

Your Committee much regret that there is not in this Convention any representative of this branch of our industry. This may be attributed, in part, to the fact that our Codfishermen are poor, hard handed men, who, in this depressed state of our country, find enough to do, to sustain themselves and their families.

There is not, however, throughout our whole country, to be found a more moral, hardy, and adventurous class of men than our Codfishermen, or any who patiently and cheerfully toil in their avocation, or endure the risk and exposure to which it leads. Two winters have not passed since forty families, in one small locality, were deprived of husband, father, sons and brothers; of age sufficient to man their small vessels, yet were buried

beneath the waves in one storm whilst pursuing their hardy adventures.

Let the traveller visit their barren and sandy soil, on Cape Cod—interesting in fact from its desert aspect. Let him enter the small, but remarkable habitations of these men in Provincetown; and we trust he will say, with your Committee, that the country whose Government will not protect such subjects against foreign interference, does not deserve to possess them. With such, and adequate protection, your Committee believe our Codfishermen will cheerfully follow their hardy avocation, whilst our countrymen are prosperous enough to consume even *Codfish*, at two and a half cents the pound.

Your Committee will ask leave, hereafter, to present to you other statistical information, which if not in time for your printing Committee, may be placed among the papers of the Convention, all of which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES ARNOLD, For the Committee.

Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of Fisheries, Number of Men Employed, and Capital Invested, in the United States.

	No. of quintals smoked or dried fish.....	No. of barrels pickled fish.....	No. gallons Spruce No. gallons Sweet Oil.....	No. gallons whale & other fish Oil.....	Value of whalebone and other products of the fisheries.....	Number of men employed.....	Capital Invested.....
Maine.....	279,156	54,071	1,044	117,807	\$2,351	3,610	\$526,967
New Hampshire.....	28,257	1,714	.....	15,234	.....	399	59,680
Massachusetts.....	339,715	124,755	3,630,972	3,364,725	442,974	16,000	11,725,850
Rhode Island.....	4,034	2,908	487,268	633,860	45,523	1,160	1,077,157
Connecticut.....	1,384	6,598	183,207	1,909,047	157,572	2,215	1,361,640
Vermont.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	702,546	190,046	4,302,491	6,040,673	648,420	23,384	14,691,294
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.							
New-York.....	5	22,224	400,251	1,269,541	344,665	1,228	949,250
New-Jersey.....	.....	1,134	12,000	80,000	74,000	179	93,275
Pennsylvania.....	.....	2,012	.....	.....	15,240	58	16,460
Total.....	5	25,370	412,251	1,349,541	433,905	1,465	1,058,985
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.							
Delaware.....	.....	28,000	49,704	142,575	7,987	165	170,000
Maryland.....	.....	71,292	.....	.....	12,167	7,814	88,947
Virginia.....	.....	30,315	262	.....	4,150	556	28,383
North Carolina.....	.....	73,350	.....	2,387	23,800	1,784	213,502
Total.....	2,385	202,957	49,966	144,962	48,104	10,319	500,832
COTTON GROWING STATES.							
South Carolina.....	.....	425	.....	.....	.....	53	1,617
Georgia.....	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	6	.....
Alabama.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	.....	97	.....	.....	.....	7	242
Total.....	11	536	.....	.....	.....	66	1,859
WESTERN STATES.							
Kentucky.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	.....	3,506	.....	14	.....	165	12,210
Indiana.....	.....	14	.....	.....	1,150	.....	.....
Illinois.....	.....	1	.....	28	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	.....	16,535	.....	60	.....	453	28,640
Florida.....	6,900	73	.....	.....	6,000	67	10,000
Wisconsin.....	.....	9,021	.....	1,500	155	138	61,300
Iowa.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	.....	24,300	.....	.....	15,500	527	64,500
Total.....	6,900	53,450	.....	1,602	22,805	1,350	176,650

## REPORT ON SALT.

The Committee on Salt beg leave to report, that the whole quantity of this essential article produced in our country each year may now be estimated 6,179,174 bushels, which is somewhat over the quantity imported in 1839, that being 6,061,608 bushels, and falling below that of 1840, which was 8,183,203 bushels.

This domestic product was apportioned through our country as follows:—

	Bushels.	Bushels.	Tot. bushels.
Maine,	50,000		
N. Hampshire,	1,200		
Massachusetts,	376,596		
Connecticut,	1,500—	429,296	
New York,	2,867,884		
New Jersey,	500		
Pennsylvania,	549,478—	3,417,862	
Delaware,	1,160		
Maryland,	1,200		
Virginia,	1,745,618		
N. Carolina,	4,493—	1,752,471	
S. Carolina,		2,250	
Kentucky,	219,695		
Ohio,	297,350		
Indiana,	6,400		
Illinois,	20,000		
Missouri,	13,150		
Arkansas,	8,700		
Florida,	12,000—	577,295—6,179,174	

The extended and almost illimitable domestic resources for the supply of this article must therefore be apparent to all.

Your Committee trust they need not call your attention to the great extent of this product in the State where we are assembled, and made from her salt springs, or to that of several other States containing, as your Committee believe, like inexhaustible sources of supply: or to the beneficial connection, in the State of New York, between this product and her noble internal improvements, from the first commencement of the great Erie Canal to the present day.

Along our sea shore, particularly that of Massachusetts, this article has for many years been made from sea water to a large extent, and might be so made throughout the whole extent of our sea coast—(with some important advantages at the South over the Northern part of it, owing to its warmer climate and more vertical sun, did the same enterprise prevail in that section of our country as at the North.)

One of your Committee is the better acquainted with this important domestic product, from having himself an interest in a somewhat extensive establishment for the manufacture of Salt by solar evaporation, at Syracuse, in this State, as well as on the sea shore near his own residence.

That this product of our domestic skill and industry, as much as any one that can be named, requires, for its protection and preservation, that fostering care of the Government which this Convention is assembled to promote and to solicit at their hands, no one at all acquainted with its present can for a moment doubt.

Your Committee believe that, under the present

state of our Tariff, it must be broken down; and some of the establishments for the manufacture of this article have already been abandoned. Salt made at the springs in this State, by solar evaporation, and equal in quality to the best foreign, would now be sold on the spot for eighteen cents the bushel, or less. The purchasers pay the charge of the State for the water, the property in those valuable springs being the property of the State. The salt made on the sea shore is proportionably low.

Two or three years since, salt made at Salina could be and was conveyed to the Hudson, and thence up the Northern Canal, to Vermont and other Northern markets. From those markets foreign salt has now driven it.

It will be borne in mind, that salt, though ordinarily a cheap and coarse article, is, nevertheless, one of the first necessity, not to say almost an element of life; and the Convention will doubtless perceive the danger and difficulty which, peradventure, may arise from an entire dependance on foreign countries for such an article.

During the last War with Great Britain, this article was sold in quantity, in more than one of our States, at *Four Dollars* per bushel, when, had there then existed in those States proper establishments for making it from sea water, it might have been supplied as low as thirty-five cents per bushel; thus, under the then state of things, one year's supply was equal to eleven years under the other; or, during three years of such a war, the cost of supply might equal that of thirty-three years!

Your Committee are of opinion that a duty of ten cents would protect and preserve this important domestic production; and that, thus protected, it might extend in proportion as an increased population should require.

In accordance with our recent notions on this subject, your Committee are aware that some of our statesmen think this article should be imported free of duty, in order that it may be offered at a still lower rate. Your Committee, however, believe, and are fully convinced, that such views would in practice prove fallacious; and in the end defeat, instead of promote, the object aimed at.

It must not be forgotten, that whilst the foreign article competes with the domestic in our markets, the latter also competes with the former; and that the portion of foreign salt required to make up the present deficiency of supply from domestic sources, comes to us mostly as ballast for ships returning from foreign salt ports; and, in a great measure, with little or no freight or profit to the importer. But once break down or destroy our domestic establishments, and the extensively increased quantity then required from foreign sources, (nearly or quite double the quantity now imported,) and it is believed the article will no longer come to us at this cheap rate; but will not only be increased in cost at its foreign source, but come to us, also, taxed with full freight and profit to the importer, and thus instead of cheapening, will actually enhance the cost to the consumer.

Your Committee are of opinion, that with a duty of ten cents per bushel, this article may and will be sold in our principal sea ports, at a price not exceeding thirty cents per bushel.

For the Committee,  
JAMES ARNOLD.

## REPORT ON EARTHENWARE.

The manufacture of Earthenware in the United States is, as yet, in its infancy, as regards the finest descriptions of ware. Still, the capital invested in the manufacture is no small item, as appears from the late census. The number of potteries in the Union is 659—the amount of capital invested therein, \$551,431—the value of manufactured articles \$1,104,825—the number of persons employed 1612. It is believed that this estimate is rather under the truth.

It is impossible to state with certainty what amount of wood and coal is annually consumed in the production of Earthenware; but your Committee have ascertained that one establishment in Jersey City, which produces cream-colored, dight and printed wares, similar to the English, consumes from 800 to 1000 tons of coal per annum. It is the opinion of those conversant with the production of Earthenware, that it would require about 150,000 tons of bituminous and anthracite coal annually to produce the quantity of ware brought yearly into the United States from the English potteries.

The annual import of all kinds of ware, (including China or porcelain) is but little short of \$2,000,000. A great portion of this does not pay ten per cent. duty, as the practice of allowing heavy discounts in England on the established list prices of 1814, has been gradually obtaining to such a degree, that in many instances, Earthenware is passed at the custom-houses here, at 45 to 50 per cent discount.

In relation to the materials used in the manufacture of Earthenware, your Committee states, that with but a few trifling exceptions they are all to be found in this country. Clay, feldspar and silica, white lead and litharge, enter principally into the composition of Earthenware. With the exception of white lead and litharge, these materials are, in a great measure, valueless, but for the purposes of pottery; and the extension of the manufacture in this country would prove a source of revenue to the owners of the soil in which these materials are contained.

It is almost essential to the success of the manufacture of the English ware in this country, that the potteries should be located as nearly as possible to the deposits of the two articles most used, viz. clay and coal. In this respect, our western coal region offers great inducements for the establishment of potteries, inasmuch as these two articles abound in that quarter, provided, that such a protection is afforded by Congress, as will prevent this country from being inundated by the refuse ware of the English potteries, as is the case at present.

Your Committee are strongly in favor of levying a specific duty *by weight* on the foreign article, as is now the practice in Prussia; which would simplify the collection of duties and guard the revenue against frauds from under-valuations, thereby protecting the fair trader in imported ware, and affording some guarantee to the home manufacturer that his capital will be safe and reasonably productive. Under a system of duties thus levied and persevered in, your Committee see no reason why this country may not, in a very short time, produce an amount of ware, equal at least to meet the annually increasing consumption arising from the in-

crease of population, and that in the course of a number of years it may not only be independent in these important and necessary articles of life, but also be able to produce for exportation to other countries.

Your Committee, in conclusion, may remark, that many nations, ancient and modern, have taken great pride in their productions of pottery. Indeed, the character of the pottery which has been found of ancient nations, whose histories are unwritten and obscure, has been made a test by antiquaries of the degree of civilization which such nations had attained. The United States, as a nation, is far advanced in almost all the arts of life; and in some of these excels all others; and it is rather a curious reflection, when the materials of pottery abound so much in this country, that the interesting art of pottery has been, so far, so much neglected. During the last war with Great Britain the country was greatly in need of crockery, so much so that a common dinner plate brought a dollar.

## GLASS.

The Committee on Glass and Earthenware, Report, in part:

That from the Census and other data in their possession, they have ascertained that there are in the United States eighty-two furnaces engaged in the manufacture of various kinds of glass, to wit: Crown and Cylinder Window Glass, Flint Glass, Green and Black Bottle Glass, Phials and Demijohns, located as follows:—eleven in the New-England states, thirteen in New-York, twenty-four in New-Jersey, twenty-eight in Pennsylvania, and the remaining six in Maryland, Virginia, and the Western States.

The capital employed is \$2,584,100; and the annual amount of glass made is \$3,890,293, giving employment to 4,236 workmen, numbering, with their families, more than 13,000 souls.

Of the expenses incurred in this business, seven-tenths are for labor, and three-tenths only for the raw material, (almost all of which material is of American production,) showing that nearly every dollar expended in the manufacture of glass is for American labor.

The materials used, of American production, are lead, pot and pearl ashes, lime, salt, sand and clay.

Up to 1816, the duty on common window glass did not exceed \$2 per 100 feet, and the price was from \$10 to \$12 per 100 feet. In 1832, the price of glass had become reduced to \$5, in consequence of the increase of manufacturers, induced by the tariff laws of that period, which imposed a duty of \$3 and \$4 per 100 feet. It will be observed that notwithstanding the additional duty, the price was reduced more than one-half.

The Compromise Act protected window glass.

up to the year 1838, at which time no further reduction in the price had taken place. Since then, the reduced rate of duties has brought large importations of foreign glass into our country, reducing the price of the article to \$4 per 100 feet, the price at which it is now selling in our market. At this price it cannot be made without a loss to the manufacturer.

It is a well known fact, that the policy of foreign manufacturers is to make all their sacrifices in this country, rather than injure their home market; in fact, they would as soon think of throwing their goods into the sea, as of selling them at auction at home for the prices they bring when sacrificed in this country.

In the other descriptions of glass, particularly Flint glass, there has been, under the high duty, a still greater reduction in the prices; and your Committee submit, that without greater protection this important part of the glass business will be entirely monopolized by the foreign manufacturer. In like manner a duty is required for the protection of Bottle glass and Phials, immense quantities of which are annually brought into our markets from foreign ports.

The duties proposed by the bill reported in the House of Representatives by the Committee on Manufactures are lower on Flint glass than your Committee believe the manufacture of this article can be continued under; and they would recommend, in place of any ad valorem duty, a specific duty of eight cents per pound upon all plain Flint or Tale Glass, and of twenty-one cents per pound upon all cut and pressed or moulded glass, (which your Committee believe should be included with cut glass), which specific duty would tend to prevent frauds on the revenue by false invoices, which have been very common. The English Government allows a large bounty on the exportation of glass, which very much reduces the protection now asked for.

Your Committee beg leave to report some of the material of American production used by the Flint Glass houses in the neighborhood of Boston and New York, much of which, if we are to depend wholly on foreign countries for our glass, will become of little or no value:

	About	Valued at
Pearl ashes,.....	2,000 bbls.....	\$60,800
Oxide of lead, ....	1,200 tons.....	188,160
Sand, .....	2,000 " .....	8,000
Virginia coal,....	280,800 bush.....	56,160
Anthracite coal,...	2,080 tons.....	14,560
Pine wood,.....	7,280 cords.....	29,120
Oak wood,.....	4,160 " .....	20,800
Fire clay,.....	780 tons.....	11,700
Hay for feed,....	416 " .....	6,240
Straw for packing,	1,560 " .....	15,600
Packages, all sizes,	62,400 .....	31,200
Nails,.....	624 casks.....	3,744
Lamp oil,.....	208 bbls.....	6,240

Total,..... \$451,524

with many other articles of iron, wood, etc.

For the Committee, T. B. WAKEMAN.

*Statistical table, showing the aggregate number of Glass Houses, Glass Cutting Establishments, number of men employed, value of manufactured articles, including Looking-glasses, and capital invested in the United States:*

	No. of glass houses.	No. of glass cutting establishments.	Number of men employed.	Value of manufactured articles, including looking-glasses.	Capital invested.
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>					
N. Hampshire, ..	3	..	85	\$47,000	\$44,900
Mass. ....	4	1,372		471,000	277,000
Connecticut, ..	2	..	64	32,000	32,000
Vermont, ....	2	..	70	55,000	35,000
	11	1	591	\$605,000	\$338,900
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>					
New York, ..	13	11	498	\$411,371	\$204,700
N. Jersey, ..	23	4	1,075	904,700	589,800
Penn'a, ....	28	15	835	772,400	714,100
	64	30	2,408	\$2,088,471	\$1,508,600
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>					
Delaware, ....	..	..	..	....	....
Maryland, ...	1	..	37	\$40,000	\$30,000
Virginia, ....	4	2	164	146,500	132,000
N. Carolina, ..	..	..	..	....	....
	5	2	201	\$186,500	\$162,000
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>					
Kentucky, ...	..	1	2	\$3,000	\$500
Michigan, ...	1	..	34	\$7,322	\$25,000
	1	1	36	\$10,322	\$25,500

## REPORT ON READY-MADE CLOTHING.

[Brought in by ALEXIS S. BAKER.]

*The Committee appointed by the Convention to examine into the subject of the Tariff or Duties on Ready Made Clothing, would respectfully*

### Report:

That their appointment to this duty was wholly unexpected; therefore they are not prepared to present the subject in all its detail at this time. Yet there are some facts so obvious, and of such peculiar interest, that they find no difficulty in presenting a few considerations, that will show the importance of giving all reasonable protection to this branch of *American Industry*. That it is essential to the welfare and happiness of our common country, to make suitable provision for the protection of *Honest Industry*, no one will deny; and that much of this *Honest Industry* may be found amongst those who manufacture our clothing is equally true. In years past so much protection has been given to Ready Made Clothing, as to confine the importation of it to very narrow limits; hence a large portion of our population have been able to procure the means of subsistence by this employment. Then the duty was fifty per cent. ad valorem. In 1841 the duty was reduced to



38 per cent. when it became evident that we might expect foreign importations of this article in no small quantities; in fact, some sections of our country have already experienced no little inconvenience in a serious interruption of our Home trade, by importations forced upon them on foreign account. And your Committee are fully satisfied, that, should the duty be reduced to 29½, (the minimum for 1842) or less, the amount of Ready Made Clothing that will be imported, will almost destroy the present system of labor, which is so admirably adapted to the circumstances of our great and growing population. Instead of a further reduction of duties, an increase is indispensable, that will amount to at least 40 per cent. ad valorem. Nothing less than this will secure this branch of industry to those to whom it seems naturally to belong, viz. to the fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, and widows of our own country. It will be readily perceived how perfectly this branch of industry is adapted to promote the welfare and happiness of those who are engaged in it. There is no congregating in large manufacturing establishments; but generally the laborer can pursue his or her employment under their own roof, where they can exercise a proper care over their households; and while they are providing for their bodily wants can train their children to habits of usefulness and industry. Thousands of instances can be found, where this simple employment, of perhaps widowed mothers, has saved whole families from starvation and ruin. And besides this, it is well known that at present many of the youth of our country are enabled to secure to themselves a comfortable support, and a good degree of respectability, by making themselves acquainted with this branch of the mechanic arts—a consideration applicable to all occupations, but a consideration that should command more universal attention than it has hitherto done. No people can long prosper, unless the young men are encouraged in the pursuit of honest labor and persevering industry.

The amount of goods imported into this country for articles of clothing cannot be less than 12,000,000 annually, or it would amount to this in the year 1841, though the importations were not large. These goods cannot be manufactured into clothing at less than 40 per cent. on their original cost; deduct from this five per cent. for articles that are manufactured in families for their own use, and you then have the sum of \$4,200,000 paid annually for the manufacture of clothing in this country. This amount is paid for labor alone, and is distributed amongst a very great number of individuals, both male and female, in small amounts; but without doubt, more than forty thousand persons share in this distribution who contribute their aid in earning it.

The question will arise, what rate of duties on Ready Made Clothing will secure the aforementioned advantages to our own most-deserving population? We answer, nothing less than 40 per cent. ad valorem will do it.

We might dwell upon other important points, particularly upon the low price of labor and living in foreign countries; but believing that enough has been said to satisfy the Convention of the importance of ample protection being afforded to

Ready Made Clothing, we shall not prolong this hasty Report, which is respectfully submitted.

ALEXIS S. BAKER,

CALEB LEE,

F. M. PRENTICE,

} Committee.

NEW-YORK, April 8, 1842.

## REPORT on WOOL & WOOLLENS.

[Brought in by HENRY SHAW, of Lanesborough, Mass.]

*The Committee, to whom was referred the subject of Wool and Woollens, respectfully*

### Report :

That it has not been possible to examine even the statistics on hand connected with this subject, so far as to justify them in laying before the Convention such a detailed statement, or even a synopsis of facts, as they could wish, to illustrate the magnitude or the importance of the woollen interest to this country. This, however, is less a subject of regret, from the circumstance, that the Committee on Manufactures in the Congress of the United States, have already reported for the consideration of that body a bill, which, in its general provisions, bestows upon this interest a considerate and paternal regard. To the comprehensive policy embraced by that bill the Committee refer the Convention, as affording a cheering prospect for the future. It forms an era in our history, and will be hailed by the husbandman, the manufacturer and the merchant, as the harbinger of better days. It asserts the great principle for which the Convention assembled, the encouragement and protection of American labor. But while the Committee thus fully and freely commend the spirit and principles of that bill, they are constrained to dissent from that portion of it in which provision is made for the collection of duties upon woollen goods not enumerated. These provisions the Committee deem defective, both in principle and detail. All experience has clearly established this fact, that ad valorem duties on woollen goods, while they have failed to secure the contemplated revenue, have also defeated the just expectations of the American manufacturer. They have been mocked by the show of protection, while in reality they have been left to struggle with the shicanery of the disingenuous and the frauds of the dishonest.

Specific duties, or those which in their nature approach that character, are alone efficient for the purposes of revenue or protection. In a great variety of cases, goods, equally difficult in the application of specific duties, have even in this bill been subjected to them. Your committee believe they ask for no favor which expediency and sound policy do not sanction, when they invoke the application of specific duties for the protection of an interest so extensive and so deeply interesting to all the agriculturists of the north and the west. By the existing laws, as well as by this bill, the duties are ad valorem, and the value is determined by the foreign cost. This country has expected a home valuation, and to this principle we have looked with hope and confidence. This the committee apprehend can only be realised by an entire change of the contemplated mode.

The valuation, in effect, becomes the protection, and its influence upon the manufacturer is vital. The mode which shall fix the value of the import, converts the duty from an ad valorem to a specific,

and secures, with the same exactness to the woolens, the protection afforded to the grower of wool. Instead, therefore, of the mode provided by the existing laws, or the bill now before Congress for duties upon woolens, the Committee recommend the following provision:

All manufactures of wool, or of which wool is a component part, not otherwise enumerated, shall be estimated to be of the *Home* value of two dollars and seventy-five cents the square yard, at the port of entry, and shall pay duty on the same thirty per cent.

The operation of this provision would be as follows:

Goods of the foreign cost of

\$1 the square yard, the duty would be 82 per cent.

1 50 do. do. do. do. 55 do.

2 do. do. do. do. 41 do.

2 50 do. do. do. do. 33 do.

3 do. do. do. do. 27½ do.

The great bulk of importations of woollen cloths and cassimeres are of the foreign cost of from one to three dollars the square yard. The duty, in 1839, was 38 per cent; but the fact has been abundantly established that the duty has been but partially collected.

The effect of this would be to exclude the very low goods, of which an abundant supply can be and is now made at home. It would be a protection to the middle qualities, but would not exclude the foreign. The finer qualities the duty would not protect, and of such the domestic manufacturer must surrender the market, in the main, to the foreign manufacturer. The domestic manufacturer would have a certain protection on which he could rely; fraudulent valuation would cease; and the revenue would be made secure. No frauds, except in measure, could be practised, and these could be easily detected.

The Committee also think that some modification in the duty on Wool, calculated to restrain any abuse of the provision favorable to the import of low-priced Wool, should occupy the attention of Congress. No foreign Wool ought to be allowed for one moment to interfere injuriously with this great and important American staple. It is believed that practices now prevail, which, to some extent, have brought the foreign Wools into competition with the Wools now raised by our own citizens.

#### *Statistics of the Woollen Interest.*

It appears from the last census that there were in the United States about twenty millions of sheep, which may justly be estimated as of the value of \$2 per head,.....\$40,000,000

Sheep farms generally do not support more than three sheep to the acre, for winter provender and summer pasture. The average value of lands on which sheep are kept, (taking the whole United States) cannot justly be estimated at less than twenty dollars the acre. The quantity of land required for said sheep, at three sheep to the acre, will amount to six million six hundred thousand acres, at \$20, .....132,000,000

A further agricultural investment is required to raise the timber, firewood, coal, teazles, food for team

horses, and other wants of the manufacturers, which may be estimated at.....4,000,000\*

The above sheep will produce annually fifty millions of pounds of wool, estimating two and a half pounds to the fleece, which is rather under than over the real product.

To manufacture fifty millions of pounds of wool into cloth, would require, on the average fifty persons, (men, women and children) for every one hundred thousand pounds of wool per annum; whole number employed would thus be 50,000.

It is a reasonable supposition that each laborer subsists two other persons, increasing the number to 150,000 deriving a direct subsistence from the woollen manufacturers. Each person will consume per annum, of the products of agriculture, in food, to the value of twenty-five dollars, and in the whole, to the value of \$3,750,000.

The average products of farms, after subsisting the families and work hands of the farmer, will not yield over \$2 50 per acre for sale. It will, therefore, require one million five hundred thousand acres of land to feed the operatives and their dependents engaged in the manufacturing of wool, worth, say \$20 the acre, is.....30,000,000\*

*Total value of agricultural capital invested in lands, and sheep, and feeding the manufacturers of wool*.....\$206,000,000\*

The annual value accruing to agriculture, created by the growing and manufacturing of wool may be thus stated:

Twenty millions of sheep will produce fifty millions of pounds of wool, which, at 35 cts. the pound, is.....\$17,500,000

Provisions for the support of the manufacturers of wool as above stated, are valued at.....3,750,000\*

Timber, fuel, teazles, hay, oats, &c. &c. say.....500,000\*

For every 100,000 lbs. of wool manufactured, there is constant employment equal to the labor of six men. In the erection and repairs of buildings, there are of mill-wrights, blacksmiths, machinists, &c. 3000, whose labor subsists 7000 other persons, making a total of 10,000 persons, who consume each to the va-

\*According to the best calculation there are 34,000,000 sheep in the Union. This is an increase of about 5,000,000 within the three last years. These are worth, at a fair calculation, \$70,000,000. About one fifth of all these are found in the single State of New-York. These sheep, at three sheep to the acre, would require 11,000,000 acres for their keeping, which, worth say twelve dollars per acre, making the amount of \$132,000,000 invested in lands.

The aggregate amount invested in sheep husbandry in the United States would therefore be—  
In Sheep.....\$68,000,000  
In Land.....\$200,000,000  
\$268,000,000\*

The annual crop of wool is estimated at 90,000,000 lbs. and worth nearly \$40,000,000.—[Editor.

lue of \$25 [believed to be too low. *Ed.*] worth of the product of agriculture per annum, is.....250,000

\$22,000,000

Making the whole number of persons employed, because of the manufacture of Wool, 160,000; and requiring annually of the product of agriculture for material and subsistence the very large amount of *twenty-two millions of dollars.*

It might not be amiss here to notice the fact, that European nations, from whom we receive woollen goods, do not take the bread stuffs of the northern and western farmer, except under a heavy duty. They must look for their market at home, to the manufacturers. And these manufacturers must be sustained by protection. If they are prosperous the farmer will be certain of a profitable market at home.

The manufacturers of wool have invested in lands, water power, buildings, machinery, &c. with their floating capital, to manufacture the fifty millions of pounds of wool, about \$50,000 for every \$100,000 lbs. of wool, making the manufacturer's investment \$25,000,000.

It thus appears by the foregoing statements, that the pecuniary interest of the woollen manufacture is but twenty-five millions to the farming interest of two hundred and six millions, or a little more than one dollar, to eight or twelve and a half per cent. A failure on the part of government to sustain and protect that 12 1-2 per cent. of the manufacturer, must result equally disastrous to the 27 1-2 per cent. interest of the farmer.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

*Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of Manufactures of Wool in the United States.*

	No. Mills.	No. Woollen Manufacturers.	Val. of Wool Manufactured.	No. persons employed.	Capital Invested.
Maine.....	151	24	\$413,366	533	\$316,105
New Hampshire.....	152	66	795,784	893	740,345
Massachusetts.....	237	144	7,069,898	5,076	4,179,850
Rhode Island.....	45	41	849,173	961	685,350
Connecticut.....	157	119	2,494,313	2,356	1,931,335
Vermont.....	239	95	1,331,953	1,450	1,406,950
Total.....	951	469	12,959,486	11,868	9,359,935

**NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.**

New-York.....	890	323	3,537,337	4,636	3,469,349
New-Jersey.....	49	31	440,716	427	314,650
Pennsylvania.....	346	235	2,319,061	2,930	1,510,546
Total.....	725	569	6,297,108	7,993	5,294,545

**SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.**

Delaware.....	3	2	104,700	83	107,090
Maryland.....	39	29	935,999	368	117,630
Virginia.....	47	41	147,792	223	112,350
North Carolina.....	1	3	3,900	4	9,800
Total.....	90	75	492,399	697	346,780

**COTTON GROWING STATES.**

South-Carolina.....	..	3	1,000	6	4,300
Georgia.....	..	1	3,000	10	2,000
Tennessee.....	4	26	14,290	45	25,600
Total.....	4	30	18,290	61	31,900

**WESTERN STATES.**

Kentucky.....	5	40	151,246	900	136,000
Ohio.....	206	130	685,757	935	537,985
Indiana.....	24	37	58,867	103	77,964
Illinois.....	4	16	9,540	34	26,205
Missouri.....	..	9	13,750	13	5,160
Arkansas.....	..	1	129	1	12,000
Michigan.....	16	4	9,734	37	34,120
Iowa.....	..	..	800	..	..
Total.....	255	237	949,897	1,323	831,964

## REPORT ON LEATHER.

[Brought in by GEORGE C. DAVIS.]

*The Committee on Leather and Shoes beg leave to*

### Report:

That the manufacture of Leather from the raw material, and also the manufacture of the various articles of which Leather forms the principal material, is almost wholly performed by manual labor.

It is estimated that the cost of Leather is about three times the cost of the raw material, and when manufactured into the articles for which it is used, labor, at present prices, forms about five-sixths of the value.

With a duty of only twenty per cent. in favor of American labor, which is to take place under the present compromise act, manufacturers will be wholly unable to compete with foreign articles, unless wages are so reduced, as to compare with the pauper labor of Europe.

The recent importations of French boots and shoes have greatly exceeded the amount of any previous importations during the same period.

The opinion has generally prevailed among the manufacturers of boots and shoes, that only the finer and more costly articles would be imported, and these to a limited extent, while the manufacture of the cheaper and coarser articles would be confined to this country. This opinion has been found to be erroneous, in regard to both descriptions. The coarser and cheaper kind have been recently imported to some extent, and are now in actual competition with our own manufactures; and orders to a large amount have gone out to Germany in anticipation of the lower rate of duty which takes place in July.

The importation of calf skins from France, and the lighter kinds of Upper Leather and morocco skins for Hatter's and Book-binder's use, are also in successful competition to a considerable extent with our own manufactures of the same description, particularly morocco and calf skins, much used by the makers of the finer and higher priced article of boots and shoes, sold in our cities. There are immense quantities of French calf skins now lying in the hands of the Importers of this City, very materially affecting the dealers in domestic calf skins; so much so, that many of them hold their old stock of skins, and are unable to effect sales, unless at great sacrifices from former prices, and at prices which are still declining.

The article of Sole Leather, is perhaps in no danger of competition from foreign importations, owing to the smaller amount of labor necessary to manufacture this than other kinds of Leather, and the greater abundance of hides, together with the cheapness of the tanning material in this country in comparison with that of the Old World.

From some investigations which were made at the Shoe and Leather Dealer's Convention recently held in Boston, there were ascertained to be in Massachusetts alone, at least 40,000 artisan shoemakers, with about half the number of female laborers, in the various departments connected with this branch of manufacture, and perhaps as great a number of laborers in other branches of industry immediately connected with this, who find a market for the products of their labor among these

mechanics. It was also ascertained, that the amount of goods manufactured by these artisans was at least \$20,000,000, which, from more recent investigation, is believed to be somewhat short of the true valuation.

Your Committee, from the best sources of information within their reach, have arrived at the conclusion that a duty of at least 30 per cent. *ad valorem* should be imposed upon all descriptions of Leather, and a specific duty of one dollar and fifty cents per pair on boots and booties, and a discriminating duty of thirty to fifty cents per pair on shoes.

All of which is respectfully submitted to the Honorable Convention.

GEO. C. DAVIS,  
JOSEPH HUNT.

#### Supplementary Report on Leather.

##### 1. The average weight of a side of Upper Leather and the average price.

The average weight of upper leather manufactured from domestic hides, I estimate at from six to seven pounds each side; and the average price, at \$2.10 per side.

The average weight of upper leather manufactured from foreign hides, I estimate at from three to four pounds per side; and the average price, \$1.10 per side.

##### 2. The average weight of a side of Sole Leather and the price.

The average weight for the past seventeen years, taken from the books of my predecessors and my own, is 14 9-10 pounds. The price for the last fifteen years, taken in the same way, is 18 4-100 cents per pound.

##### 3. The amount manufactured from foreign stock and native.

I estimate one-third of the whole amount of leather to be manufactured from foreign stock, and two-thirds from native stock.

##### 4. Average price of foreign stock and native.

This question, if I understand it rightly, I am unable to answer to my own satisfaction; and, consequently, I could not to yours. There are such diversities of qualities, modes of curing, weight, and value, that I could scarcely approximate to any thing like certainty. I will remark, however, that nearly all the hides that are taken off in the Northern and Eastern States are either cured by being immediately salted or given to the tanner in a green state. In either of these two states, they are worth, on an average, cured, six cents per pound—uncured, five cents per pound. In the Southern and Western States, hides are generally cured by exposure in the open air, without the application of salt; and are worth, in the dried state, on an average, twelve cents. Sometimes they are cured with salt, and afterwards dried in the sun; in which case they are worth a medium price—say nine to ten cents. The value, however, depends materially on the weight of the hide, as the market may rule for light or heavy.

Nearly all the foreign hides that come to this country are either dried or dry salted—the difference in value being three to four cents per pound. I should quote foreign dry hides as being worth, on an average, for a series of years, 13½ cents; dry salted, 10½ to 11 cents.

I make the foregoing remarks in answer to your

fourth question, not so much in the hope that your Committee will find them available or useful as facts, but that they may be some guide or assistance in arriving at facts.

In conclusion, I would apprise you that the late Gideon Lee, shortly before retiring from business, delivered two lectures on the subject of tanning, which contain a large amount of statistical facts in regard to leather. Should you wish to peruse them, I will furnish you with a copy by notifying me. I may also direct your attention to an article in "Hunt's Merchants Magazine," volume 3, page 147, on "Leather Manufacture," which I had the honor of contributing. In that, also, your Committee will find considerable statistical data connected with the Leather Trade.

CHARLES M. LEUPP.  
To the Committee on Leather, &c.

#### Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of Manufactures of Leather, Saddleries, &c. in the United States.

	Manufactories of Leather & Saddleries.....	Value of Manufactures.....	Cap. Invested.....
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>			
Maine.....	530	\$443,846	\$191,717
New Hampshire.....	2,131	712,151	230,649
Massachusetts.....	1,532	10,553,826	3,318,544
Rhode Island.....	44	182,110	70,695
Connecticut.....	408	2,017,931	829,267
Vermont.....	399	361,468	168,090
Total.....	5,044	14,271,332	4,808,962

#### NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

New-York.....	2,849	6,232,924	2,743,765
New-Jersey.....	478	1,582,746	637,621
Pennsylvania.....	2,223	3,482,793	1,255,738
Total.....	5,550	11,298,463	4,637,124

#### SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

Delaware.....	75	166,937	161,630
Maryland.....	408	1,050,275	434,127
Virginia.....	982	826,597	341,957
North Carolina.....	238	185,387	76,163
Total.....	1,703	2,228,296	1,013,877

#### SOUTHERN STATES.

South Carolina.....	243	109,472	45,662
Georgia.....	102	123,701	60,932
Alabama.....	137	180,152	58,332
Mississippi.....	42	118,167	41,945
Louisiana.....	7	108,500	89,550
Tennessee.....	374	359,050	154,540
Total.....	905	999,042	450,961

#### WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky.....	548	732,646	369,835
Ohio.....	1,160	1,986,146	917,245
Indiana.....	579	730,061	247,549
Illinois.....	626	247,217	98,503
Missouri.....	340	298,345	179,527
Arkansas.....	545	17,400	8,830
Michigan.....	101	192,190	69,202
Florida.....	10	6,200	4,250
Wisconsin.....	13	11,800	7,002
Iowa.....	5	4,875	1,645
District of Col'a.....	7	110,450	66,750
Total.....	3,934	4,337,270	1,970,32

Statistical table, showing the aggregate amount of Tanneries, Leather Tanned, and number of men employed, in the United States:

	No. of Tanneries.	Sides of Sole Leather tanned.	Sides of Upper Leather tanned.	Number of men employed.	Capital invested.	
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>						
Maine,.....	395	123,747	85,856	754	\$571,793	
New Hampshire,.....	251	42,396	122,514	776	386,402	
Massachusetts,.....	355	212,844	391,608	2,446	1,024,699	
Rhode Island,.....	27	1,534	50,860	89	72,000	Sole L. \$1,414,666
Connecticut,.....	197	33,081	126,867	1,359	494,477	Up. L. 1,787,703
Vermont,.....	261	102,763	102,937	509	403,093	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>1,486</b>	<b>516,365</b>	<b>880,642</b>	<b>5,933</b>	<b>\$2,952,464</b>	<b>..... \$3,203,369</b>
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>						
New York,.....	1,216	1,252,890	827,993	5,579	3,907,348	Sole L. \$4,732,377
New Jersey,.....	159	57,590	86,764	1,080	415,728	Up. L. 2,681,000
Pennsylvania,.....	1,170	415,655	408,933	3,445	2,783,636	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>2,545</b>	<b>1,726,135</b>	<b>1,320,690</b>	<b>10,114</b>	<b>\$7,106,712</b>	<b>..... \$7,413,377</b>
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>						
Delaware,.....	18	20,648	22,075	66	89,300	
Maryland,.....	161	190,065	191,867	1,035	713,655	
Virginia,.....	660	335,782	206,216	1,422	838,141	Sole L. \$1,120,066
North Carolina,.....	353	62,050	89,032	645	271,797	Up. L. 1,033,655
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>1,192</b>	<b>408,545</b>	<b>509,190</b>	<b>3,168</b>	<b>\$1,912,893</b>	<b>..... \$2,153,721</b>
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>						
South Carolina,.....	97	68,018	89,886	281	212,020	
Georgia,.....	132	55,066	71,280	437	127,739	
Alabama,.....	142	36,705	42,777	300	147,463	Sole L. \$881,227
Mississippi,.....	128	15,332	15,093	149	70,878	Up. L. 819,653
Louisiana,.....	25	12,760	13,705	88	132,025	
Tennessee,.....	454	133,547	171,329	909	464,114	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>978</b>	<b>321,428</b>	<b>403,770</b>	<b>2,164</b>	<b>\$1,174,231</b>	<b>..... \$1,700,880</b>
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>						
Kentucky,.....	387	107,676	155,465	978	567,954	
Ohio,.....	812	161,630	234,037	1,790	957,383	
Indiana,.....	428	122,780	57,581	978	399,627	
Illinois,.....	155	28,383	34,654	305	155,679	
Missouri,.....	155	31,959	55,186	325	208,936	
Arkansas,.....	37	9,263	9,811	70	43,510	
Michigan,.....	38	7,017	9,832	99	70,240	
Florida,.....	3	5,250	1,250	15	14,500	
Wisconsin,.....	1	150	150	3	2,000	Sole L. \$1,346,503
Iowa,.....	3	340	410	4	4,400	Up. L. 1,355,179
District of Columbia,.....	9	16,690	9,200	72	80,400	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>2,028</b>	<b>491,138</b>	<b>667,576</b>	<b>4,639</b>	<b>\$2,504,629</b>	<b>..... \$2,701,682</b>

### PAPER.

We communicate the following facts and conclusions as those approved by the Committee of the Convention on the subject of Paper:

The number of Paper-making establishments ascertained to be in operation in twenty-two several States of the Union is 457, and many others are believed to exist, which have not come to our knowledge.

Many of these establishments comprise from two

to five separate mills, employed upon different kinds of work; and we estimate the whole number of mills at 600, running 1,500 engines, at the average of 280 days in the year.

The capital employed in the business we estimate at \$11,000 for each engine, or \$16,500,000 in water power, buildings, machinery, stock and materials on hand, and necessary investments.

The amount of rags, canvass, junk, cotton-waste, &c., is equal to 189,000,000 pounds per annum, (of which from 15 to 20 millions are imported,)

the total value of which, at an average of 3½ cents per pound, is \$6,615,000. In addition to the rag stock, there are consumed in the business other necessary stock, as, for example, bleaching powders, not less than 2,000,000 pounds at 6½ cents; lime, 25,600 to 30,000 casks, at \$1; alum, 7,000 casks, at \$10; 500 barrels potashes, at \$30; soap, 2,600 pounds, and a large amount of hard soap, \$10,000; sizing, 4,000 tons, at \$100 per ton; brass wire and wire cloth, \$75,000; felting, \$100,000; iron, 1,000,000 lbs. at 10 cts.; coal, at least 35,000 tons, at \$5; wood, 100,000 cords, at \$2 75; smalts, and other coloring materials, as logwood, blue vitriol, Prussian blue, &c., to the amount of \$75,000; twine and cordage, \$60,000; oils, \$100,000; leather, \$25,000; oil of vitriol, \$10,000; and various other necessary articles to a very considerable amount.

The transportation, by land and water, connected with the business, is not less than 200,000 tons, amounting to half a million dollars per annum.

In regard to "prices in market," so great is the variety of kinds, sizes, and qualities, that it is impossible to give a definite answer, that will serve for any practical purpose. We may remark that, since domestic competition has been called into action by high duties, the general line of prices has fallen fully *one-half*, quality considered.

The prices of labor in this country are from \$6 to \$9 per week for men; and for women, from \$2 50 to \$3. In France and other countries, with which we shall have to compete, we are informed that the rates of labor for the same services are but from one-fourth to one-fifth of the above.

The number of adults directly employed in paper mills is about 8,250; and reckoning their dependents, and the labor of others who are partially employed, it is fair to estimate 50,000 individuals as supported by the business, without referring to the great numbers whose industry is collaterally affected.

In the event of suspending the manufacture of paper in this country, it is obvious that an immense loss must be suffered in the capital invested in mills and machinery, (the latter of which is of a very perishable nature,) amounting to many millions of dollars.

The amount of *domestic* rags, junk, &c., used in our business, has been stated at \$5,000,000, which of course would be nearly a dead loss to the country.

For the effect of the 20 per cent. tariff on the book trade, with which our interest is intimately connected, we refer you to the letter of Mr. Brown on that subject.

We beg leave also to draw your attention to the pernicious effect of the proposed international *copyright*, which would diminish the amount of publishing to a very great extent, affecting various interests as well as our own.

In proposing the amount of duties necessary to the well being of this branch of manufactures, we ask only for such an amount as will place us in fair competition with the importer, without expecting to exclude all foreign papers.

If a *specific* duty can be restored, we propose the following:

On bank note, bank post, folio post, post, packet post, quarto post, note, or letter, and tissue papers, 15 cents per pound.

On antiquarian, copperplate, copying, demy, drawing, folio, imperial, lithographic, medium, pith, pot, royal and writing papers, fancy colored, gold leaf, moreocco, paste boards, and pressing boards, 12½ cents per pound.

Blotting, cartridge, glass, printing, sand and stainers' papers, 8 cents per pound.

Binders' boards, box boards, mill boards, sheathing and wrapping papers, 3 cents per pound.

Paperhangings. (See the memorial of the trade on that subject.)

All other paper, 15 cents per pound.

On books. On those printed previous to the year 1800, in whatever languages, 4 cents per volume.

On those printed since 1800, Latin, Greek and all languages other than English, when bound, 15 cents per pound; Latin, Greek, and all languages other than English, unbound, 13 cents per pound.

Those printed in the English language, when bound, 30 cents per pound.

Blank books, bound, 30 cents per pound.

Blank books, unbound, 25 cents per pound.

Statistical Table, showing the Aggregate number of Manufactories of PAPER, value of Produce of other Manufactures of PAPER, PLAYING CARDS, number of Men Employed, and Capital Invested in the United States.

	No. of Manufactories.	Value of Produce.	Value of all other manufactures of paper, playing cards, &c.	No. of men employed.	Capital invested.
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>					
Maine.....	6	\$24,000	.....	89	\$20,000
New Hampshire.....	13	150,000	.....	111	104,000
Massachusetts.....	82	1,659,930	56,700	987	1,082,900
Rhode Island.....	2	25,000	8,500	15	45,000
Connecticut.....	36	568,600	64,000	454	653,800
Vermont.....	17	179,720	35,000	195	216,500
Total,	156	2,695,150	165,700	1,831	2,123,000
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>					
New York.....	77	673,121	89,637	749	703,550
New Jersey.....	41	562,200	7,000	400	460,100
Pennsylvania.....	67	792,838	96,500	704	581,900
Total,	205	2,027,658	192,137	1,943	1,745,450
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>					
Delaware.....	1	20,000	1,500	15	16,200
Maryland.....	17	195,100	3,600	171	95,400
Virginia.....	12	216,245	1,260	161	287,750
North Carolina.....	2	8,785	.....	6	5,000
Total,	32	440,980	5,760	373	404,35
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>					
South Carolina.....	1	20,000	.....	30	30,000
Tennessee.....	5	46,000	14,000	87	88,000
Total,	6	66,000	14,000	117	128,000
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>					
Kentucky.....	7	44	.....	47	47,500
Ohio.....	14	270,232	80,000	305	206,200
Indiana.....	3	86,457	54,000	100	68,739
Illinois.....	1	7,000	.....	6	20,000
Michigan.....	1	1,500	.....	4	5,000
Dist. of Col'bia.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total,	27	367,203	134,000	462	349,436

## REPORT ON METALS OTHER THAN IRON, &c.

[Brought in by Jos. SIMPSON, of N. Y.]

*The Committee appointed by the Convention, on Metals other than Iron and the Manufacture thereof, respectfully*

### Report:

That they have given all the attention to the subject committed to them that its importance demands. As the metals embraced under the head of their appointment are various, being not only the pure metals alone, but their several combinations with each other and with other metals, they have deemed it best to classify them according to their relative importance and in the following order, viz: Lead, and the manufacture thereof; copper, and the manufacture of it; brass, and its various manufactures; tin, and the manufacture thereof; German silver and its various manufactures; tinned plates in all their various manufactures; gold, and the manufacture thereof; nickle, as it enters into the manufacture of German silver and other compositions. By the census of 1840 the number of lead smelting houses in all the States was given at 120. Counting each fire one, the number of lbs. of lead produced is 32,239,453, No. of men employed 1017, amount of capital invested \$1,356,306, value of lead produced \$1,561,970. The Committee believe these statements fall far short of the truth, as from other data a greater number of men are known to be employed than is set forth. They believe not less than 5,000 men are employed in connection with the smelting houses, beside the thousands at the mines. The character or quality of American lead is universally admitted to be equal to any in the world.

The manufacture of lead is very extensive, being sheet lead, sheet-conducting pipe, white lead, red lead and litharge (paints) and various other articles for different uses. More than 2,000 tons of sheet lead are annually manufactured valued at over \$200,000; more than 3,000 tons of conducting pipe are annually made, valued at over \$300,000; more than 6,000 tons of shot are annually made, valued at \$600,000; men employed, 1,000; capital invested, \$300,000. About 20,000 tons of white lead are annually manufactured, valued at over \$150,000. The quantity of pig lead required or used in the above manufactures is over 37,000,000, which, it will be perceived, is five millions of pounds more than by the returns of the census, as stated to be produced in the country, while a large quantity of foreign lead is imported, mostly as old lead. This is another evidence that very little reliance can be placed on the returns of the last census, for many millions of pounds of lead are made in the various other articles made of this metal.

The value of the manufacture of lead is very great, amounting to, at least, \$3,100,000—that of shot alone amounts to over \$600,000; of sheet lead, conducting pipe, white lead, red lead, and litharge, to about \$1,500,000; which with other manufactures, amounts to about \$500,000. The capital employed in these is about \$300,000; and in the other manufactures about \$3,500,000. The number of men employed in the manufacture of shot is about 1,000, and in the other manufactures about 5,000, besides extensive steam and water power, probably of equal capacity. The productions and manufacture of lead in all their

ramifications are abundantly sufficient to supply the whole country, as well as for exportation. Your Committee are, therefore, convinced that they should be amply protected. A duty of a cent and a half per pound on pig and old lead; three cents on shot, and three cents on sheet lead, conducting pipes, white and red lead, litharge and snar of lead; and thirty per cent. on all other manufacture of lead imported should be imposed.

The quantity imported in 1839 was of sheet and bar lead, 528,922 pounds, valued at \$18,631; sheos, 5,063 pounds, valued at \$1,191; pipe, 100 pounds, \$16. With respect to copper, the production of the country is small, yet it is believed that ore in abundance is to be found in the country, and geological examinations will indicate its location. At present, nearly all used in manufacturing is of foreign production. In 1839, there was imported 1,188,165 pounds. Of pig and bars, 81,242 pounds; old, 619,486 pounds; sheathing copper bottoms cut round, valued at \$2,220; braziers' copper, \$1,397.

There are about 8,500,000 pounds of pig copper manufactured in the country, most of which is manufactured into sheathing, braziers, bolts, &c. The capital invested in these departments is about \$1,500,000; the amount paid for labor is about \$100,000; number of men employed about 500, together with immense water power. These establishments have the capacity to extend the manufacture, at least, fifty per cent.; and they can abundantly supply the wants of the whole country. They have been the means of reducing the price of the article in the market; and, should they be protected by a proper duty, a still further reduction will be the consequence. A duty of two cents a pound on sheathing, it is believed, will secure an adequate protection; and of thirty per cent. on braziers, and bolt, and boiler.

The manufacture of copper is very extensive, entering into various kinds of business and compositions for domestic purposes. The value of these manufactures, the Committee have not been able to ascertain; but, from the best information, it cannot be less than \$2,000,000; the capital not less than \$1,000,000; and the number of men employed 1,000. The manufactures of copper ought to receive a protection of at least thirty per cent.

With respect to sheet brass, plated metal, German silver, copper, brass and plated wire, the Committee have ascertained that there is eleven mills engaged in these branches of business alone, with a capital of about \$600,000. The number of hands employed is about five hundred. These eleven mills are capable of producing annually five millions six hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds of sheet brass, plated metal and German silver, which, valued at thirty cents per pound, is \$1,690,200; also, one million two hundred and forty-eight thousand pounds of copper, brass, and plated wire, valued at about \$400,000. These mills are abundantly able to supply the demand for these articles, should it be double that for present consumption.

Another illustration of the effects of protection to our own manufactures is, that since these mills have been in operation the price of sheet brass has fallen from forty-eight cents to twenty-eight cents per pound, and the others in proportion. The manufacturers unanimously agree that a duty of not less than thirty per cent will be absolutely ne-

ecessary to enable them to continue their business, and the committee feel confidence in saying, that by such a protection these several branches of manufacture will become equal to any in the country, and adequate to all our wants.

The article of Nickle enters largely into the manufacture of German silver, little of which being found in this country, if admitted free of duty, would aid materially the manufacture of this valuable composition.

The next manufacture from copper and other metals is in brass composition, which enters into the furnishing of ship work, materials used in finishing dwelling houses, church bells, cannon, and a variety of other articles. This department is very extensive, and no doubt forms a large item in the amount of \$5,527,631 returned by the census as the value of the manufacture of various metals, other than iron, gold and silver. In fact, it is believed this latter branch of business will nearly reach that sum, and should be amply protected by a duty of thirty per cent. Nothing less will do this.

Brittania ware is now made to a very large amount in this country, and, with a proper protection, would supply the whole demand of the country, but being composed chiefly of tin and zinc, which, as yet, have not been found to a great amount in the United States, are admitted duty free. The amount of capital employed in the manufacture of this ware is about \$500,000, and the number of persons dependent on it from five to six thousand. The value of manufacture is \$750,000. A duty of thirty per cent will be a satisfactory protection.

The manufacture of zinc in sheets for utensils, &c., is now commencing in this country, and it will soon be able to supply any demand that is likely to exist for its use; it ought therefore to be protected by a duty of thirty per cent. In this branch of manufacture a larger number of men are employed, as is also the case in the manufacture of tin ware. The value and extent of this latter business are not yet ascertained. Manufactories are found in every village or settlement in the country, and the ware enters largely into the domestic use of every family, and also in covering buildings, vessels, and, in fine, is used in every department of life. The number of men employed in this manufacture cannot be less than ten thousand. A duty of thirty per cent, it is believed, will be ample protection.

The branches of manufacture treated of by your committee are of great importance to the country, and they therefore feel incompetent to do justice to them. That importance must be self-evident to every intelligent mind, and your committee need not, therefore, enlarge on the subject. They feel confident that Congress will, by an enlightened and just policy, foster these branches of industry as among the most essential domestic interests.

With regard to the manufacture of gold it will be seen that another report has been presented, and the committee which has in hand a branch of that business may be better able to perform this duty.

Statistical tables have been compiled from returns of the census, which it is believed will throw some light on this branch of manufacture.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH P. SIMPSON, Chairman.

New York, April 8th, 1842.

Statistical Table, showing the Aggregate Amount of Precious Metals Manufactured, Various Metals, and Number of Men employed in the United States:—

	Precious Metals.		Various Metals.	
	Value Manufactured.	No. of Men Employed.	Value Manufactured.	No. of Men Employed.
EASTERN STATES.				
Maine			56,512	51
N. Hampshire	8,040	11	136,334	224
Massachusetts	92,045	51	1,773,738	1,842
Rhode Island	263,500	170	147,350	138
Connecticut	198,106	126	1,735,044	1,095
Vermont	5,000	8	24,300	44
	\$585,685	385	3,872,098	2,584
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
New York	1,106,203	708	2,456,792	1,713
New Jersey	150,302	7	465,955	130
Pennsylvania	2,679,073	245	1,260,170	635
	\$3,944,580	960	4,122,917	2,478
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
Delaware	3,500	7	10,700	18
Maryland	15,300	21	312,900	216
Virginia	41,000	52	128,250	219
North Carolina	875	1	16,050	24
	\$59,675	81	467,906	477
SOUTHERN STATES.				
South Carolina	3,000	4		
Georgia	250	1	5,350	6
Alabama	1,650	7	25,700	17
Mississippi	5,425	3	26,900	20
Tennessee	28,460	11	109,570	100
	\$39,785	26	\$168,820	143
WESTERN STATES.				
Kentucky	19,060	21	164,080	174
Ohio	53,125	37	782,901	589
Indiana	3,500	2	14,580	26
Illinois	2,400	7	31,200	29
Missouri	5,450	12	60,300	72
Arkansas			1,240	6
Michigan	5,000	1	57,500	45
Florida	500	—	3,500	5
Wisconsin			3,500	5
Dist. Columbia	17,200	24	28,000	37
	106,235	104	1,147,701	985

Statistical Table, showing the aggregate amount of LEAD produced, Number of Men employed, Smelting Houses, and Capital invested in the United States:—

	EASTERN STATES.				
	No. of Smelting Fires.	No. of Pounds produced.	No. of Men employed.	Capital Invested.	Total Value at 5 cents per lb.
N. Hamp.	1	1,000	2	\$500	\$50
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.					
New York,	9	670,000	333	221,000	33,500
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.					
Maryland,	5	878,648	73	21,500	
Virginia,	2	10,000	30	50,000	
Total,	7	888,648	103	71,500	44,432
SOUTHERN STATES.					
Louisiana,	2		4	350	
WESTERN STATES.					
Illinois,	20	3,755,000	73	114,500	
Missouri,	21	5,295,455	252	235,806	
Wisconsin,	49	15,129,350	220	664,600	
Iowa,	11	500,000	30	38,500	
Total,	101	29,679,805	575	1,052,956	1,483,900



Statistical Table, showing the aggregate amount of Gold produced, Number of Smelting Houses, Number of Men Employed, and Capital Invested in the United States:

Other Metals.					
	Value Produced.	No. of Men Employed.	Capital Invested.		
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>					
Maine	\$1,600	4	1,000		
New Hampshire	10,300	11	9,500		
Massachusetts	2,500	14	1,200		
Vermont	70,500	156	92,500		
	\$84,900	185	104,200		
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>					
New York	84,564	119	42,930		
New Jersey	39,550	33	15,000		
Pennsylvania	100,200	285	62,200		
	\$224,314	437	120,130		
<b>Other Metals.</b>					
No. of Smelting Houses.	Value Produced.	No. of Men Employed.	Capital Invested.	No. of Smelting Houses.	Value Produced.
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>					
Maryland	—	—	26,800	73	5,000
Virginia	11 51,758	131	103,650	—	—
N. Carolina	10 285,618	349	9,832	1,000	5
	21 307,376	520	118,482	29,000	78
					5,000
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>					
S. Carolina	5	37,418	69	\$40,000	
Georgia	130	121,881	465	79,343	
Alabama	—	61,230	47	1,000	
Tennessee	—	15,000	4	400	
Total	135	\$335,529	525	\$120,748	
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>					
Illinois	1	200	1	100.	

### FLOOR OIL CLOTH.

The following statement of interesting facts on the subject of Floor Oil Cloth, now constituting a considerable branch of the American Arts, and which by protection equal to its importance would give a new stimulus and direction to the skill and industry of our countrymen, is here given to show what is now doing, and also what may be done in the business if the government should afford it adequate and permanent encouragement. The communication was addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the American Institute, and deserves a place among the articles recommended for protection by the Convention, though time forbid its presentation on that occasion.

"The business in which I am engaged, (the manufacturing of Floor Oil Cloths) was commenced in this country some thirty years since, and until within a few years was confined to some two or three establishments; and the amount annually produced was small—employing some forty to fifty persons, and probably about fifty thousand dollars capital. Upon the revision of the Tariff of 1832, at which time a duty of fifty cents per square yard was affixed, many new establishments were put in operation, and have continued to increase up to the present time; and at this moment there are, within my own knowledge, at least twenty manufactories, employing probably, some two hundred persons, and an amount of capital of from four to five hundred thousand dollars; and the aggregate amount of their manufactured goods, I should think, could not be less than some five or six hundred thousand dollars. From five to eight years since the best quality of imported English Cloths cost the consumer from \$2 to \$2 25 per yard, and even as high as \$2 50. You will bear in mind that this was the price under a duty of 50 cents the square yard, which has continued to be the amount to the present time, or rather until last June, when, by the operation of the Compromise Act, it became 43 cents, as the duty was to be gradually reduced until it reached 20 per cent., which is the rate affixed at the last session of Congress. And while we were protected by the highest duty we furnished the consumer as good an article at from \$1 25 to \$1 75 per yard as the imported. Formerly only the wealthy could purchase our goods, owing to their high prices; but in consequence of the increased production and the practical knowledge obtained in the business, together with the competition among our manufactories, we now place our goods within the reach of all classes who desire to use them; and in our more Southern markets they are peculiarly desirable. You will naturally ask what will be the effect of the present or a still lower rate of duty upon the imported article. Before I answer the inquiry let me draw your attention to the following facts: Our canvass, hitherto admitted free, is now subjected to a duty of 20 per cent. This we usually procure from Scotland. The principal colors, such as white lead, the ochres, and the fine colors, are all charged with duty, and our oil also. Of this I do not complain; for if practicable I could wish that New-Jersey or Kentucky or any other of our States, should furnish the canvass from the loom of their own industrious and enterprising citizens. And while the Green Mountains of Vermont are so well stored with the ochre we use, I shall never send my orders to Rochelle; and while the lead from the rich mines of Missouri continues to be converted into such colors as are wanted in our business by the excellent manufactories of New-Jersey, New-York, Pennsylvania, and other States, I am for protecting them; and so with all other branches of manufacture in our country. To the importance of our white Lead Manufacturing I think we are not fully sensible. It is but a few years since that this article was sold at from thirty to fifty per cent. higher, and the quality no way superior. And do not the thousands of buildings which beautify and adorn the city and the village wherever we travel through our country testify to the value of this branch of domestic industry? I say, unless a Protective

Duty, equal to 50 cents, or thereabouts, be continued, our business is at the mercy of the English rivals in trade, for the simple reason of the extreme low price of labor in England. For instance: I employ twenty men at an average of \$1 00 per day—which is the price that I have paid for the last four years, amounting annually to about \$6,000—the product of their labor would be about \$30,000. Now my competitor in Bristol or Birmingham would hire his twenty men for about 25 cts per day, which, allowing 300 working days to the year would amount to \$1,500—making a difference of \$4,500 on the cost of his \$30,000 worth of stock; being 18½ per cent.—to which add the duties on the raw materials which are saved him, and which I estimate at least to be 25 per cent. more, making a difference of 43½ per cent. Now suppose we are driven from the market, how long will our consumers be furnished with these goods at low prices from him who monopolizes the entire market? For instance a Flour Merchant in your city, or a Miller in the country holds in hands or can control the supply of flour for but a single month; will he not ask and obtain his own price? Most certainly.

## MECHANIC ARTS NOT ENUMERATED.

*The Committee to whom was referred the subject of Mechanic Arts not enumerated, viz., Carriages and Wagons, Manufactures of Tobacco, Furniture, Drugs and Medicines, Paints and Dyes, Musical Instruments, Gun Powder, Granite, Marble, and other Stone, Brick and Lime, and all other Manufactures not enumerated, beg leave to*

### Report:

That the subject is so general, and involves so great a responsibility, they do not feel themselves able to fix a definite rate of duties, as a suitable protection: but from such information as they have been able to obtain from gentlemen highly competent, they believe the recent bill reported to Congress by the Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, the Hon Mr. Saltonstall, meets the subject, and therefore your Committee recommend the general spirit of said Bill as the basis of a TARIFF OF PROTECTION. For the variety of articles which have come under their supervision, except as hereinafter enumerated, and desiring to avail themselves of the best authority to show the indispensable importance of a suitable protection to home labor, they beg leave to subjoin the views of the distinguished Dr. Franklin, as follows:

"Foreign luxuries and needless manufactures imported and used in a nation, increase the people of the nations that furnish them, and diminish the people of the nation that uses them. Laws, therefore, that prevent such importations, and on the contrary promote the exportation of our manufactures to be consumed in foreign countries, may be called (with respect to the people that make them) Generative Laws."

*Statement showing the capital invested, number of men employed, and value of manufactured articles, from the census of the United States on the 1st day of June, 1842, on the following articles:*

Articles.	Cap. invest'd.	Men em.	Val. man.
Carriages and wagons.....	\$5,551,632	21,894	\$10,897,327
Manufactured tobacco.....	3,437,191	8,384	5,819,568
Furniture.....	6,809,971	18,000	7,555,405
Drugs, medicines, paints, dyes.....	4,507,875	1,848	4,151,869
Musical instruments.....	794,370	908	923,924
Gunpowder.....	875,875	496	1,077,238
Granite, marble, brick, and lime, (manufactured).....	.....	26,541	12,179,895
Granite, marble, and other stone, (produced).....	2,540,159	7,689	3,695,834
Brick, stone and wood houses.....	6,989,871	18,403	7,555,405
Manufactures not enumerated.....	25,019,726	.....	34,785,353
Total value of above manufactures.....	.....	.....	\$89,306,327

Your Committee would recommend the following duties:

On musical instruments 50 per cent, *ad valorem*.  
On cabinet furniture, 35 per cent, do.  
On gunpowder, 50 per cent, do.  
And on drugs and medicines, paints and dyes, a specific duty should be laid on some, and an *ad valorem* duty on others.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES BREWSTER, Chairman.

*Statistical table, showing the aggregate amount of Musical Instruments produced, number of men employed, and capital invested in the United States:*

	Value produced.	No. of men employed.	Capital invested.
Maine.....	\$3,010	4	\$2,001
New Hampshire,....	26,750	47	14,050
Massachusetts.....	340,085	246	243,760
Rhode Island.....	7,200	9	6,075
Connecticut.....	6,125	8	7,050
Vermont.....	2,290	6	1,750
Total.....	\$385,460	320	\$274,686

### NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

New York.....	\$472,910	438	\$408,775
Pennsylvania,....	33,728	109	35,656
Total.....	\$506,638	547	\$444,431

### SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

Maryland.....	\$16,400	15	\$4,000
Virginia.....	1,005	2	1,000
North Carolina,...	938	3	203
Total.....	\$18,343	20	\$5,203

### SOUTHERN STATES.

Georgia.....	\$2	2	....
Alabama.....	21	..	....
Total.....	\$29	2	....

### WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky.....	\$4,500	6	\$5,000
Ohio.....	8,454	11	5,000
Illinois.....	500	2	50
Total.....	\$13,454	49	\$10,050

*Statistical table, showing the aggregate amount of Carriages and Wagons manufactured, men employed, and capital invested in the United States:*

	Capital invested.	Number of men employed.	Value of manufactures.
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>			
Maine,.....	\$174,310	779	\$75,012
New Hampshire,...	232,240	450	114,762
Massachusetts,...	803,999	1,492	334,660
Rhode Island,.....	78,811	161	36,661
Connecticut,.....	929,301	1,289	513,411
Vermont,.....	162,097	437	101,570
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$2,380,758</b>	<b>4,518</b>	<b>\$1,176,076</b>
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>			
New York,.....	\$2,364,461	4,710	\$1,485,023
New Jersey, ....	1,397,149	1,834	644,966
Pennsylvania,...	1,207,252	2,783	560,681
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$4,968,862</b>	<b>9,327</b>	<b>\$2,690,670</b>
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>			
Delaware,.....	\$49,417	143	\$25,150
Maryland,.....	357,622	690	154,955
Virginia,.....	647,815	1,592	311,625
North Carolina,...	301,601	698	173,318
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,356,455</b>	<b>3,123</b>	<b>\$665,048</b>
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>			
South Carolina,...	\$189,270	420	\$132,690
Georgia,.....	249,065	461	93,820
Alabama,.....	88,991	235	49,074
Mississippi,.....	49,693	132	34,345
Louisiana,.....	23,350	51	15,780
Tennessee,.....	219,897	518	80,878
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$820,166</b>	<b>1,817</b>	<b>\$406,587</b>
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>			
Kentucky,.....	\$168,724	533	\$79,378
Ohio,.....	701,228	1,490	290,540
Indiana,.....	163,135	481	78,116
Illinois,.....	144,362	307	59,263
Missouri,.....	97,112	201	45,074
Arkansas,.....	2,675	15	1,555
Michigan,.....	20,075	59	13,150
Florida,.....	11,000	15	5,900
Wisconsin,.....	2,600	8	325
Iowa,.....	1,200	3	1,400
Dist. of Columbia,	59,535	97	38,550
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,371,646</b>	<b>3,209</b>	<b>\$613,251</b>

*Statistical table, showing the aggregate amount of Furniture manufactured, number of men employed, and capital invested, in the United States:*

	Value of furniture manufactured.	Number of men employed.	Capital invested.
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>			
Maine,.....	\$204,875	1,435	\$668,558
New Hampshire, ..	105,327	233	59,924
Massachusetts,....	1,090,008	2,424	962,494
Rhode Island,....	121,131	195	83,300
Connecticut,.....	253,675	786	342,770
Vermont,.....	83,275	190	49,850
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$1,858,791</b>	<b>5,263</b>	<b>\$2,166,956</b>
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>			
New York,.....	\$1,971,776	3,660	\$1,610,861
New Jersey, ....	176,566	517	130,525
Pennsylvania, ...	1,156,692	2,373	716,707
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$3,304,034</b>	<b>6,550</b>	<b>\$2,458,042</b>
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>			
Delaware,.....	\$16,300	130	\$34,800
Maryland,.....	305,360	834	339,336
Virginia,.....	289,391	675	143,320
North Carolina,...	35,002	223	57,980
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$646,053</b>	<b>1,862</b>	<b>\$575,436</b>
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>			
South Carolina, ..	\$28,155	241	\$133,600
Georgia,.....	49,780	95	29,090
Alabama,.....	41,671	53	18,430
Mississippi,.....	34,450	41	28,610
Louisiana,.....	2,300	129	576,050
Tennessee,.....	79,580	203	30,650
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$235,936</b>	<b>762</b>	<b>\$816,430</b>
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>			
Kentucky,.....	\$273,350	453	\$139,295
Ohio,.....	761,146	1,928	534,317
Indiana,.....	211,481	564	91,022
Illinois,.....	84,410	244	62,223
Missouri,.....	.....	..	.....
Arkansas,.....	20,293	45	7,810
Michigan,.....	22,294	65	28,050
Florida,.....	.....	36	12,800
Wisconsin,.....	6,945	29	5,740
Iowa,.....	4,600	12	1,350
Dist. of Columbia,	125,872	190	85,000
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$1,510,391</b>	<b>3,566</b>	<b>\$973,107</b>

Statistical table, showing the aggregate amount of Machinery manufactured in the United States:

	Value of machinery manufactured.	Number of men employed.
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>		
Maine,.....	\$69,752	339
New Hampshire,.....	106,814	191
Massachusetts,.....	926,975	913
Rhode Island,.....	437,100	534
Connecticut,.....	319,680	335
Vermont,.....	101,354	87
	\$1,961,675	2,399
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>		
New York,.....	\$2,895,517	3,631
New Jersey,.....	755,050	932
Pennsylvania,.....	1,998,152	1,973
	\$5,648,719	6,536
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>		
Delaware,.....	\$314,500	299
Maryland,.....	348,165	723
Virginia,.....	429,858	445
North Carolina,.....	43,285	89
	\$1,135,898	1,556
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>		
South Carolina,.....	\$65,561	127
Georgia,.....	131,238	184
Alabama,.....	131,325	96
Mississippi,.....	242,225	274
Louisiana,.....	5,000	....
Tennessee,.....	257,704	266
	\$833,553	947
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>		
Kentucky,.....	\$46,074	149
Ohio,.....	875,731	858
Indiana,.....	123,808	120
Illinois,.....	37,720	71
Missouri,.....	190,412	191
Arkansas,.....	14,065	51
Michigan,.....	47,000	67
Florida,.....	5,000	8
Wisconsin,.....	716	6
Iowa,.....	....	....
District of Columbia,.....	60,300	42
	\$1,400,826	1,563

Statistical table, showing the aggregate amount of manufactures of Drugs, Medicines, Paints and Dyes, men employed and capital invested in the United States.

	Value of Medicinal Drugs, Drugs, Paints, Dyes, &c.	Turpentine and Varnish. Value produced.	N <sup>o</sup> . of men employed.	Capital invested.
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>				
Maine,.....	\$9,200	\$700	12	3,280
New Hampshire,.....	10,039	2,289	9	3,589
Massachusetts,.....	405,725	25,820	85	224,700
Rhode Island,.....	40,000	5,000	17	30,000
Connecticut,.....	55,409	19,009	22	67,300
Vermont,.....	38,475	....	32	25,950
Total	558,839	52,809	177	354,819
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>				
New York,.....	877,816	431,467	677	1,267,835
New Jersey,.....	127,400	43,000	70	140,800
Pennsylvania,.....	2,100,074	7,865	519	2,179,625
Total	3,105,290	482,332	1266	3,588,260
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>				
Delaware,.....	350	100	5	9,500
Maryland,.....	80,100	100	52	85,100
Virginia,.....	66,633	25	36	61,727
North Carolina,.....	8,635	116,750	73	152,275
Total	155,718	116,975	166	308,602
<b>SOUTHERN OR COTTON-GROWING STATES.</b>				
South Carolina,.....	4,100	....	6	2,100
Georgia,.....	38,525	....	28	35,885
Alabama,.....	16,600	....	4	16,000
Mississippi,.....	3,125	....	4	500
Louisiana,.....	42,010	....	10	6,000
Tennessee,.....	3,337	1485	15	3,360
Total	107,697	1485	67	63,845
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>				
Kentucky,.....	26,994	2000	25	16,630
Ohio,.....	101,880	200	70	126,335
Indiana,.....	47,720	26	26	17,984
Illinois,.....	19,001	5000	20	13,350
Missouri,.....	13,500	....	8	7,000
Arkansas,.....	400	....	..	....
Michigan,.....	1,580	....	3	650
Florida,.....	200	....	1	500
Wisconsin,.....	250	....	..	....
Iowa,.....	2,340	....	7	....
Dist. of Columbia,.....	10,500	....	12	9,700
Total	224,365	7,226	172	192,140

**STATISTICAL TABLE** showing the aggregate amount of Manufactures of Soap and Candles in the United States.

	No. pounds of Soap.....	No. pounds of Tallow Candles.....	No. pounds of Sperm & Wax Candles.....	No. of men employed.....	Cap. invested	
Maine.....	85,455	213,898	3,023	23	19,500	
New-Hampshire.....	10,900	28,345	50,000	20	13,550	..... Soap 5c
Massachusetts.....	12,560,400	1,257,465	2,162,710	403	873,956	T. Candles 12
Rhode Island.....	1,237,050	157,250	264,500	57	252,628	Sp. & wax 45c
Connecticut.....	337,000	440,790	20,002	39	46,000	
Vermont.....	50,300	28,667	.....	2	.....	
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>14,281,105</b>	<b>2,126,935</b>	<b>2,500,235</b>	<b>544</b>	<b>1,205,634</b>	<b>\$2,094,392</b>
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>						
New-York.....	11,939,834	4,029,783	353,000	489	618,875	
New-Jersey.....	483,229	372,546	.....	27	38,400	
Pennsylvania.....	5,097,690	2,316,843	5,002	353	294,442	
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>17,520,753</b>	<b>6,729,172</b>	<b>358,002</b>	<b>869</b>	<b>951,717</b>	<b>\$1,844,637</b>
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>						
Delaware.....	367,240	159,834	.....	9	24,000	
Maryland.....	1,865,240	731,446	35,000	98	98,600	
Virginia.....	1,200,308	463,525	837	126	28,881	
North Carolina.....	1,612,025	148,546	335	367	4,754	
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>5,045,613</b>	<b>1,503,351</b>	<b>36,172</b>	<b>595</b>	<b>156,235</b>	<b>\$448,939</b>
<b>COTTON GROWING STATES.</b>						
South Carolina.....	586,327	68,011	.....	168	300	
Georgia.....	764,528	111,066	75	2,633	27,226	
Alabama.....	219,024	23,047	621	2	3,500	..... Soap 5c
Mississippi.....	312,084	31,057	97	..	.....	T. Candles 12
Louisiana.....	2,202,200	3,500,030	40,000	75	115,500	Sp. & wax 45c
Tennessee.....	594,289	65,388	.....	2	6,000	.....
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>4,678,452</b>	<b>3,799,499</b>	<b>40,793</b>	<b>2,880</b>	<b>152,426</b>	<b>\$708,217</b>
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>						
Kentucky.....	2,282,426	563,635	315	516	28,765	
Ohio.....	3,603,036	2,318,456	151	105	186,780	
Indiana.....	1,135,560	228,938	111	30	13,039	
Illinois.....	519,673	117,698	42	25	17,345	
Missouri.....	138,000	243,000	.....	15	16,700	
Arkansas.....	142,775	16,541	632	32	200	
Michigan.....	78,100	57,975	.....	6	6,009	
Florida.....	10,887	2,812	168	..	.....	
Wisconsin.....	64,317	12,909	48	5	3,432	
Iowa.....	9,740	4,436	282	1	.....	
District of Columbia.....	310,060	189,150	.....	18	19,000	
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>8,294,574</b>	<b>3,755,550</b>	<b>1,749</b>	<b>743</b>	<b>261,261</b>	<b>\$866,181</b>

**Statistical Table** showing the aggregate number of POWDER MILLS, POUNDS of GUN POWDER made, number of men employed, capital invested in the United States.

<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>				
	Number of Powder Mills.	Pounds of Gun Powder made.	Men employed.	Capital invested
Maine.....	1	150,000	3	\$7,500
N. Hampshire.....	7	185,000	11	58,000
Massachusetts.....	14	2,315,215	69	255,000
Rhode Island.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	8	662,500	26	77,000
Vermont.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3,312,715</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>397,500</b>
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>				
New-York.....	8	1,185,000	41	81,500
New-Jersey.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	30	1,184,225	58	66,800
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>2,369,225</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>148,300</b>

<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>				
	Number of Powder Mills.	Pounds of Gun powder made.	Men employed.	Capital invested
Delaware.....	27	2,100,000	145	220,000
Maryland.....	5	669,125	47	46,000
Virginia.....	10	2,850	11	805
North Carolina.....	1	200	..	30
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>2,772,175</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>266,835</b>
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>				
Tennessee.....	10	10,334	11	1,890
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>				
Kentucky.....	11	282,500	58	42,000
Ohio.....	2	222,500	13	18,000
Indiana.....	1	.....	1	.....
Missouri.....	1	7,500	2	1,050
Arkansas.....	1	400	..	700
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>251,900</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>61,750</b>

On the preceding page we have concluded the Reports, Statistics, &c., (as far as published by the Central Committee,) and we here insert the Appendix of the Committee. Several valuable Reports (Agriculture, Flax, &c.) were not in the hands of the Committee in time for their appearance in their proper places. Should they come into our hands, we shall publish them, with the conclusion of the Appendix, in our next.

### APPENDIX.

Several important statistical tables, in illustration of the subjects reported upon, and of the conclusions of the several Committees not having been embraced by the reports, together with other matter not introduced in the record of proceedings, owing to the limited session of the Convention, are here appended, with the view to give as much general interest to this volume as its character and objects would seem to demand. The presentation of facts is necessary to the formation of right opinions on the truly national interests advocated by the friends of American Industry; and should the particulars here added contribute to this end, the design of the Committee will have been accomplished.

The admirable remarks of the President on taking the chair had been intended for this paper, but not having time to correct them from the notes taken during the session, we are reluctantly compelled to omit them. They will, however, be published in another place, together with many other valuable papers emanating from the Convention, which we are unable to insert.

**FLAX.**—This important agricultural interest, on which it was expected we should be able to present a report, has not been omitted by inattention. Time alone delayed the acquisition of facts until the completion of this volume, to which may be added the accidental absence of an individual proposing to communicate them. We are persuaded that this is to be, as it should, a primary article of growth and manufacture in our country; and the attention of legislators, as well as of agriculturalists, cannot be too pointedly directed to it. Particulars will hereafter be presented on this, and also other subjects worthy of immediate consideration.

### GYPSUM.

The annexed letter was received after the adjournment of the National Home Industry Convention:

*Gentlemen:* I would call your attention to a product of Western New-York in the encouragement of which both Agriculture and Navigation are interested. I allude to our *Gypsum* or Plaster of Paris, which abounds in Western New-York. For all the purposes of a fertilizer or stimulant of vegetation it is fully equal if not superior to the Nova Scotia Gypsum; as a cement it is better, as experiments have demonstrated. Western New-York could supply the Continent as well as Nova Scotia. We want, however, a specific protective duty of not less than \$1 50 per ton. With that, vast beds now untouched, would be worked, and an immense trade spring up, augmenting the tolls on our Canals, and reducing the prices by com-

petition and bringing much wealth into the State. Now, the Nova Scotia Plaster meets us at Albany, and in the State of Pennsylvania, and drives us from the market.

The trade in Plaster from Nova Scotia to the United States is almost wholly in British bottoms, at least in the proportion of 9 to 1, as you will perceive by a reference to the Treasurer's Report on Commerce and Navigation. I have no Report later than 1836. That year I find the import of Plaster was about 60,000 tons, valued at \$122,000, and the value of that imported in our bottoms only about \$6000.

It is now admitted *free* of duty, and American vessels almost excluded from its transportation. If the foreign article was excluded, New-York Plaster would descend our Canals, be placed in deposit at Albany or New-York, and thence distributed in our *own* coasting vessels along the seaboard. Now, as I understand the course of the trade, the British coasters bring Plaster from Nova Scotia to our sea-ports—Boston, New-York, Baltimore, &c., then take cargoes for the West Indies, and return with the products of those Islands to perform the circle again. Break up *that part* of the voyage between Nova Scotia and the United States by excluding their Plaster, and that part of it between the United States and the West Indies now performed by British vessels would be performed by American. Your careful consideration of this subject in *all its bearings*, is invited—together with other matters now before the Home League. The amount of Plaster from our own quarries now annually mixed and consumed cannot be less than 40,000 tons.

It is found also in Ohio, and in great abundance in Michigan on the Grand River.

Very respectfully, your obt. servt.,

SAMUEL J. BAYARD.

P. S. I find that in 1836, a small quantity of Plaster was imported from Europe—probably not over 300 tons. This must, I presume, have been the white or alabaster species, used for casting busts and other purposes in the fine arts. Now Plaster of the alabaster species, of beautiful whiteness and purity, is found abundantly in Ohio, in Sandusky County. I have visited the beds. Its value is not appreciated there, but it is ground up and used for manure.

Gen. JAMES TALLMADGE, }  
T. B. WAKEMAN, Esq. }

SENECA FALLS, N. Y.  
April 2d, 1842

### CANVASS.

The following statements made on this subject before the Committee of Congress by J. W. Olson of this city, embrace the principal facts which would have been presented to the Convention by a Committee raised on the same subject:

For the last eight or ten years it has been the practice of the merchants trading to Europe to get the sails of their vessels made in the foreign ports; they thus save the duties on the canvass and the difference between the foreign and home labor, and deprive the American sailmaker of the labor; the sails are finished, but pay no duty. It gives the foreign sailmaker a preference of 20 per cent over the American. The greatest complaint is with vessels trading to Great Britain; some, also, as to those trading to Russia. All the packets get their sails in that way, particularly those sailing to England and France. It is calculated that one-seventh of all the marine of New York get their sails in

that way. This includes coasting trade and all.—This circumstance first excited particular attention about six or seven years ago, when a petition of about 2,000 sailmakers was sent to Congress, in 1837, and referred to this Committee. Cordage, chains and anchors are procured in the same way. The practice is for the owners of vessels to have their sails patched up, and no more done with them than is necessary to take the vessels to Europe.—Witness knows this to be the fact. There are about 50 master sailmakers in New York, and 300 journeymen, most of them with families; there is also a large number of apprentices. English and Holland duck are generally used. There are only two manufactories of flax duck in this country—one at Paterson and one at Scaghticoke. The sailmakers ask for a duty on sails, or the duty on canvass to be taken off. For a ship of 1,000 tons, it takes from 100 to 120 bolts of canvass for a suit of sails; the cost here is sixteen dollars a bolt for canvass No. 1. The cost here of making a suit of sails would be about two hundred and fifty dollars; the labor in England is about thirty per cent cheaper. The best canvass made here is for the navy, and is better than the English. Journeymen sailmakers in New York get about two dollars a day; it is not quite so much further east. The American canvass refused by the Navy Commissioners bring about a dollar more a bolt (40 yards) than the English.

*Statement showing the cost of a suit of sails, of the best English duck, for a ship of 700 tons, at the port of New York.*

Required 100 bolts of duck, of 40 yards each, at \$14.50 per bolt, price of light and heavy averaged,.....	\$1,450 00
Cost of materials for working up, including bolt-rope, twine, &c., at \$3 per bolt, .....	300 00
Cost of labor working, at \$3.50 per bolt, .....	350 00
	\$2,100 00

*Statement showing the cost of a suit of sails, of the best English duck, for a ship of 700 tons, at the port of Liverpool.*

Required 100 bolts of duck, which cost in a foreign port \$11,.....	\$1,100 00
Cost of working up, including labor, bolt-rope, twine, &c. for 4,000 yards, at 10 cents per yard,.....	400 00
	\$1,500 00

*Statement showing the quantity of materials required for a suit of sails for a ship of 700 tons, the duties levied thereon by the tariff of 1841.*

Required 100 bolts of duck, which cost in a foreign port \$11 per bolt, is \$1,100, duty 20 per cent ad valorem, .....	\$220 00
1,250 lbs. bolt-rope, (tarred,) 4 cents per lb .....	50 00
600 lbs. bolt-rope, (white,) 5 cents per lb .....	30 00
100 lbs. twine, at 5 cents per lb .....	5 00
Cost of iron work, \$20—20 per cent ad valorem,.....	4 00
	\$309 00
100 bolts of duck, at \$11 per bolt,.....	\$1,100 00
1,250 lbs. of bolt-rope, at 7 cents per lb .....	87 50
600 lbs. of bolt-rope, (white,) at 8 cents per lb .....	48 00

100 lbs. of bolt twine, at 25 cents per lb.	25 00
Iron work, \$20, .....	20 00
	\$1,280 50
	1,500 00
Cost of labor in Liverpool,.....	\$219 50
Cost in New York,.....	\$2,100 00
Cost in Liverpool, .....	1,500 00
	\$600 00

## HEMP AND CORDAGE.

The subject of Cordage and Hemp not having received from the Convention that attention which their importance demands, owing to the short period of its session, we give some statistical particulars respecting them. These are particularly necessary, as no branch of business needs the protection of our Government more, both for its own power and independence, as applied to the right arm of our national defence—the Navy—and as a branch of home industry. Congress cannot, therefore, fail to see the interests of the country in promoting the production and manufacture of these useful articles.

It must be obvious, that in case of any interruption of foreign trade in this article, arising from a state of war, our navy must be supplied by ourselves, or be deficient in equipments. With the large naval force of an enemy upon the Atlantic, watching every opportunity to prevent the importation of cordage, even in neutral bottoms, our fleets would be unable to meet them, unless we have a home supply of this important and essential instrument in naval warfare.

The ropewalks already established by Government, and the attention which has been called to water-rotted hemp, show clearly that the importance of this subject has not been overlooked in our national councils.

Mr. Madison states that "a general rule for the graduation of duties upon articles of foreign growth or manufacture, is that which will place our own in fair competition with those of other countries, and the inducements to advance even a step beyond this point, are controlling in regard to those articles which are of *primary necessity in time of war.*"

The act of 1824 imposed a duty of four cents a pound on tarred cables and cordage, and five cents a pound on untarred cordage and yarn. The duty on foreign hemp, by the same act, is fixed at thirty-five dollars a ton.

From accurate calculations upon importing cordage and hemp under duty, as it has been since January 1, 1842, taking the prices abroad as they ranged at St. Petersburg during the last shipping season, it will be seen that tarred cordage would now pay a duty of only two cents to two cents and one tenth, instead of four cents per pound, as was the former duty; and untarred cordage would now pay two and a half cents to two cents and six

tenths, instead of five cents, the former duty. This variation is caused by the variation of the cost abroad of the different qualities. Bale rope is included as untarred cordage.

The reduction on cordage by the operation of the present tariff law is therefore two cents on tarred and two and a half cents on untarred; that is, the duty has been reduced one-half, while the reduction on hemp is but eight dollars per ton of 2,240 pounds, or about one-third of a cent per pound; the original duty on hemp having been so little above the minimum of twenty per cent.

The first quality of cordage and best clean hemp can be put on shipboard in St. Petersburg at the same cost per pound, and the freight on the former being but one-half as much as on the latter, it is obvious that, so long as the present tariff continues, our manufacturers cannot pursue the business of making cordage.

The prices of cordage and hemp, as above mentioned, being the same at St. Petersburg, it will be seen that the increased weight of the cordage, by the use of tar, pays all the labor. The yarns are all spun by serfs in the interior, who are not more than half fed or clothed, as they work for eight copecks (equal to sixteen cents) per day.

If the present manufacturers are to be compelled to relinquish the business what is to become of the market for the ninety-five thousand tons of domestic hemp and flax, eighty-six thousand of which are raised in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, the District and Territories? For, of course, no duty which can be laid upon the raw material will protect the agriculturists, any more than the manufacturer, without an adequate duty upon cordage; for, in such event, the importations would be introduced already manufactured, and leave no demand for the raw material.

We require a duty of two cents per pound more upon cordage than the duty upon hemp. Without it, our works cannot continue.

The freight upon cordage is only one-half of that upon hemp. This is a gain to the foreign manufacturer; and when to this is added the difference between the labor of the two countries, and the fact, that the first quality of cordage and best clean hemp can be put on shipboard in St. Petersburg at the same cost per pound, the statement as to the degree of protection requisite must be seen to be correct.

A specific duty alone will answer the purpose desired, and that, whatever mode may be devised for the use of an ad valorem duty, it will fail to attain its object.

The shipping charges, export duty, &c., upon hemp are 13 per cent., while upon cordage the shipping charges are but 2½ per cent.—the price being always for the article free on board, and no export duty nor charges of any kind accruing, excepting merchants' commission, 2½ per cent.—This causes the ton of first quality cordage to cost on board an American vessel, ready for sea, at Cronstadt, eight dollars less than the ton of the hemp from which it is made, and cost to import here \$13 per ton less.

The freight of one ton cordage is, by the Russian tables, one-quarter less than the freight of one ton of hemp, and at this difference is more

profitable for the ship: the other charges are per centage charges upon the cost.

Clean Hemp, at rubles 100 per bgt.  
Shipping charges 13

Per bgt. rubles	113 cost on board per ton,
rubles .....	723 20

Rubles 23c.....\$166 33

Insurance, 2 per cent..... 3 32

Interest, 90 days, 1½ per cent..... 2 50

Freight..... 15 00

Duty at 20 per cent..... 33 20

Sound dues ..... 1 00

Actual cost, without being landed from  
vessel, per ton, cash, on arrival, \$221 35

638 coils 1st quality cordage, cost on  
board, silver rubles..... 14,342 37

Cash cost, landed in Boston..... \$14,992 14

#### Cost of Clean Hemp.

100 tons, or 6,300 poods, at 110 rubles per bgt., paper rubles..... 69,300 00

Export charges, 11 rubles per bgt.... 6,930 00

At 23 cents..... \$17,532 90

Cash cost, landed in Boston, or  
10 1-10 cents per lb..... \$22,959 90

#### Cost of Bale Rope.

1 ton, or 63 poods, at 8 rubles per  
pood, paper rubles..... 504 00

At 23 cents..... \$115 92

Cash cost, landed in Boston, or  
6, 6-10 cents per lb..... \$149 58

Copy of invoice of 100 winches hemp yarns, imported by Josiah Bradlee, in the ship Rome, from St. Petersburg.

100 winches 1st quality  
hemp yarns, poods 1,  
463.17 at 10½ ..... 15,418 46

Matting 10 co. per pood. 146 84

15,565 30

Charges..... 42 70

Rubles..... 15,608 00

Cash cost on arrival, 11 cents per lb.

#### Annual Consumption of Russian Duck.

40,000 pieces of heavy sail cloth.

30,000 pieces of heavy ravens.

10,000 pieces of light ravens.

The substitution of cotton duck would consume not less than 2,700,000 pounds of cotton, or about 6,750 bales of 400 pounds each.

Assuming the tar used in Massachusetts in this manufacture to be one-third of the whale used in the United States, (6,500 barrels) gives 19,500 barrels used in the United States.

Cotton is used to a considerable extent in small lines, and is fast increasing, as all our fishing lines have, within a few years, been made from cotton. There are now large quantities of fishing lines imported from England under the reduced duty.

Cotton duck is now manufactured to a considerable extent.

A home supply of cordage is of great importance in a national point of view.



The importation of hemp employs more vessels than the importation of cordage.

The buildings and machinery cannot be converted to other purposes, and would be almost a total loss.

Our works once destroyed, Russian cordage would advance in Russia.

Under the late duty, foreign cordage came in competition with ours; considerable quantities have been imported and consumed in this country.

American labor cannot be reduced so low as the Russian serf, which is about fifteen cents per day.

Southern tar is used, between 15 and 20 thousand barrels.

Russia bale rope, under a duty of 20 per cent., will take the place of western, of which not less than 10,000 tons are used.

The manufacturers have divided  $\frac{4}{5}$  per cent., on an average, for the four past years.

*Cost of Hemp and Cordage, from Russia, under a duty of 20 per cent.*

Clean hemp, 10 1-10 cents per pound.

Outshot hemp, 9 3-10 cents per pound.

Tarred cordage, 9 6-10 cents per pound.

Yarns, untarred, 11 cents per pound.

Bale rope, 6 6-10 cents per pound.

*Grass Hemp, under the name of Manilla, Sisal and Jute.*—These we think should be free; especially Manilla; but in case a duty must be imposed, it should be comparatively small, as the Manilla is unlike any hemp raised in this country, and is almost exclusively used for our shipping. We think there should be a debenture on this article exported in a manufactured state. There is not the least difficulty in distinguishing this article, either in a raw or manufactured state, from other flax or hemp. It is never tarred when made into cordage, consequently the manufactured article is no heavier than the raw material. Great Britain admits all hemp, free of duty; and without a drawback we cannot compete with them in the West India and South American markets. The quantity imported has very much increased for a few years, employs much shipping, and is increasing in importance for consumption and export very fast.

*Russian Hemp.*—Forty dollars per ton is too high; we shall be sorry to see it more than thirty dollars; and if a debenture could be allowed, we could occasionally avail ourselves of it, and ship our surplus to foreign markets. Of Russian cordage there has been an average of 1,000 tons annually imported for the last ten years, the duty of four cents per pound notwithstanding.

*Statistical Table, showing the aggregate number of Rope Walks, Value of Produce, number of Men Employed, and Capital Invested in the United States:*

Cordage.			
No. Rope Walks.	Value of Produce.	No. Men employed.	Capital Invested.
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>			
Maine, .....	\$32,660	34	\$23,000
N. Hampshire, 1	15,000	10	6,000
Mass. ....	852,200	672	555,000
Rhode Island, 9	49,700	45	28,300
Connecticut. 16	150,775	107	85,700
Vermont, ....	4,000	9	3,800
<b>Total</b> 83	<b>\$1,104,335</b>	<b>877</b>	<b>701,800</b>

# NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES. Cordage.

No. Rope Walks.	Value of Produce.	No. men employed.	Capital Invested.
New-York....	46	792,910	597
New-Jersey..	3	93,075	60
Pennsylvania	39	274,120	272
<b>Total</b> 93	<b>\$1,160,105</b>	<b>929</b>	<b>415,555</b>

# SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

Delaware.....	1	2,500	7	1,000
Maryland....	13	141,050	198	70,550
Virginia.....	9	37,320	60	32,753
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>\$180,870</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>104,303</b>

# SOUTHERN STATES.

Tennessee... 28	132,630	258	84,230
-----------------	---------	-----	--------

# WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky...	111	1,292,276	1,888	1,023,130
Ohio.....	21	89,750	66	37,675
Indiana....	5	5,850	11	2,270
Missouri....	21	98,490	139	71,589
Dist. of Col.	3	14,000	31	24,925
Total	161	1,500,366	2,135	1,159,589

*Statistical Table, showing the aggregate number of PRINTING OFFICES, BINDERIES, DAILY NEWSPAPERS, WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS, SEMI AND TRI-WEEKLY, PERIODICALS, MEN EMPLOYED, AND CAPITAL INVESTED in the United States:—*

# EASTERN STATES.

	No. of Printing Offices.	No. of Binderies.	No. of Daily News- papers.	No. of Weekly News- papers.	No. of Semi and Tri- weekly Newspapers.	No. of Periodicals.	No. of Men employed.	Capital Invested.
Maine,.....	34	14	3	30	3	5	196	\$68,200
New Hampshire, 36	22	27	27	6	6	6	256	110,850
Massachusetts, 104	72	10	67	14	14	14	922	416,200
Rhode Island, 16	8	2	10	4	2	2	122	35,700
Connecticut, 36	17	2	27	4	11	11	368	217,075
Vermont,.....	29	14	2	26	2	3	156	194,200
Total.	255	147	19	187	27	41	2026	1,042,225

# NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

New York, .....	321	107	34	198	18	57	3231	1,876,540
New Jersey, .....	40	20	4	31	1	4	198	104,900
Pennsylvania, .....	224	46	12	165	10	42	1709	681,748
<b>Total,</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>394</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>5138</b>	<b>2,663,180</b>

# SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

Delaware.....	6	2	3	3	2	33	11,450
Maryland.....	48	15	7	23	7	376	189,100
Virginia.....	50	13	4	35	12	5 810	168,850
N. Carolina.....	26	4		26	1	2 108	55,400
Total.....	130	34	11	92	23	16 822	394,800

# SOUTHERN STATES.

S. Carolina, .....	16	7	3	12	2	4	164	131,500
Georgia, .....	24	5	5	24	5	6	187	134,400
Alabama, .....	22	1	3	24	1		105	98,100
Mississippi, .....	28	1	2	28	1		94	83,510
Louisiana, .....	35	5	11	21	2	3	392	183,700
Tennessee, .....	41	5	2	38	6	10	191	112,500

# WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky,.....	34	3	5	26	7	8	226	86,325
Ohio,.....	159	41	9	107	7	20	1175	446,732
Indiana,.....	69	6	89	4	3	211	58,595	
Illinois,.....	45	5	3	38	2	9	175	71,300
Missouri,.....	40	6	24	5	143	79,320		
Arkansas,.....	9	1	6	3	37	13,100		
Michigan,.....	28	2	6	26	1	119	62,800	
Florida,.....	10	1	10	1	39	35,000		
Wisconsin,.....	6	4	6	4	24	10,000		
Iowa,.....	4	4	4	4	15	10,000		
Dist. of Columbia, 12	10	3	5	6	3	878	180,000	
Total,	416	69	32	321	34	44	2440	1,020,100

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElraith.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 4.

Office No. 30 Ann-street,  
Near Astor House, Broadway. }

NEW-YORK, JULY, 1842.

{ Price..75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10

## CONTENTS

### OF THIS (JULY) NUMBER:

I..OUR HOME INTERESTS—(Editorial).....	Page 97
II..MR. HUNTINGTON'S SPEECH—(Editorial).....	97
III..THE GREAT QUESTION OF PROTECTION, etc."Ed	97
IV..THE YNAS AND NAVS—(Editorial).....	98
V..A SIGN OF THE TIMES—(Editorial).....	98
VI..THE TARIFF AT WASHINGTON—(Correspondence)	98
VII..THE GERMANS—HOME INDUSTRY.....	98
VIII..SPEECH OF MR. HUNTINGTON.....	119 to 128
IX..PROSPECTS OF THE TARIFF—(Correspondence)...	128

## Home Industry Convention.

### APPENDIX....[Continued from page 96.

ART. 1..INDIA COTTON, &c. with Statistics.....	Page 99 to 103
:: 2..Tobacco, with Statistics.....	103 to 105
:: 3..Glass, with Statistics.....	105 to 106
:: 4..SHOE AND LEATHER BUSINESS, with Sta-	
tistics.....	106 to 107
:: 5..SUGAR, with Statistics.....	107 to 108
:: 6..WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES, with Statistics.....	108 to 109
:: 7..CABINET FURNITURE.....	109
:: 8..SPECIE.....	109
:: 9..IMPORTATIONS—(Statistics).....	109
:: 10..ARTICLES paying <i>ad valorem</i> and Specif-	
ic Duties.....	110
:: 11..SILK—[By MR. JACQUES].....	110
:: 12..STATISTICS showing the aggregate	
amount of WOOL, TOBACCO, RICE, COT-	
TON and SUGAR raised in the U. States..	111
:: 13..STATISTICS showing the aggregate	
amount of GRANITE, MARBLE, and other	
STONE provided, number of MEN em-	
ployed and CAPITAL invested in the U.	
States.....	111 to 112
:: 14..TARIFFS OF FOREIGN NATIONS.....	112
:: 15..TABLE OF DUTIES ON ARTICLES.....	113 to 114
:: 16..A STATEMENT OF MERCHANDISE import-	
ed annually.....	115
:: 17..COUNTERVAILING DUTIES.....	116
:: 18..DESCRIPTION OF PERSONS in the United	
States—(Statistics).....	116
:: 19..AMOUNT OF IRON MADE actured in the U.S.	
:: 20..COAL RAISED in the U. S.—(Statistics)...	117
:: 21..AMOUNT OF BRICK AND STONE HOUSES	
built, WOODEN HOUSES, &c.....	117 to 118
:: 22..AMOUNT OF GRANITE, MARBLE, &c. BRICK	
and LIME Manufactured in the U. S.....	118
:: 23..AMOUNT OF HATS, CAPS and BONNETS	
Manufactured in the United States.....	118

## Our Home Interests.

We conclude in this number the Documents, Statistics, &c. of the HOME INDUSTRY NATIONAL CONVENTION, and we surely need not apologize for the space they have filled in our pages. Very many of our readers may have no *special* interest in this or that branch of our National Industry, but all of them who live by Labor have a *general* interest in the activity and thrift of every branch, however remotely connected with their own. It is this mutual dependence of all on each and each on all which the various Reports tend so clearly to establish and forcibly to illustrate, and herein consists their profound and abiding value. Every farmer of Maine or Illinois will here see clearly *why* it is for his interest that our Iron, Cloths, Hardware, &c. shall be produced in this Country in-

stead of being imported from Europe; he can here see *how* the former course will secure to him a ready demand and good price for his products, while the latter leaves him to the mercies of a distant, uncertain and depressed market, the cost of reaching which eats up the larger share of the proceeds of sales. Every man can here see that the establishment of a new Manufacture among us is a positive increase of value to every acre of land employed in Agriculture and of average price to every article of Farmers' Produce, while it eventually—nay, speedily—diminishes the cost of what the Farmer must buy in return. The Farmers of this Country have a general and intuitive conviction of this truth, but they are not all familiar with the why and wherefore. These are shown in the documents of the Home Industry Convention, and we rejoice in being able to present them all in a form so well fitted both for instant dissemination through the Country and for enduring preservation.

\* \* The able Report of Hon. HARMAR DENNY of Pennsylvania on the Interest of Agriculture generally was retained by the author for revision, and has not yet been reached us. We hope to publish it hereafter.

## Mr. Huntington's Speech.

The sound, sensible, practical Speech in the Senate of Hon. JABEZ W. HUNTINGTON of Connecticut in support of the general principle and policy of Protection to Home Industry, appears in this number of The Laborer. We need not ask attention to its positions and conclusions. Mr. Huntington makes no lofty pretensions to originality or profundity, but treats his subject with a plain, familiar, off-hand cogency which must commend his views to general approval.

[C] The great question of Protection or Depression to American Industry being now immediately pending before Congress, and the instructions of the People thereon to their Representatives being eminently desirable, we anticipate somewhat the appearance of this number, putting it to press on the 1st day of June. We desired at this time to complete, so far as possible, the EVIDENCE on which we appeal to Congress and the Country to decide that the great Producing Interests of the Union shall be sustained; the argument will be pursued at leisure. Probably Congress will have done whatever it does at this Session before we issue another number, which will then contain the New Tariff, if such there be, and a general view of the course which it renders incumbent on the friends of American Industry.

### The Yea and Nays.

We shall give in our next a careful analysis of the YEAS and NAYS in each House of Congress on the most important questions which will arise in the course of the Revision of the Tariff. They will be so arranged that every man may observe both the general aspects of the divisions and the position of his own especial Representatives in the two Houses. Let these divisions be carefully heeded.

### A Sign of the Times.

On the 20th of May a Special Election was held in the County of Washington, Pa. for a Member of Congress in place of Hon. JOSEPH LAWRENCE, deceased. The County is very equally divided in politics, having given majorities for Gen. Harrison at the two last Presidential Elections, but were generally giving majorities for the opposite party, which carried it triumphantly last fall. The candidates at this Election were THOMAS M. T. MCKENNA, (Whig), and WILLIAM PATTERSON, (V. B.) both able and popular men, who have in turn been repeatedly chosen to important stations by the vote of the County. Mr. McKenna was this time elected by some 300 majority. But the material point which we would notice is the fact that each party through its Convention placed itself distinctly on the ground of Protection, and recommended its candidate as decidedly favorable to a Protective Tariff. This is an auspicious sign for the future.

### The Tariff, &c. at Washington.

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in  
WASHINGTON, dated May 21, 1842.

"Cash duties must prevail. Jewelry raised with proper discriminations. There appears to be a want of common sense in many of the discriminations proposed. See the miserable one of a cent on tea—leaving out coming from India; and so indeed it must come from London and be given to British bottoms! The duty on hides must be left off. They were astonished when I told them that the necessities of the Government had brought the Administration and Protectionists together. In fact with discrimination (which the President advocates) a higher Tariff will be required than the Tariff advocates would have ever asked for. The merchants should look after the Tariff—it needs care, and has bearings of great moment to them.

Your Home League has obtained much consideration here: the proceedings of the Convention are all filled with matter which was wanted. It brings in part before the Country the magnitude of our manufacturing and mechanic resources, and the ability of the country to sustain itself in war and peace. Considering the haste with which it was got up, it confers great credit. The unexampled progress of the Leagues is noticed by the dullest politicians, and they have ensured fair protection to Home Industry, if there is intelligence enough

to make proper discriminations. Merchants, Manufacturers, Mechanics, &c. should be constantly represented here. It is impossible for members of committees to be conversant with the vast multiplicity of details of different occupations, and the British agents are constantly presenting wrong views and perverting. They are bold and persevering and will thrust themselves where a modest American would never have the assurance to enter.

**THE GERMANS—HOME INDUSTRY.**—The Ohio State Journal states that a large portion of the GERMANS of Hamilton, Ohio, have signed the Home League pledge. This is no more than we should expect from a class of men distinguished for their untiring industry. They, as well as native citizens, have a deep interest in the great National question: whether our Government shall foster American labor by the aid of reasonable duties on foreign imports, or shall compel all classes of laboring men in the United States to struggle on without the least protection at home, and against the low wages, great capital, and restrictive systems of the old world!

No man leaves voluntarily his native land East of the Atlantic and emigrates to this country without the hope of improving his condition. And we regard every new comer, however poor he may be, if honest, able and willing to work, as adding, not only to the strength, but to the productive wealth of the Republic. Let no one then misrepresent us by asserting as has been done, that we are hostile to adopted citizens, or to any worthy immigrants from foreign countries. All we contend for is, that our National Government ought to encourage and protect to a reasonable extent every really useful, and practicable branch of domestic industry in the United States; that we possess in an eminent degree all the elements for becoming a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural and commercial People; and that it is the duty of American Statesmen to develop those elements by the aid of wise legislative enactments. Without such aid the growing of cotton, the great staple of our Southern States, would not have been introduced, or have prospered to any thing like the extent now witnessed. Protection has increased the production of this important staple from nothing, or next to it, up to nearly one hundred million dollars' worth per annum; while it has diminished the cost of growing and cleaning it to three-fourths of the original expense.

The honest cultivators of American soil, who are numerically the true sovereigns of the Union, ought to say to the rich capitalists of the old world: "Come over to this country and erect your manufacturing establishments, where you can have an unfailing hydraulic power upon the banks of our mountain streams, or at the Falls of Niagara, for propelling your machinery, and the treble benefit of cheap provisions, cheap raw materials, and the best market in the world for your manufactured goods." [Buffalo Commercial.

## HOME INDUSTRY CONVENTION.

## APPENDIX.\*

## COTTON.

The following facts should satisfy the Cotton Planters of the disadvantages to be expected from their mistaken free trade and non-protective policy, and of the necessity there must soon be for the exercise of a very different policy, for the protection of their own best interests.

## INDIA COTTON.

Extract from the *Bombay Times*, July 1, 1841.

In the article of Cotton alone, it appears we have received a supply exceeding that of the same period in the previous year by 38,538,303 lbs; or, assuming a screwed bale to average  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cwt., equal to 105,874 screwed bales.

On carrying out our inquiries further, and examining into the supplies of cotton brought to market during the *twelve months* ending the 31st May, we find that the result is well calculated to astonish those who have not been marking the progressive increase of this product, but have been dwelling with fancied security on their recollections of what used to constitute a large supply, viz: 200,000 to 250,000 bales. It appears, then, that, from the 1st June, 1840, to the 1st June, 1841, the imports of cotton into Bombay have amounted to 174,212,755 lbs.; or, on the previous average of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. to the bale, 478,606; little short of half a million screwed bales. This is a larger quantity than America produced up to the year 1826, and more than was consumed in England during the same year. In 1825, the entire production of the United States amounted only to 169,860,000 lbs.; though, 12 years after, in 1837, it had reached 444,211,537 lbs. (*Vide McCulloch, article "Cotton."*)

As a further encouragement to the cultivators, we may state that the consumption of East India cotton, in Great Britain, has increased in a greater ratio than that of any other quality whatever. In 1816, at which period the average price of American uplands was 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and that of Surat 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., the consumption of American was 4,036 bales, and East Indian 207 bales per week. In 1839, when the average price of uplands was 7,875d., and Surats 5-3-4, the consumption of American was 15,644, and East Indian 2,142 packages per week; the increase in 23 years of the last being in the ratio of ten to one, and that of the first barely four to one. In the same period the consumption of Brazilian, Egyptian and, West Indian qualities had not doubled.

Extract from the Circular of Messrs. Freeman & Cook, dated London, January 1, 1842.

The cotton trade with India for the last two years has been highly important, in every point of view. The imports in 1841 reached nearly one-third those from the United States; which has had a very depressing influence on the value of American cotton. The manufacturers, however, have been benefited by an ample supply, at very low rates. The imports from India for the three years preceding 1840 averaged only about half the present amount of 273,6000 bales. Last year there were taken for home consumption of India 148,800 bales, against 117,000 in 1840; for exports, 65,900, against 61,166; leaving the stock 157,500, against 98,600; included from page 96.

averaging about 4d, being 10 per cent. lower than the prices of last year.

Extract from the Circular of Messrs. Freeman & Cook, dated London, February 1, 1842.

The extensive public sales of East India cotton on the 20th last month attracted considerable attention, there having been offered no less than 30,000 bales. So large a quantity was seldom brought forward by the East India Company, and except in June, 1836, no sale of equal magnitude has taken place for the last twenty years. It was, however, soon discovered that exporters were in possession of considerable orders from the continent. The experiments which the East India Company are making for the improvement of this staple are likely to be attended with success; for they have recently received some very interesting specimens of cotton, produced in the province of Bengal, both from native and American seed. There was an excess of 51,149 whole, and of 1,524 half bales, in 1840 over 1839.

*Consumption of Cotton in the United States, not including any manufactured West of Virginia or South of the Potomac, except in Pittsburg and Richmond.*

Crop of 1826—	'27, 103,483 bales.
Crop of 1827—	'28, 120,593 bales.
Crop of 1828—	'29, 118,353 bales.
Crop of 1829—	'30, 126,512 bales.
Crop of 1830—	'31, 132,142 bales.
Crop of 1831—	'32, 173,800 bales.
Crop of 1832—	'33, 194,412 bales.
Crop of 1833—	'34, 196,413 bales.
Crop of 1834—	'35, 216,888 bales.
Crop of 1835—	'36, 236,733 bales.
Crop of 1836—	'37, 222,540 bales.
Crop of 1837—	'38, 246,061 bales.
Crop of 1838—	'39, 276,018 bales.
Crop of 1839—	'40, 295,193 bales.
Crop of 1840—	'41, 297,283 bales.

[Hazard's Register.

*Export of Cotton Manufactures of home manufacture from the United States.*

1835.....	\$2,858,000	1838.....	\$3,758,000
1836.....	2,255,000	1839.....	2,975,000
1837.....	2,831,000	1840.....	3,549,000

Other Statements recently made to Congress, prove not less conclusively, the importance to the planter of encouraging the home consumption of his cotton. The successful competition maintained in this branch of industry also shows that an assurance of the home market, has stimulated American enterprise and skill, and that under such circumstances, labor will find its reward, but not otherwise; and also that it not only reduces the price of the article manufactured, but creates a superior article.

It appears, also, that until lately our Cotton Manufacturers have done a fair business; but, within two years last past, the British Manufacturer has greatly injured the S. A. market for our sales, by sending their cheap goods there, made of their India Cotton, and marked with the names of American manufacturers. These can be made 2 or 3 cents a yard cheaper. Their Cotton is obtained about four cents less than we give for ours; and

the price of labor is also one cent a yard cheaper, as we pay double for the same work. All the coarse goods in Europe, it is thought, will soon be made of India Cotton, which, having the advantage of three cents per yard in price, will effectually destroy our South American, if not our home market.

The cotton manufacture, as an important branch of American industry, takes date from the year 1816, under the specific or minimum duty of that year, and the introduction of the power loom—those two important events having been in fact contemporaneous. Its rapid extension has been without parallel in the whole history of commerce. It reached the consumption of 106,000 bales in 1825, and now amounts to 300,000 bales, or 120,000,000 of pounds. The present consumption is equal to the whole export of the United States up to the year 1820, or the whole consumption of American cotton in Great Britain up to the same period, and exceeds our export to France previous to the year 1840. The article first produced in any quantity was a novelty in commerce. A fabric, stouter and heavier than any thing heretofore in use, was produced, and became a favorite article of consumption from its first introduction. It soon became an article of export to different parts of the world, which has continued to increase up to the present time.—In this way, it soon attracted the attention of British manufacturers, and became an object of imitation; and these imitations, under the name of domestics, now constitute a very large branch of trade, but with this peculiarity: the British are enabled to use a cheaper material, the growth of India, mixed with a small proportion of American cottons, by which they furnish an article, very similar in appearance, at a lower price, but essentially inferior in texture and durability.

This superiority in quality has been so far appreciated in foreign countries as to cause a regular increase in our exports of this description of goods, as will appear on reference to the annual commercial tables. There is no doubt, however, that the British inferior imitations find a sale in greater quantities in the same markets. It is worthy of remark, that the identical article of this manufacture, which sold at thirty cents in 1816, is now selling at 7½ cents the square yard. The articles of cotton, sail duck, negro cottons, and cotton drilling, now articles of very large consumption, are also of wholly American origin, being entirely unknown in commerce until their production in this country. It is believed that this coarse description of cottons can be manufactured in this country as cheap or cheaper than they can be made in England *from the same quality of cotton*; the difference in the value of the raw material in the two countries, estimated at fully two cents the pound, with some advantage in the use of water power, being more than sufficient to balance the advantage of greater cheapness in the price of labor in England.

It is probable that something more than one-half the quantity of cotton manufactured in the United States is employed in making the foregoing and undred descriptions of goods.

Another important branch of the cotton manufacture is the finer description of shirtings and white goods, of which very nearly the whole

consumption of the country is supplied by our own manufacture, with the exception of light muslins.

The branch of the manufacture, however, most important and interesting in its character at the present time, in its connection with the tariff, is unquestionably that of printed calicoes. This manufacture was commenced about the year 1825; and so rapid has been its progress, that, from the most accurate calculation, (according to the preceding table,) it now amounts to full one hundred and fifty millions of yards per annum, of the value of at least sixteen millions of dollars, and employing a capital of twenty-five millions. There is no manufacture whatever requiring a combination of so much mechanical and chemical skill as this. Its introduction has been attended with much labor and difficulty, with the outlay of very heavy expenses; but the object has been accomplished; and we can challenge a comparison in this fabric, in designs and colors, with the most beautiful productions of France or England.

The foregoing analysis will have shown that the question of a protective tariff bears very differently on different branches of the cotton manufacture. The coarser fabrics, with which we supply foreign nations at the rate of about three millions of dollars per annum, in free competition with the British, it is quite obvious, are very little, if any way, affected by any tariff whatever. The only effect of opening our ports to this description of goods at a very low duty, or no duty at all, would be the influx of the inferior British imitations, made from Bengal cotton, which could of course be sold at a lower price, but which would prove to the consumer intrinsically dearer than our own manufacture, made from American cotton.

So far as relates to the finer qualities of plain cottons, a very moderate square yard duty will protect the manufactures now in existence. It is in reference to the article of printed calicoes, and other fancy goods, that the question of the tariff assumes its chief importance. The minimum duty on dyed or printed cottons, under the acts of 1828 and 1832, was 8½ cents the square yard, under which the manufacture has attained its present importance; and there is little doubt that it would have been carried still farther, but for the act of March, 1833, by which this protection has been gradually reduced, and for the uncertainty what may be our legislation for the future.

A specific duty of six cents the square yard would probably be sufficient to protect the lower branches of this manufacture, embracing the larger portion of it, and in which competition has carried down prices to the lowest average rate of profit in other branches of business. But it becomes a question of general expediency, whether policy does not require such protection as shall secure the production of the more expensive and beautiful of these fabrics in this country. The means and facilities exist. But in this description of goods, more than most others, the application of capital to it will depend on the rate of protection. The actual expense of printing calicoes varies very little between this country and Europe; it is, however, something in their favor. But in the supply of articles of fancy, where so much depends on taste, and where so great an outlay of capital is necessary for its gratification, it will hardly be undertaken without a reasonable assurance of having the market, without the interference of heavy foreign importation, which, in

articles of this kind, which do not admit of being held over from season to season, might prove wholly ruinous. We would not suggest carrying this principle to an extreme; but we are warranted, from the experience of the past, in believing that a specific duty of ten cents the square yard would almost immediately furnish an abundant supply of the higher class of prints, at rates quite as cheap as they can be imported.

The point, however, which we would respectfully urge upon Congress is, that the duty, whatever its rate, should be specific, either in the form of one fixed duty on the square yard on all cotton manufactures, only discriminating between these which are and those which are not dyed or printed; or, as in the existing law, under the form of a minimum, with an ad valorem duty on all goods costing above a specific rate. The first mode has the advantage of simplicity, and is much more equal in its operation than would be supposed without an accurate examination into the facts of the case.

The difference in value between fine and coarse goods being by the yard not very great, the additional labor applied to the former is in a great measure compensated by the less quantity of stock which they contain. Thus the superficial value of stout negro cloth, or drilling, will be found about equal to that of the fine shirting or printing cloth. Should this mode be adopted, and such a duty be imposed as considerations of revenue alone would dictate, it would afford a very simple protection to the existing manufacture, without being liable to the charge of imposing a burden on any portion of the community whatever. For we assert and challenge inquiry into the fact; that, for all the common purposes of life, our present manufactures of cotton are intrinsically as cheap or cheaper than they can be furnished from any part of the world.

The only result of any arrangement of the tariff which should, in fact, have the effect to bring into the country any additional importation of this description of manufactures would be the introduction of fabrics made from the inferior cotton of India instead of our own, or, in the case of printed calicoes, the introduction of more flimsy fabric, with false and fugitive colors, offering a temptation of cheapness to the unskilful, but substituting articles intrinsically dearer to the consumer than our own manufacture.

By official returns from the Treasury Department, it appears that the average of the last four years gives 21,852,618 as the number of square yards of dyed or printed goods imported, costing, not exceeding the present minimum, of thirty-five cents the square foot; giving an average of over twenty cents the square yard as the actual cost of this description of goods, and leaving the amount of 1,589,509 dollars, or one-fourth of the whole quantity imported, as costing over thirty-five cents the square yard. Suppose that considerations of revenue should establish thirty per cent. on the cost as a proper rate of duty, and the principle be adopted of one specific rate of duty—the foregoing data show that a duty of about eight cents the square yard would be the rate to give that average result.

It may be observed, that there are no objects of importation which can more properly be denominated luxuries, and on that ground subject to a

high rate of duty, than the finer class of fanciful prints which are now imported; neither is there any article in which there is more liability to frauds on the revenue under an ad valorem duty.

The importation of white cottons is now very small; the average of the last four years being 1,415,893 dollars in value, of which six millions of square yards cost on the average seventeen cents, leaving something less than 400,000 dollars costing over thirty cents the square yard. Considerations of mere revenue would fix a uniform square yard duty at five or six cents at least. If it is thought expedient to encourage the manufacture of muslins, a still higher duty would be proper.

We cannot urge upon Congress too earnestly our conviction that, whether in reference to revenue alone, or the protection of our interests, the duties should be specific, either in one fixed duty by the square yard, or in the form of a minimum, under which the manufacture has risen to its present importance. We would prefer the lowest possible minimum duty to a simple duty of thirty per cent. ad valorem. The skill requisite to an accurate knowledge of the value of printed cottons presents and insuperable obstacle to a home valuation at our numerous ports of entry, on any principle approaching equality, and no article affords greater facility for frauds under any ad valorem duty.

Without going into a general consideration of the principles in support of the system of so adjusting the duties on imports as to favor the industry of our own country, we cannot refrain from calling your attention to the signal triumph of these principles, and the great advantages which the country derives from them, when applied, as in the case of the cotton manufacture, under circumstances of the most favorable character. The raw material was the production of our own country. The improvements in its manufactures, one of the proudest triumphs of human art, required the outlay of great capital in the necessary machinery; for propelling which, our streams of water furnished a power unappreciated, if not unknown. The tariffs of 1816 and of 1828 were successively enacted, giving the most ample protection to the manufacture. What has been the result? The facts already stated—the application of capital to the manufacture with a power and rapidity without any precedent. The calling into action a mass of human labor, previously dormant and inactive; and all this with a constant reduction in the price of the commodities produced, and an extension of the application of this, our great staple, to new products and uses. Will any political economist pretend that these effects would have followed without the stimulus of a protective tariff? No, It was the assurance of a home market which gave confidence to capitalists, and has thus produced these results. It has thus produced that competition which has reduced prices and profits to the lowest possible points.

It is true that all branches of the cotton manufacture are at present in a state of miserable depression. Notwithstanding the low price of the raw material, our stocks have accumulated to a most inconvenient degree, and, without the slightest hope of profit, threaten us with heavy loss. We attribute this depression in a great measure to the deranged state of the currency throughout so

great a part of the United States, and the glutted state of foreign markets, arising out of over production, and our trade in this branch of manufacture in England; but it is not to be concealed that the late reduction of the tariff, with the consequent heavy importations, and the uncertainty which hangs over the proceedings of Congress on that question, add very much to the gloom and apprehensions which now attach to this interest. It would seem to be no time to try new experiments with this great interest, when the whole or principal effect of so cutting down the tariff as to increase the imports of cotton manufactures would be the substitution of goods made from inferior foreign cotton, in the place of our own better staple. That such a policy should be sustained by the representatives of the cotton-growing States, at the very moment when Great Britain is straining every nerve to supply herself with this staple from her own dominions, and with great apparent success, would imply such a self-sacrificing devotion to abstract theories as is, we believe, without example in the history of the world.

In conclusion, we confidently rely on the wisdom of Congress, in the proposed arrangement of the tariff, to protect the interest of both planter and manufacturer from the injury which would result to both from a "derangement of the system which, so advantageously to them and to the whole country, has grown up under our previous legislation.

From the same statements before the Committee of Congress, it appears that cotton factories have not paid 5 per cent on the capital invested. It is the surplus of the foreign manufactures, thrown suddenly into our market, and disposed of at auction, that does the greatest injury to our cotton and all other manufactures; the low priced cottons abroad, witness thinks, are made of the cheap India cotton; goods can be made of that article and sent into this country much cheaper than the same same goods can be afforded for, made of our own cotton. India cotton bears in England about two-thirds the price of American; under a

duty of twenty per cent, the English can drive us out of our own market with goods made of India cotton. As good a quality of goods cannot be made of India cotton as of ours; for such low priced cottons an ordinary ad valorem duty would not be a protection; it should be specific on a valuation.—From the low price at which the inferior goods are made abroad out of the cheap cotton and low labor, and of their large surpluses sent over, these would very much interfere with our own articles— Cheap goods, muslins, &c. are sent in here invoiced at 1 1-2 or 2 cents per yard, on which the 20 per cent duty would be a mere nothing; these, probably, cannot be manufactured as cheap—but from their pauper population and large surplus, they are obliged to send them abroad to be sold at any price.—There are, by the census, over 2,000,000 cotton spindles in the United States; and about one-fifth of the cotton crop is manufactured in this country.—If our cotton manufactures were all stopped, our entire consumption of cotton goods would all diminish one-half of the present amount, on account of our inability to purchase. According to witness' observation, wherever the duties have been prohibitory, the reduction of price in this country has been greater than in other articles—for instance, coarse cottons, nails, boots, coarse shoes, leath &c. The reason for this is, that the security of the home market has created a home competition and enterprize that has operated more on prices than when the articles might be imported.

### CALICO PRINTING.

The number of Calico Printing Establishments in the United States is 37, with 120 machines, and 626 tables, printing 101,300 pieces of 30 yards each, weekly; or 5,267,600 pieces, or 158,028,000 yards per annum; which, at an average of 11 cents per yard, is \$16,500,000.

Capital for manufacturing the above quantity of cloth.....	\$17,500,000
Capital for printing.....	7,500,000
Total.....	\$25,000,000

Value of Cotton Goods imported annually from 1835 to 1840.

Year ending Sept. 30. . . . .	Cottons.							
	Dyed, printed and colored..		White.		Hosiery gloves, mitts, and bindings.		Twist, Yarn, and Thread	
1835	10,610,722	2,738,493	906,369	544,473	9,021	558,507	15,367,585	
1836	12,192,980	2,766,787	1,352,608	555,290	28,348	974,074	17,876,087	
1837	7,087,270	1,611,398	1,227,267	404,603	35,990	744,313	11,110,841	
1838	4,217,551	980,142	768,856	222,114	27,049	384,618	6,599,330	
1839	9,000,216	2,154,931	1,879,783	779,004	3,772	874,691	14,692,397	
1840	3 93,694	917,101	792,078	387,095	1,102	513,414	6,504,484	

Year ending Sept. 30	Cottons.				Cotton twist, yarn and thread.			
	Dyed, printed, or colored, not exceeding thirty-five cts per square yard.		White, not exceeding 30 cents per square yard.		Unbleached and uncolored, not above 60 cents per pound.		Bleached or colored, not above 75 cents per lb.	
	Square yards.	Cost.	Square Yards.	Cost.	Pounds.	Cost.	Pounds.	Cost.
1835	39,691,043	\$8,715,939	14,243,926	\$2,354,192	7,566	\$2,972	285,127	\$128,018
1836	44,577,811	9,394,133	12,344,921	2,114,328	854	451	271,587	133,434
1837	23,549,575	5,124,786	5,119,408	931,482	39,486	10,318	150,201	63,868
1838	15,605,733	3,133,876	4,634,309	779,366	12,090	7,053	91,737	37,473
1839	32,559,271	6,612,315	9,859,151	1,728,754	678	314	163,778	64,614
1840	15,618,092	2,968,719	4,393,341	698,088	127,416	28,848	96,339	33,646

The forgoing table gives, for the average of the last four years, whole import of dyed, printed and colored cottons \$6,049,433, costing not exceeding 85 cents the square yard \$4,459,924; number of square yards 21,852,618, at an average cost of 20 41-100 cents per square yard; leaving of those costing over 35 cents the square yard the annual value of \$1,589,509; but the yards not being given no average of the cost can be made.

Whole import of white cottons \$1,415,893, costing not exceeding 30 cents the square yard \$1,034,422; number of square yards 6,001,302, at an average cost of 17 2-100 cents the square yard; leaving of those costing over 30 cents the square yard the annual value of \$381,491, of which the average cost cannot be given.

### TOBACCO.

We give the following cogent remarks and facts recently communicated to the Congressional Committee on Manufactures, by P. Triplett, Esq.:

To protect American commerce and the products of American industry from foreign prohibitions, duties and regulations, by countervailing duties, all other means having failed to accomplish that object, I believe is a duty now enjoined as well by the *interest* as the *honor* of our country.

Previous to the formation of the present Constitution, the impossibility of the several States, while acting each for itself, protecting their commerce and the products of their industry, when shipped to foreign ports, from the prohibitions, burdensome duties, and oppressive regulations imposed on them by foreign nations, was felt and acknowledged by all as one of the greatest evils arising from the then existing state of things; and a strong anxiety to have this evil corrected is known to have been one of the strongest inducements to the formation of the present Constitution, and beyond all question was one of the chief arguments urged for its adoption by the States.

No well informed man will contend that the Constitution would ever have been accepted by the people, if it had not contained the clause by which the power and the correlative duty of regulating commerce with foreign nations was taken from the several States and bestowed on Congress, as one of the departments of the Federal Government.

Although the oppressions on our commerce from these prohibitions, duties, and regulations, of nearly every nation in Europe, have been continued ever since the Constitution granted the power and imposed the duty on Congress of regulating commerce with foreign nations, yet, up to this time, that duty remains undischarged; and each foreign nation, without any regard to reciprocity or equality of duties, has been permitted to take counsel wholly from its avarice, without any regard to justice, until they have ceased to fear that our Government will seek redress by the only means in its power to enforce it.

The result of this abandonment of its duty by Congress, and leaving commerce to take care of itself, aided by such assistance as the Executive department has been able to give it by exercising the equivocal power of regulating our commerce with foreign nations by treaty stipulations, has been such as was naturally to be expected; and we find that these exactions have increased, until, at this time, the following facts exist:

The produce of the labor of the citizens of the United States shipped to the various nations of Europe, amounting annually to about \$90,000,000, pays an average tax of over 100 per cent., while the productions of all European nations imported into the United States, amounting annually to about \$100,000,000, pay an average tax or duty of less than 20 per cent.

In other words, from the productions of the labor of the citizens of the United States, from which those who own the soil and perform the labor of producing and transporting the produce to market receive \$90,000,000, foreign nations, by means of duties levied in different ways, receive \$98,000,000.

It is not to be wondered that the agriculturists of the United States have not prospered in proportion to their industry, when they do not receive one-half the benefit of their own labor.

With a genial climate, a rich soil, and industry and economy on the part of our planters and farmers, unsurpassed by any in the world, their aggregate prosperity and wealth is far less than that of the owners of the soil in Great Britain, France, Germany, or any nation in Europe, exercising the same skill and industry in the cultivation of the earth. It is the duty of the Representatives in Congress to inquire into the cause from whence this effect springs, and apply the remedy, if one can be found within their power.

I have endeavored to find out this cause, and sincerely believe it principally, if not wholly, proceeds from the fact that our farmers and planters are not permitted to trade with the subjects of foreign nations on equal and reciprocal terms; but on the contrary, they or their agents are compelled to give more than one-half of the produce of their farms and plantations, or, what is the same thing to them, more than one-half the money it would sell for, to obtain the privilege of importing and selling the remainder in Europe, while the citizens of European nations give less than one-fifth of the produce of their labor for the privilege of importing and selling the remainder in the United States.

In figures, the matter stands thus:

The products of American industry sell in Europe, after deducting freight and charges, except duties, for (in round numbers).....	\$204,500,000
Of which we receive.....	91,000,000

And lose, in paying duties,.....	113,500,000
----------------------------------	-------------

The products of European industry sell in the United States, after deducting freight and other charges, except duties, for.....	90,000,000
Of which the Europeans receive...	73,000,000

And lose, in paying duties.....	17,000,000
---------------------------------	------------

Showing the average amount of duties levied by the nations of Europe on our exportations to them to be upwards of six and a half times as great as the average amount of our duties levied on their exportations to the United States.

But, great and unjust as this inequality is on the total amount of exportations from the United States, it becomes still more startling in its manifest injustice when examined as to a particular export, the staple, to a great extent, of several particular States. Unmanufactured to-



bacco pays in Great Britain, since the 15th of May, 1840, a duty of 75 cents per pound, or upwards of 1,250 per cent., valuing the pound of tobacco at six cents; In Austria, within a fraction of 60 cents per pound, or 1,00 per cent.; in Prussia, 30½ cents per pound, or upwards of 500 per cent.; and France levies, by her *Regie*, or indirect duty, about one dollar per pound, or 1,666½ per cent.

On the amount of average annual value of tobacco shipped from the United States for the years 1839 and 1840 to wit, on ..... \$9,225,145

There is levied by the other European nations an annual tax of.. 32,463,540

Showing the amount for which American tobacco sells in Europe, exclusive of freight and other charges, except duties, to be.... 41,688,685

Of which foreign Governments retain upwards of three-fourths, and the tobacco planters receive less than one-fourth.

After this plain statement of facts, is it to be wondered at that the tobacco-growing States have increased in population and wealth less than any other of the agricultural States of the Union, and that the whole agricultural community of the whole Union, considering the productiveness of the soil, the capital, industry, skill, and economy used, have increased in prosperity less than either the mercantile or manufacturing portions of their fellow-citizens? No individual or community can prosper, unless they get at a fair proportion of the benefit of their own labor.

I cannot persuade myself there is one American statesman who will not acknowledge that a corrective must be found for this evil; and, before they can with propriety object to the remedy now proposed, it is their duty to propose one equally or more likely to prove efficient.

Entreaty, protests, attempts at negotiation, urged with a zeal and ability by our Government at home and our ministers abroad, equal to the importance of the subject, for fifty years, have failed, and there is no other remedy but countervailing duties.

In the words of Mr. Jefferson, in a report he made to Congress on the 16th of December, 1798, on the subject of commercial privileges and restrictions, "Should any nation, contrary to our wishes, suppose it may better find its advantage by continuing its system of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behooves us to protect our citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter prohibitions, duties and regulations, also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them."

My own opinion is, that an additional duty of ten per cent., with a protective annual increase of five per cent. on such articles as might be selected by the committee, when imported from nations of whose prohibitions and duties we have cause to complain, with a proviso that such additional duties should cease with a cessation of the regulations and duties of which we complain, would speedily bring the relief we desire.

The average annual consumption of Great Britain for 1838 and 1839, of the leaf tobacco of the United States, may be fairly estimated at 18,000 hogsheads annually, which, at 1,200 pounds, is

21,600,000 pounds. The duty on which, at three shillings per pound, renders a nett revenue of..... £3,240,000

Licenses..... 52,000

Nett revenue..... 3,292,000

Charge of collecting, estimated at.. 270,000

Gross revenue..... £3,562,000

Which, at \$4 85 per pound sterling, is equal to \$17,275,700—being equal to about *two-thirds* of the expenses of their navy, and about equal to the whole expenses of the Government of the United States of America.

In 1837 the monopoly of tobacco produced to the French treasury a nett profit of 59,000,000 francs, equal to \$11,013,333. The profits gained by the 25,852 authorized retailers amounted to 11,809,773 francs, equal to \$2,204,490.

Russia levies a duty of over 200 per cent.; England over 800 per cent.; in a great part of Germany near 100 per cent. on first cost; and France, Spain, Italy and Austria, derive enormous profits from their system of monopoly. It may safely be said that Europe levies a revenue of about 30 millions of dollars on about 100,000 hogsheads of American tobacco, which cost in the United States about 7 millions. These enormous duties and restrictions are of the most serious injury to our agricultural commercial interests; the the total nett revenue of the United States, derived from all articles of importations from all parts of the world, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the two years ending 31st December, 1838, was an average of \$16,866,917.

**STATISTICAL TABLE** showing the aggregate amount of Manufactures of Tobacco, number of Persons Employed and Capital Invested in the United States.

	Value of man- ufactured ar- ticles.....	No. of persons employed.....	Cap. Invested.....
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>			
Maine.....	\$18,150	37	\$6,050
New-Hampshire...	10,500	17	2,100
Massachusetts.....	176,264	286	90,500
Rhode Island.....	71,560	123	34,900
Connecticut.....	122,684	233	67,875
Vermont.....	..	..	.....
Total.....	399,158	696	201,425
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>			
New York.....	831,570	669	395,530
New Jersey.....	92,600	106	47,590
Pennsylvania.....	550,159	950	287,859
Total.....	1,474,329	1,725	730,979
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>			
Delaware.....	17	34	5,800
Maryland.....	232,000	378	125,100
Virginia.....	2,406,671	3,342	1,526,080
North Carolina.....	189,168	482	91,065
Total.....	2,827,256	4,136	1,748,045
<b>COTTON GROWING STATES.</b>			
South Carolina.....	3,500	7	5,000
Georgia.....	9,563	33	6,313
Alabama.....	2,260	2	.....
Mississippi.....	10	..	.....
Louisiana.....	150,000	414	95,000
Tennessee.....	89,462	259	247,475
Total.....	254,795	715	353,788

STATISTICS.....[Continued.  
Value. Per'as. Cap. Invad.  
WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky.....	413,585	587	230,400
Ohio.....	212,818	187	68,810
Indiana.....	65,659	88	24,706
Illinois.....	10,139	24	3,093
Missouri.....	89,996	188	51,755
Arkansas.....	750	3	250
Michigan.....	5,006	12	1,759
Florida.....	10,460	21	5,249
Iowa.....	40	2	.....
District of Columbia	37,280	..	16,950
Total.....	845,747	1,112	402,954

SUPPLEMENTARY STATISTICS ON  
GLASS.

Cost of Materials for making a blast of 7,200 boxes of window glass, in an 8 pot furnace .....	\$9,916 80
Labor for do .....	19,640 40
	29,557 20

There are establishments enough in the country to supply the domestic demands. Under a greater reduction than four-tenths the glass manufacturers cannot exist in this country, the difficulties arising principally from the price of labor. Labor constitutes a little over two-thirds the cost of the manufacture. The additional cost of soda ash, which is all imported, gives some addition to the cost of the manufacture. The risk, insurance, or wear

and tear of property and materials; to cover which and make a fair profit, the manufacturer should receive 15 per cent. on his business. The Tariff should be modified so as to make an additional duty of one-third on extra thick window-glass; thus, of ordinary glass, sixteen thicknesses make an inch. The French make a glass which goes about twelve thicknesses to the inch, which pays no more duty than the thin, although it sells for about 50 per cent. more. There are 10 window-glass establishments, having about 14 furnaces, in New Jersey, which employ about 650 workmen, and support a population of over 2,300 persons, who obtain their provisions from the neighboring country. The glass establishments are in a sandy part of the country, which would otherwise be barren and of little value. A number of glass factories have gone down, under the reduction of the tariff—three in New Jersey.

The following will be the duties after June 30, 1842, at 20 per cent., on the foreign costs and charges, viz :

	Duty under act of 1832.
Vials and bottles not exceeding 6 oz. 20 cts.	\$1 75
Do do over 6 and under 16 oz. 50 cts.	2 25
Green and black bottles, not exceeding one quart, \$1 .....	2 00
Green and black bottles, exceeding one quart, \$1 50.....	2 50
5 gallon demijohns and carboys, a piece 15 cents .....	25
5 gallon demijohns and carboys, of smaller size, from 5 to 10 cents.....	28

A Table showing the duties on Foreign Window Glass.

Sizes.	Cost in France.	1833.	1833. Dec. 31. 1-10.	1835. Dec. 31. 1-10.	1837. Dec. 31. 1-10.	1839. Dec. 31. 1-10.	1841. Dec. 31. 3-10.	1842. June 30. 3-10.	Difference between the duty of 1841 & the duty after 30th June, 1842.
	Per 50 feet.	Fr. 50 ft.	Dols. cts.	Dols. cts.	Dols. cts.	Dols. cts.	Dols. cts.	Cents.	Per 50 ft.
6 by 8 to 8 by 10	8 francs = \$1 49	\$1 50	1 38	- 1 26	- 1 14	- 1 02	- 66	- 30	72
8 by 11 to 10 by 12	8 francs = 1 49	1 75	1 61	- 1 46	- 1 31	- 1 17	- 73	- 29	88
10 by 13	8 francs = 1 49	2 00	1 83	- 1 66	- 1 49	- 1 32	- 81	- 30	\$1 02
10 by 14 to 18 by 20	12 francs = 2 23	2 60	1 84½	- 1 69	1 53½	1 38	- 91½	45	93
12 by 22 to 28 by 32	14 40-100 fr. = 2 68	2 00	1 85 2-5	1 70 4-5	1 56 1-5	1 41 3-5	97 4-5	54	88
28 by 36 to 34 by 42	24 francs = 4 46	2 00	1 89	1 78	1 67	1 56	1 23	- 90	66

The difference between the duty previous to the reduction on the 31st December, 1841, and the duty after the reduction to be made on the 30th June next, will be from—

6 by 8 to 8 by 10....	\$1 44 per 100 feet.
8 by 11 to 10 by 12..	1 76 do.
10 by 13 ..	2 04 do.
10 by 14 to 18 by 20..	1 86 do.
12 by 22 to 28 by 32..	1 76 do.
28 by 36 to 34 by 42..	1 32 do.
or an average of 1 70	per 100 feet.

The importation of glass since the year 1820

into the United States has, with hardly any exception, been shipped on the foreign manufacturers' account, and consigned to their agents, a large part arriving in foreign vessels. Attempts have repeatedly been made by American merchants to import on their own account, but they have in all cases soon relinquished the attempt, as they could supply themselves cheaper from the agents of foreign manufacturers in this country.

The manufacture of flint glass was begun in this country in 1817, but did not extend or flourish until 1824. From that period it extended

rapidly till 1836. At that period the increased importation of foreign glass, which still continues, depressed the business, and reduced the number of manufactories.

The tonnage employed for transportation of manufactured goods annually, is estimated at 4,800 tons, equal to constant employment of 450 tons. Glass shipped to foreign countries, 700 tons, equal to constant employment of one vessel of 100 tons.

In consequence of the gradual reduction of the tariff, the quantity of imported glass has increased, and from the year 1836, the manufactories have declined, and at the present day it has to struggle against the large importation of glass under fraudulent invoices, as the large seizures in New York in 1839, will prove.

The duties on cut glass by the act of 1832, were three cents per pound, and 30 per cent. ad valorem on cut glass, and 20 per cent. ad valorem, and two cents per pound on plain glass. The two cents specific duty was laid to counteract the British Government bounty, equal to three cents per pound. The English government taxes the glass manufacturers with an excise duty of £49 sterling on one hundred pounds weight of glass made by them; but if they export the same to a foreign country, they are repaid the £49 sterling and a clear bounty of ten shillings and six pence per 100 pounds is paid to the exporter. This is equal to three cents per pound of glass so exported; and this bounty is not derived from any tax on materials used by the manufacturer, but is, in the full sense of the word, a clear bounty to encourage the consumption of fuel, materials, and labor, and to enable the exporter to be a successful competitor in foreign countries.

To prove the effect of 23 per cent. ad valorem duty on imported glass, I will take for example an invoice of flint tumblers, (for tumblers enter largely into the consumption of glass in this country,) and say 1,000 dozen flint tumblers at 1s. 6d. sterling (the usual price entered at our custom-house,) \$360. 20 per cent, at £480 sterling, is duty \$72. The average weight of flint tumblers, as entered at custom-house, is 5,500 pounds per 1,000 dozen, which, at 12s. 6d. the cwt., as bounty paid upon exports in England, amounts to \$165, being ninety-three dollars more than the 20 per cent. duty.

These flint tumblers are of the best kind and most costly, of plain glass; but the bulk of the importation is in *tate* tumblers, which weigh the same, but never cost more than two-thirds the price of the flint glass, which, on that scale, will reduce our duty one-third and bring the seventy-two dollar duty down to forty-eight dollars; but the bounty of three cents per pound being the same, as no distinction is made between rough or common glass or the best of plain flint glass, gives the importer \$117—more than enough to pay freight, shipping charges, breaking, and expense of opening.

Thus the manufacturer in England can place, at that rate of duty, all his plain glass in this country at less than the cost of materials and labor to him in England. The importation of glass has been steadily on the increase in this country since 1836.

The policy of the English Government in granting the bounty on rude or coarse glass, the same as on the best finished, is to enable the manufacturer

to export the greatest quantity of produce of their soil, say in labor, fuel, lead, soda ash, silice, clay, &c., &c., all these being the product of England. The tariff of 1832 gave the manufacturers of glass a protection of two cents per pound on plain, and 20 per cent. ad valorem on cut glass; three cents per pound and 30 per cent. ad valorem.—This cannot be considered unreasonable, for it never prevented importations to the extent of half the consumption in the country.

The true mode to favor the honest importer, and to add to the revenue, at the same time giving reasonable protection to the manufacturer, would be to place all the duty in a specific form. The amount of Missouri or Western pig lead that would be required for all the glass consumed in this country will not fall short of 7,000,000 lbs., and would probably for exceed that amount.

## SHOE AND LEATHER BUSINESS.

THE SHOE AND LEATHER BUSINESS OF MASSACHUSETTS presents some important facts in connection with this branch of industry, which merits a place among the statistical information embraced in this volume. It is undoubtedly the largest manufacturing interest in the country, producing commodities to the amount of more than \$50,000,000 annually, and giving employment to no less than 100,000 persons.

The statistics of Massachusetts show that that State alone can produce annually \$18,000,000 worth of boots, shoes, and leather, and in the production of these articles employs no less than 40,000 persons.

This vast business is carried on without any connexion with corporate institutions, being sustained entirely by individual enterprise. No machinery is employed, steam and water power being inapplicable to the production of these articles.—Thus it will be seen, that unless protected by governmental duties, our laborers must compete hand to hand with the pauper labor of Europe, which they cannot do as successfully as in those branches of industry in which machinery can be brought to operate. It appears, by careful investigation, that at least 40 per cent. of our products are manual labor, a large proportion of which is performed by women; the State of Massachusetts alone employing 15,000 females in the business which we represent.

Unless protected by governmental duties above 20 per cent. ad valorem, it will be impossible to compete with the productions of England, France, and Germany, owing to the extremely low price of labor there.—It appears that, during the reduction of duties under the provisions of the compromise act, importations have greatly increased; and since the last reduction of three tenths, the arrivals have been much larger than at any previous period.

One gentleman in Boston, who, in 1835, sold but \$300 worth of French boots, in 1841 imported and sold \$10,000 worth of the same article.

Orders are now going out to Germany for a coarse description of goods, giving evidence that the cheaper articles of Europe are to be thrown into our market, as well as the fine productions of France. The relative cost in the two markets is as

65 to 100, and the relative cost of German Shoes is still less.

That the duties be specific is a point that we would press as one of the greatest importance, both as regards the protection of our manufacture, and the revenue, which that protection proposes to raise, to prevent the frauds and impositions which are practised upon the authorities of the country, to prevent our merchants from being driven out of our own importing market by the management of foreign monopolists.

The French manufacturer wishes to send an invoice of boots to this country; he has them packed in cases, sends them to some village a few miles from Paris, and at a few hours' notice calls them at auction; his agent is the only bidder; he buys them at a price which saves him 75 per cent. of the duty he would have paid on the true invoice. Still his invoice is true, sworn to by the auctioneer, and our laws can charge him with no wrong.

As ad valorem duties are upon cost and charges, the foreign importer can get his goods clear of port 10 per cent less than our merchant, and the duty omitted besides. In consideration of this the following duties are recommended:

Ladies' silk shoes and slippers.....	\$0 25
Ladies' prunella, stuff, kid, leather, morocco, and other materials.....	20
Children's prunella, stuff, kid, leather, morocco, and other materials.....	12
Gentlemen's boots and booties.....	1 25
Ladies' boots and booties.....	50
Gentlemen's partially manufactured boots, booties and shoes.....	1 00
Ladies' partially manufactured boots, booties and shoes.....	40
Each dozen calf skins, finished.....	4 00
Each dozen morocco skins, finished.....	3 00
Each dozen kid skins, finished.....	2 00
Each dozen sheep skins, finished.....	1 25
Partially manufactured skins and skivers..	1 00
Each pound bend and sole leather.....	80

But if it shall appear more consistent with the conflicting interests that are gathering around this question to establish a fixed valuation, we would respectfully submit the following, for your consideration:

That each pair of ladies' silk shoes and slippers be deemed worth not less than.....	\$1 25
Kid, morocco, prunella and other materials	1 00
Children's prunella and other materials...	60
Gentlemen's boots and booties.....	6 00
Ladies' boots and booties.....	3 00
Gentlemen's partially manufactured boots, booties and shoes.....	5 00
Ladies' partially manufactured boots, booties and shoes.....	2 50
Each dozen calf skins, finished.....	20 00
Each dozen morocco skins, finished.....	15 00
Each dozen kid skins, finished.....	10 00
Each dozen sheep skins, finished.....	6 00
Sheep skins partially manufact'd and skivers	5 00
Sole and bend leather per pound.....	40

If there were only an ad valorem duty on foreign valuation, the result will be quite different.

The manufacturer would send out an invoice to his agent here, not as he would charge the purchaser, but at what he pleases to call the cost of the article.

Under an ad valorem duty, large quantities of

low-priced articles will be brought into our market, such as under the specific duties have never been exported to any extent.

Shoes which cannot be sold at less than 65 cents, can be bought in France for two francs, say 38 cents; but like the finer kinds, would be invoiced by the French manufacturer at one third less, say at.....	25
On this pay 20 per cent.....	5
Expenses.....	3

Making the cost here..... 33

This will come into competition with the article which we cannot afford at less than 65 cents.

## SUGAR.

SUGAR IN LOUISIANA.—There are some interesting particulars connected with this staple production in the above State, which are worthy of notice in this place, as showing that the South as much needs a Protective Tariff as other portions of the country.

In consequence of the Tariff of 1836 Planters invested largely in this business, and from 1816 to 1828 the annual production increased from 15,000 hogsheads of 1,000 pounds to 45,000 hogsheads.

In 1828 the capital invested and the power used in this branch of industry was estimated as follows:—

308 estates.....	\$34,000,000
Manual power, about 21,000 hands	
Animal, about..... 12,000	{ horses and oxen
Mechanical, about.. 1,640	{ horse power
That from 1823 to 1830 383 new estates were undertaken, which required a further outlay of about	\$16,000,000

Making a total outlay, for 691 estates, of about..... \$50,000,000

Under the tariff of 1816, the State of Louisiana was already supplying one-half of the sugars required for the consumption of the United States, and was bidding fair soon to meet the entire consumption.

Before these 383 estates could be brought into full operation, the tariff of 1834 was adopted, and 156 estates have already been compelled to abandon their sugar works, under the effect of this act; that its further action cannot fail to annihilate this important branch of national industry.

That the sugar estates yet in operation number 525.

That the power used thereupon is estimated as follows:

Manual, about.....	40,000 hands.
Mechanical.....	10,000 horses.

That the annual expenses of a well regulated plantation are computed at \$50 per hand.

That these estates, with their increased machinery, have required, at a low valuation, a cash investment of at least \$52,000,000.

That the annual average crops do not exceed 70,000 hhd., or seventy millions of pounds of sugar, and three hundred and fifty thousand gallons of molasses.

That the product of such a crop, at 6 cents for sugar and 20 cents for molasses, would be..... \$4,900,000  
That, deducting expenses therefrom, say fifty dollars per hand..... 2,000,000

There would remain nett ..... \$2,900,000  
or 5 57-100 per cent. on the capital invested.

That the nett. product of the same crop, at 5½ and 18 cents, would be \$2,480,000, or 4 76-100 per cent.

That the net product, at 5 and 17, would be \$2,096,000, or about 2 80-100 per cent.

Louisiana, with its uncertain climate and expensive operations, cannot produce sugar under five and a half cents; while, in the West India Islands, with their genial climate and cheap operations, muscovadoes can be produced so as to yield a fair remuneration at two and a half to three cents.

It never could have been the intention of the National Government to destroy a branch of industry involving a capital of \$52,000,000.

It is an axiom in commerce, that where a necessary of life is not commensurate to the demand, the cost of production of such commodity has little to do with its price in market.

This axiom is fully evidenced by the influence exercised by our crops over foreign markets.

The crop of Louisiana for 1835-'36 was reduced to twenty-five thousand hogsheads, and prices advanced to 11 cents; yet muscovadoes advanced in Havana to 6½ a 7 cents, or nearly 100 per cent.

The Louisiana crop for 1836-'37 was an average one, and prices receded in Havana to 2½ a 4 cents, and in New Orleans to 5½ a 6 cents.

The gradual reduction of the tax on foreign sugars is nothing else but a premium granted to foreign industry, which will have to be paid by the consumers.

Cuba and the West India Islands now draw from us the whole of their provisions. Were they, by a continuation of the most suicidal policy, to become our only suppliers of sugar, they would not require a dollar more of our exports, whilst they would draw from this country at least five millions of specie to pay for the sugars necessary to meet the deficiency that would be occasioned by Louisiana.

We can only be saved from actual ruin by the revival of the tax of 1816 on foreign sugars.

*Statistical Table, showing the aggregate number of SUGAR REFINERIES, VALUE OF PRODUCE, CHOCOLATE MANUFACTURED, CONFECTIONARY MADE, MEN EMPLOYED, CAPITAL INVESTED in the United States:—*

	No. of Sugar Refineries.	Value of Produce.	Value of cho- colate manu- factured.	Value of Con- fectionary Made.	No. of Men employed.	Capital In- vested.
EASTERN STATES.						
Maine,.....				\$16,900	18	\$6,000
N. Hampshire, ..				11,300	10	5,100
Massachusetts, ..	2	1,025,000	37,500	187,300	220	374,300
Rhode Island,....				14,500	15	4,500
Connecticut, ....				31,800	16	12,800
Total,.....	2	1,025,000	37,500	211,700	279	400,700
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.						
New York, .....	7	385,000	5,000	386,162	416	474,826
New Jersey, ....				1,000	2	500
Pennsylvania,....	20	891,300	14,000	227,000	197	273,420
Total,.....	27	1,276,300	19,000	614,162	615	747,606
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.						
Delaware, .....				6,000	9	2,500

## STATISTICS ..... [Continued.]

Refin'rs.	Value.	Choc'ls.	Confec.	Men.	Capitl
Maryland,..... 6	176,000	11,400	73,450	102	104,370
Virginia,..... 1			43,850	15	16,200
N. Carolina,....			3,500	1	1,000
Total,..... 7	176,000	11,400	122,100	127	124,070
SOUTHERN STATES.					
S. Carolina, ....			29,533	112	87,200
Georgia,..... 1	500	5,000	3,100	12	5,000
Alabama,.....			15,900	15	6,120
Mississippi,....			10,500	2	
Louisiana,..... 5	770,000	7,000	28,000	101	351,000
Total,..... 6	770,500	12,000	76,533	242	449,320
WESTERN STATES.					
Kentucky,.....			36,050	28	14,250
Ohio,..... 1	3,000		60,450	43	26,800
Indiana,.....			4,000	3	1,000
Illinois,.....			2,240	3	825
Missouri,.....			1,000	1	500
Michigan,.....			3,000	3	1,200
Dist. of Columbia,			7,500	11	2,800
Total,..... 1	3,000		114,240	92	47,575

## WOOLEN MANUFACTURES.

As an additional fact, in evidence of the obstacles opposed to the interests of our Agriculturalists and Woolen Manufacturers by Foreign Agents and Manufacturers—to say nothing of the loss to our Government of the revenue by frauds and the mistatements of Free Trade theorists—the Collector of this port stated a few days since, that revenue on but six millions of dollars had been collected on eighteen millions worth of Foreign Woolen Manufactures at fair invoice prices, imported and passed through our Custom House.

The following examples of the depreciation of Agricultural interests and of labor in the manufacture of Woolens, as the consequence of inadequate protection, may be generally applied.

*Statement respecting the wollen manufacturing establishments, in the county of Windsor, Vermont, in 1837 and 1841.*

Years.	Value of real estate and machinery.	No. of pounds of wool manufactured.	Cost of the wool.
1837	\$311,000	\$902,000	\$468,740
1841	218,000	276,500	100,282
Years.	Number of laborers employed.	Amount paid for agricultural productions used, besides wool.	Number of persons supported by these establishments.
1837	728	\$198,160	1,745
1841	218	80,448	583

*Prices paid for the average quality of wool, as raised in Windsor, from 1835 to 1841, inclusive.*

Years.	Price per lb.	Years	Price per lb.
1835,.....	62 cents.	1839,.....	42 cents.
1836,.....	65	1840,.....	40
1837,.....	50	1841,.....	36
1838,.....	40		

From the statistics presented by the Glenheim Co's. Woolen Factory, Fishkill, N. Y. it would appear that notwithstanding their great improvements in machinery, as the only means of competing with Foreign Manufacturers, yet this, with all similar establishments, must be broken down if no better encouragement is afforded Home Industry by the Government. They employ 170 hands with 500 dependants, paying them \$35,000 annually for wages and consuming about \$100,000 worth of Agricultural products. They paid in 1823,

50 cts. per yard for making, \$4 Broad Cloth, for which they now pay but 15 cts; then 10 cents the pound to spin yarn, for which they now pay but 2 cents and the cloth that then sold for \$4.50 now sells for \$3. Half of the Woolen Manufacturers during 19 years have become bankrupt, and less than 50 per cent. duty on the foreign cost of Woelens would not sustain the American Manufacturers. They have paid but 2½ per cent per annum for 18 years.

### CABINET FURNITURE.

This subject has received from the friends of Home Industry less attention, compared with its importance in the aggregate of American labor sought to be protected from foreign competition, than most other branches of business. The reason has been, that no representation of the evils under which American Cabinet-makers suffer has as yet been made, although few now need the fostering aid of protection more than they. Individual complaints of the depreciation of their business have often been made, yet no statistical facts have been collected with the view to memorialize Congress on the subject.

That the interests of this class of our manufacturers should receive prompt and efficient attention there can be no doubt, when it is known that the wages of men employed in the business are now reduced from \$12 and \$14 per week to from \$6 to \$8. As an example—washstands of mahogany which formerly sold for \$250 and which cannot now be manufactured here for less than \$175, are imported by the Agents of French manufacturers, and sold at auction in this city for seventy-five cents. About the same comparative price prevails in numerous other articles of cabinet furniture imported and sold under like circumstances. The parts of these articles are made complete, with tenons and mortices, and in that state packed and shipped to the American market, where, being put together, they sell at a profit, though vastly below the prices at which an American laborer can live. The result is, that great quantities of French cabinet wares are sold at our auctions at prices corresponding with the difference between French and American labor, and hence with profit to the foreign manufacturers, but with inevitable destruction to our own. It may be fairly asked, under these circumstances, if our legislators will look with indifference on the prostration of the labor of our countrymen at the shrine of foreign cupidity. Without referring to the duties which have heretofore protected the American mechanic in this department of labor, and the reduction of the duty, to which he has now to submit, it has been suggested that they cannot compete with the foreign manufacturer, unless protected by a duty of from thirty-five to fifty per cent ad valorem, or specific duties affording equal and yet more certain protection.

### SPECIE.

It is worthy of consideration, at this period of depression and prostration of American enterprise and labor, if the effects of the transportation to foreign countries of large quantities of specie for goods we should have made ourselves, and for the support of foreign labor to the unnatural

neglect of our own, should, not be duly considered.

No one need be told the difference between an abundance and a scarcity of the precious metals, as a circulating medium, in its effect upon the labor, enterprise, and happiness of the people. If then they be desirable as a means of contributing to this important object, their shipment abroad for the encouragement of the same objects there, and the production, as a consequence, of the very reverse here, a wrong is done to ourselves. We are now suffering under such a wrong; and the paralysis of industry which we seek to avoid is the first and paramount evil arising from this unwise and unnatural policy. As these metals are the basis of our circulating medium, and represent two-thirds of the additional currency, it follows that their withdrawal removes not only that basis, but the additional circulation created by it, and hence the transportation to Europe of \$8,000,000 in specie to pay foreign labor during the past year, withdraws from use, among our countrymen, of \$24,000,000. If the amount of specie transported be still greater, as is alleged, the consequence is in the same ratio. If this be continued for a series of years, we need not compute for the reader the amount withdrawn, or the amount of labor denied our own countrymen and given to foreigners—these facts are now too plainly seen and felt to require such calculations.

It is evident that Custom House returns are but a poor criterion by which to judge of the actual amount of specie thus withdrawn, or the value of imported goods, yet we cannot omit to give the following letter from the Collector of this Port, addressed to the Vice President of the State Home League, in proof of the amount shipped from one place:

CUSTOM HOUSE, NEW YORK, }  
March 7th, 1842.

Sir—In reply to your note of the 5th inst. I have to inform you that the amount of specie exported from this Port, during the interval between the 1st of October and the 1st of February last, was \$2,919,638.

Respectfully yours,

EDWARD CURTIS, Collector.

To Mr. JACOB T. WALDEN, New York Institute.

### IMPORTATIONS

*Into the United States of the produce and manufactures of various countries of Europe, from October 1, 1838, to September 30, 1840:*

Countries whence imported.	Average free of duty.	Average paying duty.	Average total.	The average per cent admitted free of duty.
Russia, .....	\$589,205	\$1,833,955	\$2,423,160	24
Prussia, .....	23,903	40,954	64,858	37
Swed. & Norway, .....	4,472	1,381,326	1,385,798	1
Denmark, .....	20,774	23,474	44,249	47
Holland, .....	892,054	720,191	1,612,243	55
Belgium, .....	102,771	267,508	370,284	28
Great Britain, .....	16,868,849	33,836,130	49,831,243	34
Gibraltar, .....	19,917	45,955	65,872	30
Malta, .....	15,369	11,357	26,707	65
Spain, .....	1,169,614	605,303	1,772,918	67
France, .....	36,859,360	8,192,702	25,052,096	67
Portugal, .....	22,577	382,953	405,331	54
Italy, .....	797,293	372,455	1,169,748	68
Sicily, .....	474,603	146,634	621,238	76
Trieste, .....	353,633	71,819	425,452	83
Hanse Towns, &c. .....	1,498,673	2,165,648	3,665,321	40
Total, .....			\$89,036,520	

*The following is a summary of articles paying ad valorem and specific duties, and the amounts respectively, per annum :*

Manufactures of Tin, Pewter, Lead, Wooden Ware, paying duties, ad valorem .....	\$443,487
Leather .....	1,305,707
Marble .....	11,331
Gold and Silver, Precious Stones, Watches and parts of .....	1,079,399
Glass and Earthenware, China, &c.. Plated, Gilt, and Japanned Wares, Saddlery, &c.....	5,365,522
Prepared Black Lead Pencils, Quills, Paper Hangings, Hair Cloth and Seating.....	845,209
Copper Bottoms, Braziers' Copper, Sheet and Rolled Brass, Silver, or Plated Ware.....	387,303
Raw Silk.....	11,437
Indigo.....	39,258
Wool Manufactured, exceeding 8 cts. per pound.....	1,171,644
Articles not enumerated, paying a duty of 5, 10, 12, 12½ per cent....	526,654lb. 171,918
15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40 and 50 per cent.	404,411
	50,540,400

*Merchandise paying Specific Duties.*

Flannels, Bookings, and Baizes, Carpeting, Floor Cloth, Furniture, Oil Cloth, Cotton Bagging, 3,206,819 square yards.....	991,740
Wines—Madeira, Red, other of France in bottles, Sicily, Sherry, Red of Spain and Austria, all others.....	6,543,219 galls. 3,441,697
Foreign Distilled Spirits 3,792,718 "	2,222,426
Molasses.....	23,094,877 " 4,364,234
Vinegar, Beer, Ale and Porter .....	337,504 " 255,802
Oils—Sperm Whale, Olive, Castor, Linseed, Rapeseed..	2,395,242 " 1,252,330
Manufactures of Wool, paying ad valorem duties. Cloths, Cassimeres, Blankets, Hosiery, &c.....	\$10,277,109
Woollen and Worsted Yarns, 363lbs.	368,958
	\$10,646,067

Manufactures of Cotton, paying ad valorem duty Dyed, Printed, White, Hosiery, Twist, Nankeens, &c.....	\$14,692,397
Dyed, Printed Silks, from India and other places.....	2,608,003
Dyed, Printed, of Flax, Hemp, Hats, Caps, and Bennets .....	3,603,069

### SILK.

The following communication on this subject, from Mr. Jacques, answering as a supplementary report, was received so late as to preclude its insertion in its proper place.

#### SILK BUSINESS.

[SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT BROUGHT IN BY MR. JACQUES.]

The tariff being a law made not only for revenue but for the encouragement of either agriculture or manufacture, it is proposed to show, as concisely as possible, the method for securing its benefit, so far as the silk business is concerned.

It is generally known that, for nearly two years, no farmers or planters have ventured to embark in the silk culture, because the experience of the past seasons has taught them that, in this country, there is no market to afford them the opportunity of selling such quantities of cocoons as they might raise, as the raw silk of this country, exported to Europe cannot at first equal that raised there, and as the difficulty of selling it would be very great, no one has dared to undertake here any reeling establishments, nor will any one venture to do so without being assured of having purchasers here among manufactures, who would alone afford them a profitable market; in consequence, this important branch of culture, instead of improving by time, has, on the contrary, retrograded and fallen into complete neglect.

My conviction is that manufactories undertaken in this country, can alone create a market and encourage the silk culture. If, then, the manufactories alone are to encourage the silk culture, they must themselves be encouraged. The only way to encourage and establish the silk manufactories in this country is to give them a chance to make a profit large enough to overcome the first difficulties they will unavoidably have to encounter, by the enactment of a law establishing a difference in duty as large as possible between the raw material, which they will not find abundant here for some time, and the manufactured goods with which they will have to compete, thus assuring them of the stability of a protective tariff for several years; and when the raw silk raised in this country shall be sufficient to supply a part of the material wanted by the manufacturers, then I am convinced it would be a proper time to give to agriculture a great encouragement, by putting on the raw silk imported here a heavy duty, equal almost to a prohibition of it. A tariff by specific articles would readily establish a difference in the various kinds of silk goods which will require to be encouraged.

My opinion is that the first manufactories to be encouraged here are those of *sewing silk* and other similar articles, which can be done easier and with more profitable use of the raw silk at first raised in this country; and the articles of velvet and serge are made easily, and well adapted for the customs and habits of the inhabitants of this country, and also for an immense consumption.

I am aware that laws to this effect were passed in 1832, and that the silk business did not reap any real advantage therefrom. This may discourage the enactment of similar laws; but every reflecting man may easily perceive that the business of manufacture is by no means analogous to speculation, by which great profits are sometimes realized in a short time. But the business of manufacture is of long duration, and it was subject, in the beginning, to many mistakes, and especially from inexperienced hands, as has been the case here, but it always affords a positive profit if patiently persevered in and rightly managed.

It seems to me to be the duty of legislators to enact such a law, as it will not only reflect honor upon them, but call forth the gratitude of future generations, which will feel the benefit of the introduction into this country of such an important branch of business.

Statistical table, showing the aggregate amount of Wool, Tobacco, Rice, Cotton and Sugar raised in the United States:

	Pounds of Wool.	Pounds of Tobacco gathered.	Pounds of Rice.	Pounds of Cotton gathered.	Pounds of Sugar made.	
<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>						
Maine.....	1,465,551	39	.....	.....	257,464	
New-Hampshire..	1,260,518	115	.....	.....	1,163,368	
Massachusetts...	941,906	64,955	.....	.....	579,327	
Rhode Island.....	183,830	317	.....	.....	50	
Connecticut.....	889,870	471,657	.....	.....	51,764	
Vermont.....	3,699,235	585	.....	.....	4,647,934	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>8,440,909</b>	<b>537,659</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>6,698,807</b>	<b>\$2,555,168 39</b>
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>						
New-York.....	9,845,295	744	.....	.....	10,048,169	
New-Jersey.....	397,207	1,922	.....	.....	56	
Pennsylvania.....	3,048,564	325,018	.....	.....	2,965,755	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>13,291,066</b>	<b>327,684</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>12,313,920</b>	<b>\$4,087,716 42</b>
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>						
Delaware.....	64,404	272	.....	334	.....	
Maryland.....	488,201	24,816,012	.....	5,673	36,266	
Virginia.....	2,538,374	75,347,106	2,956	3,494,483	1,541,833	
North Carolina....	625,044	16,772,359	2,820,388	51,926,190	17,163	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>3,716,023</b>	<b>116,935,749</b>	<b>2,823,344</b>	<b>55,426,680</b>	<b>1,595,262</b>	<b>\$16,006,989 71</b>
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>						
South Carolina....	299,170	51,519	60,590,861	61,710,274	30,000	
Georgia.....	371,303	162,894	12,384,732	163,392,396	329,744	
Alabama.....	220,353	273,302	149,019	117,138,823	10,143	
Mississippi.....	175,196	83,471	777,195	193,401,577	77	
Louisiana.....	49,283	119,824	3,604,534	152,555,368	119,947,720	
Tennessee.....	1,060,332	29,550,432	7,977	27,701,277	258,073	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>2,175,637</b>	<b>30,241,442</b>	<b>77,514,318</b>	<b>715,899,715</b>	<b>120,575,757</b>	<b>\$84,413,071 17</b>
<b>WESTERN STATES.</b>						
Kentucky.....	1,786,347	53,436,909	16,376	691,456	1,377,835	
Ohio.....	3,685,315	5,942,275	.....	.....	6,363,386	
Indiana.....	1,237,919	1,820,306	.....	180	3,727,795	
Illinois.....	650,007	564,326	460	200,947	399,813	
Missouri.....	562,265	9,067,913	50	121,122	274,853	
Arkansas.....	64,943	148,439	5,454	6,028,642	1,542	
Michigan.....	153,375	1,602	.....	.....	1,329,784	
Florida.....	7,285	75,274	481,420	12,110,533	275,317	
Wisconsin.....	6,777	115	.....	.....	135,288	
Iowa.....	23,039	8,076	.....	.....	41,450	
Dist. of Columbia.	707	55,550	.....	.....	.....	
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>8,178,479</b>	<b>71,120,785</b>	<b>503,760</b>	<b>19,152,880</b>	<b>13,927,063</b>	<b>\$10,500,307 13</b>

Statistical Table, showing the aggregate amount of Granite, Marble, and other Stone provided, Number of Men employed, and Capital Invested in the United States:—

<b>EASTERN STATES.</b>			
	Value produced.	No. of men employed.	Capital invested.
Maine,.....	\$107,506	305	\$160,360
N. Hampshire,....	16,038	43	5,714
Massachusetts,....	790,355	970	608,130
Rhode Island,.....	17,800	29	7,500
Connecticut,.....	313,469	692	382,275
Vermont,.....	33,855	104	18,270
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>\$1,279,525</b>	<b>2,143</b>	<b>\$1,132,249</b>
<b>NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>			

New Jersey,.....	35,721	118	10,600
Pennsylvania,....	238,831	540	172,272
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>\$1,816,032</b>	<b>4,307</b>	<b>\$1,185,427</b>
<b>SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.</b>			
Delaware,.....	16,800	46	5,000
Maryland,.....	22,750	61	17,200
Virginia,.....	84,489	233	49,290
North Carolina, ..	3,350	14	930
<b>Total,.....</b>	<b>\$127,189</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>\$72,420</b>
<b>SOUTHERN STATES.</b>			
South Carolina,...	\$3,000	4	500
Georgia,.....	51,990	199	36,300
Alabama,.....	51,990	22	10,000
Tennessee,.....	30,100	73	15,860



STATISTICS.....[Continued.				STATISTICS.....[Continued.			
Value.		Men.	Capital.	Value.		Men.	Capital.
WESTERN STATES.							
Kentucky,.....	19,592	100	6,212	Arkansas, .....	15,500	30	
Ohio,.....	195,831	296	27,496	Michigan, .....	2 700	4	3,000
Indiana, .....	35,021	105	6,750	Florida,.....	2,650	30	14,500
Illinois, .....	74,228	142	14,020	Wisconsin,.....	968	17	400
Missouri, .....	28,110	33	15,025	Iowa,.....	350		
				\$374,950		757	\$87,403

*Tariffs of Great Britain, Russia, France, Austria and Prussia.*

**GREAT BRITAIN.**

	1838.	1839.	1840.
Flour, (wheat,).....	\$3 27½ per barrel.	\$1 54 per barrel.	\$3 12 13-16ths per bbl.
Wheat,.....		2 56 per quarter.	5 20 per quarter.
Corn, .....	3 68 per quarter.	1 16 do.	
Rice, (clean,) .....	3 60 per cwt.	3 60 per cwt.	3 60 per cwt.
Cotton, .....	70 do.	70 do.	70 do.
Tobacco, (manufactured)	2 16 per pound.	2 16 per pound.	2 16 per pound.
do. (unmanufactured)	72 do.	72 do.	72 do.

The duty on flour is regulated by the weekly average price of wheat per quarter in England. For every barrel a duty equal in amount to that payable on 3½ gallons of wheat. A calculation was carefully entered into, which produced the above results.

For the mode of calculating the duty on wheat, I must refer you to the "sliding scale" of Great Britain.

The duty on corn is equal in amount to that payable on a quarter of barley, which was ascertained, and the result is as above stated.

On cotton and tobacco there is a specific duty, over and above which must be added to the amount of duty, when computed, five per cent., in force since May 15, 1840.

**RUSSIA.**

	Tariff of 1838.	Tariff of 1842
Flour,.....	\$3 37 per 6 bushels.	
Wheat, .....		
Corn, .....	18 84 3-8 per 36 lbs.	18 3-4 per 36 lbs.
Cotton, .....	7 50 p. 36 lbs. stemmed	\$9 00 do.
Tobacco, (manufactured).....	30 p. lb. all other sorts 75 p. lb. cigars. 75 p. lb. snuff in rolls. 90 p. lb. snuff, rappee and all other sorts.	1 50 per lb.
Tobacco, (unmanufactured,) .....	3 75 per 36 lbs.	4 50 per 36 lbs.
Rice, .....		45 do.

**FRANCE.**

	1838.	1839.	1840.
*Flour, (wheat,).....	\$4 74.20 per 220 lbs.	10.55 per 220 lbs.	10.83 per 220 lbs.
*Flour, (rye,) .....	.. ..	.. ..	6.60 do.
*Wheat, .....	.. ..	.. ..	4.63 per 22 gals.
*Corn, (Ind'ian,) .....	.. ..	.. ..	3.50 do.
Rice,.....	46.75 per 220 lbs.	46.75 per 220 lbs.	46.75 per 220 lbs.
Cotton, .....	4 11.40 do.	\$4 11.40 do.	\$4 11.40 do.
† Tobacco, .....	Prohibited on private account; for the Regie, free.	Prohibited on private account; for the Regie, free.	Prohibited on private account; for the Regie, free.

\* The items marked thus, do not pay a fixed duty. The tariff on grain and flour is regulated by the average value of the former in the home market. The different departments of the kingdom are divided into four classes; the third class is subdivided into three, and the fourth into two divisions; and the monthly average price of grain in each of these classes or subdivisions regulates the duty. To show the inequality of duty which results from this arrangement, by the monthly return for October, 1840, it appears that while the price of wheat is the second class warranted a duty of \$1.44 225-1000 per 220 pounds of flour, in the second division of the fourth class the duty imposed did not, under the rule, exceed 33 375-1000 cents per 220 pounds of flour.

† By paying a duty of \$1.87 for every 2 pounds 3 oz. 4 dr. ordinary tobacco, to an amount not exceeding, in the whole, 22 pounds in weight.

**AUSTRIA.**

Cotton, .....	80 per 123 1-2 lbs.
Tobacco, (leaf,)..	\$7 20 do.
Rice, .....	43.21 do.
Corn, .....	14.41 do.
Wheat, .....	18 do.
Flour, .....	19.21 do.

Austrian cwt. is 123 1-2 pounds avoirdupois.

**PRUSSIA.**

Cotton, .....	Free.
Tobacco, (unmanufactured,) .....	\$3 75 59 per cwt.
Tobacco, (manufactured,) .....	7 51.19 do.
Flour, .....	1 36.58 do.
Rice, .....	1 36.58 do.
Wheat, Seeds, Vegetables, Corn, Barley, Oats and other Grains,	{ 11.38 per scheffel, which is 1 552-1600 of a bushel.

The quintal or cwt. Prussian, is equal to 113 381-1000 pounds avoirdupois.

*A Comparative Statement of the most important articles bearing Specific Duties, as imposed by the Acts of 1816, 1824, 1828, and 1832, and by the Bill proposed by the Committee on Manufactures:—*

Names of Articles.	Duties by the several Acts of				Proposed Bill
	1816	1824	1828	1832	
Flannels, bookings, and baizes,.....sq yd	25 p c	25 p c	14	16	14
Carpeting, Brussels, &c. ....	25 p c	50	70	63	50
Carpeting, Venetian, &c. ....	25 p c	25	40	35	30
Carpeting, floor-cloth, patent, ....	30 p c	30 p c	50	43	35
Oil-cloth furniture, ....	15 p c	30 p c	25	12½	10
Cotton bagging, ....	20 p c	3½	5	3½	3
Vinegar, .....gallon	15 p c	8	8	8	5
Beer in casks, ....	10	15	15	15 }	30 pr. ct.
Beer in bottles, ....	15	20	20	20 }	
Oil, fish, &c. ....					20
Oil, olive, ....	25	25	25	25	20
Oil, castor, ....	15	40	40	40	37½
Oil, linseed, ....	15	25	25	25	20
Oil, rapeseed, ....	15	25	25	25	20
Sugar, brown, ....lb.	3	3	3	2½	2
Sugar, white-clayed, ....	4	4	4	3½	2½
Sugar, loaf, ....	12	12	12	12	6
Sugar, candy, ....	12	12	12	12	6
Sugar, lump and other refined, ....	10	10	10	10	6
Sugar, syrup, ....	15 p c	15 p c	15 p c	2½	2
Chocolate, ....	3	4	4	4	4
Cheese, ....	9	9	9	9	7
Tallow candles, ....	3	5	5	5	4
Lard, ....	15 p c	3	3	3	2
Beef and Pork, ....	15 p c	2	2	2	2
Bacon, ....	15 p c	3	3	3	3
Butter, ....	15 p c	5	5	5	5
Saltpetre, refined, ....	7½	3	3	3	2
Oil of Vitriol, ....	7½	3	3	3	2
Dry Ochre, ....	1	1	1	1	1
Ochre in Oil, ....	1½	1½	1½	1½	1½
Red and White Lead, ....	3	4	5	5	3
Whiting, ....	1	1	1	1	1
Litharge, ....	15 p c	15 p c	5	5	3
Sugar of Lead, ....	15 p c	15 p c	5	5	3
Lead, pig, &c. ....	1	2	3	3	2½
Lead Pipes, ....	20 p c	25 p c	5	5	3
Lead, old scrap, ....	15 p c	15 p c	15 p c	2	1½
Cordage, tarred, ....	3	4	4	4	4
Cordage, untarred, ....	4	5	5	5	5
Twine, Packthread, &c. ....	4	5	5	5	30 pr. ct.
Corks, ....	15 p c	12	12	12	9
Copper Rods and Bolts, ....	4	4	4	4	4
Copper Nails and Spikes, ....	4	4	4	4	4
Wire, cap or bonnet, ....	30 p c	30 p c	30 p c	12	20
Wire, iron and steel, not above No. 14			6	5	3½
Wire, iron and steel, above No. 14, ..			10	9	6
Iron Nails, ....	3	5	5	5	4
Iron Spikes, ....	2	4	4	4	3
Iron Cables and Chains and Parts, ...	20 p c	3	3	3	2
Iron Anchors, ....	150 per	2	2	2	2
	112 lbs				
Iron Anvils, ....	20 p c	2	2	2	2
Iron, blacksmiths' hammers, &c. ....	20 p c	2½	2½	2½	2
Iron Castings, Vessels, &c. ....	20 p c	1½	1½	1½	1½
Iron, all other, ....	20 p c	1	1	1	1
Iron, round and braziers' rods, 3-16 to					
to 8-16 diameter, ....	20 p c	3	2½	3	2½
Iron, nail or spike rods, ....	20 p c	3	3½	3	2½
Iron, sheet or hoop, ....	250 per	3	3½	3	2½
	112 lbs				
Iron, band, &c. ....	20 p c	3	3½	530	2
Iron in Pigs, ....cwt.	50	62½	50		40
Iron, old scrap, ....			62½	62½	42½

## STATEMENT—Continued.

Names of Articles.	Duties by the several Acts of				Proposed Bill.
	1816	1824	1828	1862	
Iron, bar, rolled, .....	150	150	185	150	125
Iron, bar, hammered, .....	45	90	112	90	85
Hemp, .....	150	175	300	300	200
Alum, .....	100	200	250	250	200
Copperas, .....	100	200	200	200	130
Wheat Flour, .....	15 p c	50	50	50	50
Salt, .....	20	20	20	10	8
Coal, .....	5	6	6	6	\$1 60 p. ton.
Wheat, .....	15 p c	25	25	25	25
Oats, .....	15 p c	10	10	10	10
Potatoes, .....	15 p c	10	10	10	10
Paper, folio and quarto post, .....	30 p c	20	20	20	15
Paper, foelscap, &c. ....	30 p c	17	17	17	12½
Paper, printing, copperplate, .....	30 p c	10	10	10	12½
Paper, sheathing, &c. ....	30 p c	3	3	3	3
Paper, all other, .....	30 p c	15	15	15	12½
Books, prior to 1775, .....	vol.	4	4	4	4 to 1800
Books, other than English, .....	"	4	4	4	4
Books, Greek and Latin, bound, .....	lb.	15	15	15	15
Books, Greek and Latin, unbound, .....	"	13	13	13	13
Books, all other, bound, .....	"	30	30	30	30
Books, all other, unbound, .....	"	26	26	26	26
Apothecaries' Vials under 6 oz. ....	20 p c	} various, from \$1		} 175	120
Apothecaries' Vials, 6 to 16 oz. ....	20 p c	} to \$1 75 p gross.		} 225	170
Demijohns, .....	No.	25	25	25	50
Glass Bottles, to 1 quart, .....	gross	144	200	200	160
Glass Bottles, over 1 quart, .....	"	20 p c	250	250	200
Playing Cards, .....	pack	30	30	30	10
Wind. Glass, not over 8 by 10, p 100, No.	250	300	300	300	240
Wind. Glass, over 8 by 10, and not					
over 10 by 12, .....	100 sq ft	275	350	350	237
Wind. Glass, over 10 by 12, .....	"	275	4 to 500	4 to 500	400
Fish, dried or smoked, .....	quintal	100	100	100	100
Fish, Salmon, .....	bbl.	200	200	200	200
Fish, Mackerel, .....	"	150	150	150	150
Fish, all other, .....	"	100	100	100	100
Shoes and Slippers, silk, .....	pair	30	30	30	25
Shoes, prunella, .....	"	25	25	25	20
Shoes, leather, &c. ....	"	25	25	25	20
Shoes, children's, .....	"	15	15	15	12
Boots and Bootees, .....	"	150	150	150	125
Wool, over 8 cents, .....	lb. {	Over 10	30 p c	50 p c	23 p c and
		Under 10	15 p c	& 4 cts	4 cents.
Woolen Yarn, .....	"	25	33½	50 p c	30 p c and
				& 4 cts	4 cents.
Merino Shawls, .....	p ct.	25	} 33½ and 45 p c		50
Cloths and Cassimeres, .....	"	25	} on various mini-		50
Other Woollen Manufactures, .....	"	25	} ma.		50
Clothes, ready made, .....	"	30	30	50	50
Glass, cut, .....	lb.	20 p c	30 p c	30 p c	20 p c
			& 3 cts	& 3 cts	& 2 cts
Glass, plain and other, .....	"				

## A STATEMENT

*Exhibiting the value of Merchandise imported annually, from 1834 to 1840, inclusive (after deducting the re-exportations,) which would have been subject to a duty of 20 per cent. and upwards, under the provisions of the act of the 11th of September, 1841; and the estimated amount of duty, at the several ad valorem rates of 25, 27½, 30, 32½, and 35 per cent.; and also the net amount of duty, after deducting drawback on domestic refined sugar and domestic distilled spirits from molasses exported, bounty on salted fish exported, allowances to vessels employed in the bank and cod fisheries, and expenses of collection during the same period.*

Years.	Value.	Duties estimated at				
		25 per cent.	27½ per cent.	30 per cent.	32½ per cent.	35 per cent.
1834.....	\$71,708,387	\$17,926,599 25	\$19,719,259 17	\$21,511,919 10	\$23,304,579 03	\$25,097,238 95
1835.....	99,315,999	24,828,999 75	27,311,899 73	29,794,799 70	32,277,699 67	34,760,599 65
1836.....	135,537,888	33,884,472 00	37,272,919 20	40,661,366 40	44,049,813 60	47,438,260 80
1837.....	91,555,198	22,888,799 50	25,177,679 45	27,466,559 40	29,755,439 35	32,044,319 30
1838.....	69,898,065	17,484,516 25	19,232,967 88	20,981,419 50	22,729,871 13	24,478,322 75
1839.....	124,641,629	31,160,406 25	34,276,446 87	37,392,487 50	40,508,528 13	43,624,568 75
1840.....	66,467,575	16,616,893 75	18,278,583 13	19,940,272 50	21,601,961 87	23,263,651 25
Total.....	659,162,747	164,790,686 75	181,269,755 43	197,749,824 10	214,227,892 78	230,706,961 45
Average of seven years.....	94,166,107	23,541,526 75	25,895,679 42	28,949,839 10	30,603,984 76	32,958,137 45
Add estimated duties on articles paying a duty of less than 20 per cent.....	795,882	120,000 00	128,000 00	120,000 00	120,000 00	120,900 00
Deduct estimated average of drawback on domestic refined sugar, domestic distilled spirits, bounties and allowances, and expenses of collection.....		23,661,526 75	26,015,679 42	28,369,832 10	30,723,984 76	33,078,137 45
Net amount of duties.....	average.....	1,843,479 63	1,843,479 63	1,843,479 63	1,843,479 63	1,843,479 63
	.....	21,818,047 12	24,172,199 79	26,526,352 47	28,880,505 13	31,234,657 82

*Countervailing Duties—imports of 1840.*

	England.	France.	Austria.	Hanse Towns.
Cloths and Cassimeres .....	\$4,490,830	\$89,767	..	\$46,162
Dyed or colored Cotton manufactures.....	3,075,623	589,591	..	104,605
Laces.....	291,128	119,743	..	55,955
Bleached and Unbleached Linen.....	3,399,316	254,780	..	178,970
Worsted Stuff Goods.....	1,328,526	905,667	..	132,604
Manufactures of Silk and Worsted.....	340,678	1,338,930	..	49,301
Spirits other than from Grain.....	22,082	899,893	..	156,108
Wines.....	..	1,025,510	641	..
	\$12,948,183	\$5,223,881	\$641	\$693,705

Hemp and Cordage, principally from Russia and Austria.....	\$102,938
Spirits from Grain.....	420,069
Total.....	\$19,389,417

*Aggregate amount of each description of persons within the several States and Territories of the United States :*

STATES.	Mining.	Agriculture.	Commerce.	Manufactures and Trades.	Navigation of the ocean.	Navigation of Canals, Lakes and Rivers.	Learned Professions and Engineers.	Number of Pensioners for military & other services.
Maine.....	36	101,630	2,921	21,879	10,091	539	1,889	1,409
New Hampshire.....	13	87,949	1,379	17,826	452	198	1,640	1,408
Massachusetts.....	499	37,837	8,063	85,166	27,153	372	3,804	2,462
Rhode Island.....	35	16,617	1,348	21,271	1,717	288	457	601
Connecticut.....	151	56,955	2,743	27,932	2,700	431	1,697	1,666
Vermont.....	77	73,150	1,303	13,174	41	146	1,563	1,320
New York.....	1,898	455,954	28,468	173,193	5,511	10,167	14,111	4,089
New Jersey.....	266	56,701	2,283	27,004	1,143	1,625	1,627	472
Pennsylvania.....	4,603	207,533	15,338	105,883	1,815	3,951	6,706	1,251
Delaware.....	5	16,015	467	4,060	401	235	199	4
Maryland.....	320	72,046	3,281	21,529	717	1,528	1,666	95
Virginia.....	1,995	318,771	6,361	54,147	502	2,952	3,866	993
North Carolina.....	589	217,095	1,734	14,322	327	379	1,086	609
South Carolina.....	51	198,363	1,958	10,325	381	348	1,481	318
Georgia.....	574	209,383	2,428	7,984	282	352	1,250	325
Alabama.....	96	177,439	2,212	7,195	256	758	1,514	192
Mississippi.....	14	139,724	1,303	4,151	33	100	1,506	63
Louisiana.....	..	79,289	8,549	7,565	1,322	662	1,018	12
Tennessee.....	103	227,739	2,217	17,815	55	302	2,042	895
Kentucky.....	331	197,738	3,448	23,217	44	968	2,487	886
Ohio.....	704	272,579	9,201	66,265	212	3,323	5,663	875
Indiana.....	233	148,806	3,076	20,590	89	627	2,257	380
Illinois.....	782	105,337	2,506	13,185	63	310	2,021	195
Missouri.....	742	92,408	2,522	11,100	39	1,885	1,469	122
Arkansas.....	41	26,355	215	1,173	3	39	301	24
Michigan.....	40	56,521	728	6,890	24	166	904	90
Florida.....	1	12,117	481	1,117	435	118	204	16
Wisconsin.....	1,534	7,047	479	1,814	14	209	259	9
Iowa.....	217	10,469	335	1,629	13	78	365	2
District of Columbia.....	..	384	240	2,278	126	80	203	15
Total.....	15,950	3,719,951	117,606	791,739	56,021	32,976	65,255	20,798

STATISTICAL TABLE showing the aggregate amount of Iron manufactured in the United States, arranged from the Census.

	Cast Iron.		Bar Iron.		Fuel.		Capital Invested.
	No. of Furnaces	Tons produced.	No. of Blooming Forges, Rolling Mills	Tons produced.	Tons of Coal consumed.	No. of men employed including mining operations	
Maine.....	16	6,122	1	....	285	48	185,950
New-Hampshire.....	15	1,320	2	125	2,104	121	98,200
Massachusetts.....	48	9,332	67	6,004	199,252	1,097	1,232,875
Rhode Island.....	5	4,126	..	....	227	29	22,250
Connecticut.....	28	6,495	44	3,623	16,933	895	577,300
Vermont.....	26	6,743	14	655	388,407	788	664,150
Total.....	138	34,138	128	10,407	607,208	2,978	2,780,725
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.							
New-York.....	186	29,088	120	53,693	123,677	3,456	2,103,418
New-Jersey.....	26	11,114	80	7,171	27,425	2,056	1,721,820
Pennsylvania.....	213	98,395	169	87,244	355,903	11,532	7,781,471
Total.....	425	138,597	369	148,108	507,005	17,034	11,606,709
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.							
Delaware.....	2	17	5	449	971	28	36,200
Maryland.....	12	8,876	17	7,900	24,422	1,782	795,650
Virginia.....	42	18,810	52	5,886	36,588	1,742	1,246,650
North Carolina.....	8	968	43	963	11,598	468	94,961
Total.....	64	28,671	117	15,198	73,579	4,020	2,173,461
COTTON GROWING STATES.							
South-Carolina.....	4	1,250	9	1,165	6,334	248	113,300
Georgia.....	14	494	29	....	630	41	24,000
Alabama.....	1	30	5	75	157	30	9,500
Mississippi.....	..	....	..	....	....	....	....
Louisiana.....	6	1,400	2	1,366	4,152	145	357,000
Tennessee.....	34	16,128	99	9,673	187,453	2,266	1,514,756
Total.....	59	19,302	144	12,279	198,726	2,730	2,018,536
WESTERN STATES.							
Kentucky.....	17	29,206	13	3,637	35,501	1,108	449,000
Ohio.....	72	35,236	19	7,466	104,312	2,268	1,161,900
Indiana.....	7	810	1	20	787	103	57,700
Illinois.....	4	158	..	....	240	74	40,300
Missouri.....	2	180	4	118	300	80	79,000
Arkansas.....	..	....	..	....	....	....	....
Michigan.....	15	601	..	....	451	99	60,800
Districts and Territories.....	1	3	..	....	1	3	4,000
Total.....	118	66,194	37	11,241	141,592	3,735	1,852,700

Statement showing the aggregate amount of Bituminous and Anthracite Coal, raised in the United States.

	Anthracite.		Bituminous.	
	Tons raised (20 bush each)	Cap. invested	Tons raised	Cap. invested
N. Hamp	..	29,350	..	..
Mass.....	..	..	..	\$45,000
R. Island 1000 27 6000	..	..	..	..
Conn.....	..	38,000	..	\$812,000
Total.. 1000 27 6000	..	67,350	..	6.....
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
N. York.....	..	..	..	\$4,354,420
Penn..... 350,876 2977 4,334,102 11,620,664 1898 300,416 2,035,115	..	..	..	..
Total.. 350,876 2977 4,334,102 11,620,664 1898 300,416 2,035,115	..	..	..	..
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
Maryland.....	..	222,000	23	4,470
Virginia.....	200 2	100,102,345	8861,301,855	A1,250
N. Caro. 50 4	..	75	1	..
Total.. 250 6	..	100,102,345	10191,306,325	..
SOUTHERN STATES.				
Alabama.....	..	23,630	..	..
Tenn.....	13,942	21	..	..
Total.....	13,942	21	..	..

WESTERN STATES.				
Ky.....	2125	27	14,150	588,187
Ohio.....	398	4	1,250,313,409	434 45,825
Indiana.....	..	..	242,040	47 8,300
Illinois ..	132	2	434,187	122 120,076
Missouri.....	..	..	240,302	69 9,488
Arkansas.....	..	..	5,500	7 605
Florida.....	..	..	..	..
Iowa.....	..	..	10,000	3 500
D. of Col.....	..	..	..	..
Total.. 2668 32	..	14,400 5,082,605	824 182,121	..

Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of BRICK AND STONE HOUSES BUILT, WOODEN HOUSES, number of men employed, value of constructing or building in the United States..

	BRICK AND STONE HOUSES BUILT.		WOODEN HOUSES.		Value of constructing or building.
	No. of houses built.	No. of men employed.	No. of houses built.	No. of men employed.	
Maine.....	34	1,674	2,482	..	\$733,067
N. Hampshire 90	..	434	935	..	470,715
Massachusetts 324	..	1,249	2,947	..	2,767,12
R. Island.... 6	..	292	887	..	379,0

Connecticut..	95	517	1,599	1,086,295
Vermont.....	72	468	912	344,996
Total.....	621	4,634	9,762	5,781,117
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
New-York..	1,233	5,198	16,768	7,265,844
N. Jersey..	205	868	2,086	1,092,052
Pennsylvan.	1,995	2,428	9,974	5,354,480
Total...	3,433	8,494	28,828	13,712,376
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
Delaware...	47	104	299	145,850
Maryland..	389	592	2,026	1,078,770
Virginia...	402	2,604	4,694	1,367,393
N. Carolina	38	1,822	1,707	410,264
Total...	876	5,122	8,726	3,002,227
COTTON GROWING STATES.				
S. Carolina	111	1,594	2,398	1,527,576
Georgia...	38	2,591	2,274	693,116
Alabama...	67	472	882	739,871
Mississippi	144	2,247	2,487	1,175,513
Louisiana..	248	619	1,484	2,736,944
Tennessee..	193	1,098	1,467	427,402
Total...	801	8,621	10,992	7,300,422

WESTERN STATES.				
Kentucky..	485	1,757	2,883	1,039,172
Ohio.....	970	2,764	6,060	3,776,823
Indiana...	346	4,270	5,519	1,241,312
Illinois...	334	4,133	5,737	2,065,255
Missouri...	413	2,202	1,966	1,441,573
Arkansas..	21	1,083	1,251	1,141,174
Michigan...	39	1,280	1,978	571,095
Florida...	9	306	689	327,913
Wisconsin	7	509	644	212,085
Iowa.....	14	483	324	135,987
Dist. Col.	60	33	142	168,919
Total...	2,698	18,820	27,193	\$12,121,209

*Statistical table, showing the aggregate amount of Granite, Marble, &c., Bricks and Lime manufactured in the United States:*

Granite, Marble, &c. Bricks & Lime.				
EASTERN STATES.				
	Value manuf'd.	No. men emp'd.	Value manuf'd.	No. of men employed.
Maine,.....	\$98,720	290	\$621,586	864
N. Hamp....	21,918	55	63,166	236
Mass.....	217,180	274	310,796	758
R. Island....	36,202	43	66,000	113
Conn.....	50,866	55	151,446	307
Vermont,....	62,515	116	402,218	224
	\$487,401	823	\$1,615,212	2,502
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
New York...	\$966,220	1,447	\$1,198,527	3,160
N. Jersey...	10,006	16	376,805	572
Penn'a.....	443,610	536	1,738,590	3,888
	\$1,419,830	1,999	\$3,313,922	7,620
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
Delaware...	\$12,000	10	\$56,536	116
Maryland...	152,750	247	409,456	1,042
Virginia,....	16,652	40	393,253	1,004
N. Carolina..	1,083	15	58,336	276
	\$182,485	312	\$917,781	2,438
SOUTHERN STATES.				
S. Carolina...	.....	..	\$193,408	1,281
Georgia,.....	\$10,640	10	148,665	555

Alabama,....	7,311	17	91,326	264
Mississippi,..	.....	..	273,870	698
Louisiana,...	.....	..	861,655	1,467
Tennessee,...	5,400	10	119,371	417
	\$23,351	37	\$1,688,295	4,677
WESTERN STATES.				
Kentucky,...	\$8,820	25	\$240,919	657
Ohio,.....	256,131	401	712,697	1,469
Indiana,....	6,720	28	206,751	1,007
Illinois,....	16,112	26	263,398	995
Missouri,...	32,050	73	185,234	671
Arkansas,...	50	..	319,696	66
Michigan,...	7,000	6	68,913	298
Florida,....	.....	..	37,600	136
Wisconsin,...	.....	..	6,527	43
Iowa,.....	.....	..	13,710	39
Dist of Col...	3,000	4	151,500	189
	\$329,883	563	\$2,206,945	5,570

*Statistical Table, showing the aggregate amount of Hats, Caps and Bonnets Manufactured, Persons Employed, Capital Invested in the United States:*

EASTERN STATES.				
	Value of Hats and Caps manuf'd.	Value of Bonnets.	Number of men employed.	Capital invested.
Maine.....	\$74,174	8,807	212	28,050
N. Hamp....	190,526	9,379	2,048	48,852
Mass.....	918,438	821,646	6,656	602,292
R. Island....	92,465	86,106	411	68,427
Conn.....	649,580	236,730	1,814	350,823
Vermont..	62,432	2,819	126	32,875
	\$1,987,615	1,165,487	11,267	1,120,319
NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
New York	2,914,117	160,248	3,880	1,676,559
N. Jersey	1,181,562	23,220	957	332,029
Pennsylv.	820,331	90,512	1,470	449,407
	\$4,916,010	263,980	6,307	2,457,995
SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.				
Delaware	15,300	456	35	9,075
Maryland	153,456	13,280	205	76,620
Virginia	155,778	14,700	340	85,640
N. Carolina	38,167	1,700	142	13,141
	\$362,701	30,050	722	184,476
S. Carolina	3,750	.....	20	315
Georgia	22,761	.....	55	7,950
Alabama	8,210	.....	31	4,045
Mississippi	5,140	.....	13	8,100
Tennessee	104,949	.....	177	49,215
	\$144,810	.....	296	69,625
WESTERN STATES.				
Kentucky	201,310	4,483	194	118,850
Ohio	728,513	3,023	963	369,637
Indiana	122,844	2,048	183	69,018
Illinois	28,395	1,570	68	12,918
Missouri	111,620	100	82	30,195
Arkansas	1,400	.....	3	400
Michigan	30,463	659	42	20,007
Florida	1,500	.....	..	750
Wisconsin	61	.....	1	10
Iowa	19,900	5,500	...	.....
Dist. of Col.	47,200	.....	48	22,100
	\$1,293,206	16,963	1,684	623,885

## SPEECH OF MR. HUNTINGTON.

Mr. HUNTINGTON addressed the Senate in substance as follows:

Mr. President: I am aware that the subject before the Senate has received a most elaborate, full, and able examination, and that it comes to me nearly, if not quite, exhausted. Representing, however, a section of the country which has a deep interest in a proper disposition of it, and which feels its importance, both in respect to its own business and the employment of its labor, and to the interests of the whole country, I deem it to be my duty to submit a few observations upon some of the topics which have been the basis of the remarks of other Senators.

It is not my purpose to detain the Senate by a minute examination of all the resolutions offered by the Senator from Kentucky, (Mr. CLAY,) in their practical operation and bearings. This, in my judgement, will be appropriate, if bills designed to carry out the principles of the resolutions shall be hereafter under the consideration of the Senate. The Committees to which the different subjects embraced by these resolutions may be referred, will probably incorporate, in the bills which they may report, provisions which will assume or deny the principles of some or all of the resolutions; and when they come before the Senate for their consideration and action, the opinions of Senators regarding all of them will be elicited. Viewing the subject in this light, I shall refrain from entering into any extended debate upon most of the propositions before us, and shall limit myself to a few remarks on the subjects of Free Trade, of the Tariff as connected with the Compromise Act, and of the protection of the labor and industry of our own citizens against the pauper labor of foreign countries.

Much has been said and written respecting the doctrines of FREE TRADE, and PROTECTION; and while the former has been galled by some, a glorious doctrine, and been pronounced, so far as it has had a trial in the United States, (being, it is said, a partial one only,) highly beneficial to the planter, the farmer, the manufacturer, the mechanic, the day laborer, and, indeed, to all classes of our fellow-citizens, the latter, it has been asserted, has proved injurious to many, if not most of the branches of industry, in addition to being partial, unjust, and oppressive. I propose to examine these points—that of Free Trade very cursorily, and that of protection somewhat more minutely—to see whether there be any foundation for these opinions.

As to the Free Trade doctrine, an argument in its favor has been attempted to be drawn from the tables of exports of domestic productions, from which it has been insisted that it appeared, while duties were falling, under the act of 1833, the exports were increasing; and the inference was drawn, that, by the operation of that act, the business of the manufacturer was becoming more profitable. Notwithstanding it was well known, as a fact, that the profits during this period were not increasing, the Senator from Maine (Mr. EVANS) looked into the tables and gave a complete and satisfactory answer to the argument; showing that under the head of *Exports of Domestic Manufactures*, was placed SPECIE to the

amount of several millions, and that, although the nominal value of these exports had increased, the profits had diminished. I shall not go over this ground, which has been so fully occupied by another. I wish, however, to look at this subject of Free Trade a little farther. And it will be well to ascertain, if practicable, what is meant by *Free Trade*. Does it mean entire, perfect reciprocity in trade? or does it mean a trade which is to be allowed by us freely to other nations, but which is denied by them to us? a trade which is all on one side—which practically opens our ports to the productions of other countries, but which shuts theirs to the productions of the United States? Perhaps the definition of it given by a member of the British Parliament will not be out of place. I will read it:

"It was idle for us, he contended, to endeavor to persuade other nations to join with us in adopting the principle of what was called Free Trade. Other nations knew, as well as the noble lord opposite and those who acted with him, that what we meant by Free Trade was nothing more nor less than, by means of the great advantages we enjoyed, to get a monopoly of all their markets for our manufactures, and to prevent them, one and all, from ever becoming manufacturing nations."

This is what Great Britain understands by Free Trade—that nation which talks the most loudly and eloquently in its favor, but never adopts it in practice; which almost every year raises committees in Parliament to take testimony, in the hope of showing its high value, causes it to be printed, sent to this country to be read by those who are to make Tariff laws, and lays aside the original minutes, which are seldom examined, and which were never intended to be the basis of any legislation. And now, having referred to the British doctrine of Free Trade, as explained by a British statesman, let us see how it is practically carried out. What productions of our country other than cotton, does she admit, except under excessive duties? Our grain, timber, provisions, rice, manufactured goods, and other productions of our labor and industry—are they admitted into her ports upon the principles of Free Trade? What is the duty on tobacco?—what on salted provisions? And ask the starving operative in England, what is the duty on grain, and what he thinks of the new *sliding scale* of Sir Robert Peel, which appears to have been received by the working-men of Great Britain with indignation and scorn, and which, under no probable circumstances, can benefit this country? And having virtually excluded us from her markets at home, and in her colonies, more remote from us than Canada, what does she propose to do as to those provinces belonging to her which lie contiguous to us? We will see. A bill has been introduced into Parliament by the ministry (and it will doubtless pass) to impose a heavy duty on wheat, flour, and all other provisions imported into Canada, thus completing her *reciprocity* system with us by adding to the prohibition of the market in England and her colonies abroad, that which we now enjoy in her Canadian provinces. Thus we shall be shut out from a trade by which we have disposed of large quantities of the productions of New-York and several of the Western States, which, in addition to the employment of our shipping on the Lakes, has yielded us several millions of dollars.

The result of this Free-Trade system is ex-



itself more and more, in its deleterious effects upon our commercial and navigating interests. Already have we suffered a great diminution in our carrying trade with the British colonies by the commercial arrangement which went into operation in 1830; and now Great Britain and other nations are rapidly becoming the carriers of our productions from our shores to foreign countries. The reciprocity treaties, founded on the doctrine of Free Trade, which we have made with some of the Powers of Europe, are now improved by them to their gain and our disadvantage. I call the attention of the Senate to the facts stated in the following letter from a mercantile house in Savannah, written a short time ago and recently published:

"DEAR SIR: Believing that any information relating to the commerce of our country will be acceptable to you, the undersigned, a mercantile firm of Savannah, interested in vessels that are employed in the freighting business, respectfully beg leave to ask your attention to the enclosed price current, containing a list of vessels at the port of Savannah on the 25th ultimo, by reference to which you will observe that the aggregate of tonnage there registered and enrolled was, at that time, 18,389 tons—

Of which were—	Tons.
English.....	14,928
American.....	3,196
French.....	265
	18,389

To wit:

14 English ships.....	9,750
2 American ships.....	749
12 English barques.....	4,928
1 American barque.....	269
1 French barque.....	265
1 English brig.....	250
9 American brigs, employed principally in coastwise freighting.....	2,178
	18,389

"The Amount of English tonnage at other Southern ports is also unusually large, and has been for some time constantly increasing. It is the opinion of many judicious persons acquainted with the subject, that nearly, if not quite, one-half of the cotton crop of the United States will be exported in British and other foreign vessels."

The effects of our present commercial arrangement with Great Britain are well described in the following extracts from the report of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, made in February, 1841, and printed by order of the Senate: (See Senate document 234, 26th Congress, 2d session.)

The arrangement allows the imposition, without limitation, of duties on our produce imported into the British colonies from the United States, and that they may vary in different colonies; that, when imported into any colony, such goods may be naturalized, or considered as productions of that colony, and transported to any other free of duty; that goods may be transported from one colony or province to another, only by British vessels; that American vessels may bring to the colonies or provinces nothing but the products of the United States.

To avail herself of the advantages which such an arrangement offered, England immediately imposed heavy, and, in some instances, prohibitory duties on our products when imported into the West Indies from the United States, and admitted the same articles free of duty when imported circuitously through the provinces.

Such are the benefits to British navigation from the arrangement, that, as your committee are informed, Americans have become owners of British vessels to a very considerable extent, in order to avail themselves of them.

Articles of our produce, to a very large amount, are daily ordered to be shipped to the British provinces; they are sent in British vessels, nominally landed and neutralized, and sent directly to the West Indian colonies; the vicinity of a number of ports in the provinces where this can be effected, (within two days' sail from Boston,) renders this almost equivalent to a direct voyage from our ports to the West Indies; and it is one in which American vessels cannot participate. As may readily be supposed, every facility is given in such ports of neutralization.

There is another mode in which the arrangement favors British shipping, deserving of particular attention. British vessels proceed to our Southern ports; if freights to Europe be obtained, they take them; if not, they take a cargo of yellow pine lumber, return to the provinces, naturalize the cargo, and carry it to England. The duty on this article, thus carried, is so much less than on its direct importation from the United States as entirely to preclude its being carried in American vessels. This is one to a considerable extent; and your committee suggest that, if such a discrimination of duty, on an article notoriously not produced in the British provinces, be consistent with the existing arrangement, they can see no reason why a similar duty may not be applied to our other staples, so as to throw the whole carrying trade between the United States and Great Britain into the hands of our commercial competitors.

There is another mode in which the arrangement favors British shipping in the creation of what has been called the triangular voyage. Formerly, British vessels engaged in the colonial trade went to the colonies in ballast, or but partially laden; they often remained there a long time for the preparation of their cargoes, with which they returned to England. Now, they take full freights to the United States; thence, full or partial freights to the West Indies; and thence, full freights to England. Or, they proceed with freights from England to the West Indies; whence, in a few days, they arrive at our Southern ports, where they obtain full freights for Europe. British vessels thus employed have a decided advantage over us, even in the direct freights to and from our own ports.

In 1824, 1825, and 1826, the American tonnage which entered our ports, direct from the British West Indies, was 292,700 tons; in 1837, 1838, and 1839, it had diminished to 195,800 tons.

If such be the state of our direct trade, we have not much to console us in the comparative increase of British tonnage and our own, in the whole of the colonial and provincial trade. The British tonnage cleared from our ports for the colonies and provinces in 1824, 1825, and 1826, was 51,800 tons; the American tonnage was 477,100 tons. In 1837, 1838, and 1839, the clearance of British tonnage, as above, was 1,235,500 tons, and of American but 1,126,000 tons; the increase of British tonnage in our own ports, during this whole period, being about ten times greater than that of our own.

Table of American and British tonnage cleared from the several ports of the United States, for Foreign ports, from 1824 to 1839 inclusive.

Year.	American Tonnage.	Foreign Tonnage.
1824.....	919,300	69,300
1825.....	960,000	61,900
1826.....	953,000	65,700
1827.....	980,500	94,800
1828.....	897,400	105,600
1829.....	944,800	87,800
1830.....	971,800	89,800
1831.....	972,500	211,300
1832.....	974,900	284,900
1833.....	1,142,200	377,200
1834.....	1,134,000	458,100
1835.....	1,400,500	523,400

1836.....	1,315,500	538,900
1837.....	1,266,600	536,490
1838.....	1,408,800	486,900
1839.....	1,477,900	491,500

A foreign vessel has lately arrived in the United States, with a Cargo from Canton; and letters from Manila and other places call the attention of our American merchants to the fact; that foreigners are fast engrossing the carrying trade from those places to the United States. Under the treaty of reciprocity, a vessel from Bremen takes in a cargo in Europe, carries it to Brazil, receives a cargo of coffee, brings it to Baltimore, and returns from there with a cargo of tobacco to Europe. Of the large amount of coffee imported into the United States from Brazil, I am informed, by the most respectable authority, that more than one-fourth of it is brought in foreign vessels. The British steamers are beginning to enjoy the profitable business of carrying passengers from port to port in the United States where they touch, and very soon, unless we adopt suitable measures to prevent it, our navigating and commercial interests will become still more seriously injured. This doctrine of Free Trade, recommended to us, and practically repudiated by almost every other nation, will end—

1. In depriving us of the benefit of our own home market, and conferring it on foreigners.
2. In shutting out our productions from their markets, and thus depriving us of any profitable market, at home, or abroad.
3. In closing the colonial ports to the products of our industry.
4. In usurping our carrying trade.
5. In monopolizing a portion of our coasting trade, so far as it respects the carrying of passengers.
6. In driving from business our regular merchants and importers, and giving it up to the citizens of other countries. I have seen it stated, that four-fifths of the importations of foreign goods in the city of New-York, have fallen into the hands of French and British agents.

Other European nations besides Great Britain understand her doctrine of Free Trade, and defined by her legislators—free for herself—prohibitory to others.

What is the policy of Russia?

The answer is furnished in the following extract from a Government circular in 1827, on the subject of a new Tariff:

To produce happy effects, the principles of commercial freedom must be generally adopted. *The State which adopts, while others reject them, must condemn its own industry and commerce to pay a ruinous tribute to those of other nations.*

From a circulation exempt from restraint, and the facility afforded by reciprocal exchanges, almost all Governments at first resolved to seek the means of repairing the evil, which England had been doomed to suffer; but experience and more correct calculations, because they were made from certain data, and upon results already known, of the peace that had just taken place, forced them to adhere to the prohibitory system.

England preserved hers. Austria remained faithful to the rule she had laid down, to guard herself against the rivalry of foreign industry. France, with the same views, adopted the most rigorous measures of precaution; and Prussia published a new Tariff in October last, which proves that she

found it impossible not to follow the example of the rest of Europe.

*In proportion as the prohibitory system is extended and rendered perfect in other countries, that State which pursues the contrary system makes from day to day sacrifices more extensive and more considerable.*

It is with the most lively feelings of regret, we acknowledge that it is our own proper experience which enables us to trace this picture. The evils which it details have been realized in Russia and Poland since the conclusion of the act of 1818. Agriculture without a market, industry without protection, languish and decline. Specie is exported, and the most solid commercial houses are shaken. The public prosperity would soon feel the wound inflicted on private fortune, if new regulations did not promptly change the actual state of affairs.

Events have proved that our agriculture and our commerce, as well as our manufactures, are not only paralyzed, but brought to the brink of ruin.

I now will call the attention of the Senate to the practical commentary on the British doctrine of Free Trade, by France. It will be found in the volume containing the result of the proceedings of the three councils of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, digested and issued from the department of commerce in Paris. The publication of this volume, and the decisions of the councils contained in it, are stated in a very recent letter of the European correspondent of the National Intelligencer, to the Editors, (an extract from which I shall presently read,) whose interesting letters, it has been truly said, "shed a flood of light upon the institutions and affairs of Europe." The volume referred to, he says, "teaches what the public economy or customs' system is likely to be in France for a long time to come." In a letter dated at Paris, January 28, 1842, he says:

The grand Councils General—these of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, composed of nearly two hundred of the most influential proprietors and political economists of the country—have finished their convocation; and we learn officially that they decided, by a great majority, against any reduction of the French Tariff—against all treaties of commerce in which any thing was to be conceded—in favor of the protective system, carried to the highest practical degree, for every branch of domestic industry. The paper *La Presse* says of the vote against commercial treaties: "This vote will astonish many persons. That the Councils of Agriculture and Manufactures, which always express a dread of foreign competition, should be opposed to the idea of treaties of commerce with foreign Powers, we can easily understand; but it astonishes us to see a Council of Commerce—a Council, the majority of which is composed of the representatives of an industry which lives only on the exchanges between France and the different countries of the world—pronouncing itself against treaties which can alone enlarge the bases of the commercial operations." There is no real ground for astonishment for those who see that the Chambers and the ministers declare almost unanimously for the protective doctrine and practice, which, in fact, flourish increasingly throughout continental Europe.

Prussia, also, has furnished her commentary on the doctrine of Free Trade, by her protective Tariff, the results of which may be seen in the following article recently published:

Prussia seems to be outrunning her continental neighbors in manufactures, especially in those of wool. In the Prussian Union the amount of exports of woollen goods was, in 1831, 3,316,770 lbs.; in 1841 they had increased to 13,246,777 lbs.; an increase of nearly 400

per cent. In Prussia proper, the consumption of wool of their own growth amounts to 24,000,000 lbs. per annum, which is considerably more than the British annual import of wool from the continent of Europe. The number of looms at work in Prussia in 1835 was 23,139, in 1834 31,759, and in 1837 39,798. The average export of cotton goods, from 1829 to 1831, was 7,000,000 annually. In 1831 the number of looms employed in the fabrication of silk goods was 8,956, in 1834 12,044, and in 1837 14,111. In 1834 the export of silk goods was 559,079 lbs., in 1835 762,004 lbs., and in 1836 847,927 lbs. The increase in all these manufactures, from 1836 to 1840, is said to be still more striking.

I might pursue this subject of Free Trade to a much greater length, and show by other facts, how entirely the doctrine is repudiated, in practice, by the great nations of Europe. But this would extend my remarks much beyond what I have designed, and interfere with the principal object I have in view, which is to consider the subject of protection, which has been condemned, in unmeasured terms, as unjust and inexpedient.

The Senator from South Carolina (Mr. CALHOUN) said that the movements in that State, previous to the passage of the compromise act, were intended for this, among other purposes, viz: to put an end to the protective system—that the passage of that act was considered as the death blow given to the system, and that now it was to be attempted to be revived again, by disregarding and violating the provisions of this act, which (he said) had already been violated at the extra session.

I differ entirely, Mr. President, from the Senator, in his views as to the abandonment of the protective system, by the advocates of that system, in their action on the compromise bill—some of whom voted for, some against its passage. So far from abandoning it, this doctrine of protection was insisted on and urged with a power and strength of argument which was unanswerable. It is the doctrine which is now maintained by almost every portion of the country, and without which, we shall become "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to other nations. And it is because this doctrine of protection is again assailed and contrasted with that of Free Trade, that I intend to ask the attention of the Senate to a few remarks in its defence. I shall not trouble them with many statistics, nor tables of figures, nor abstractions—but to some general views of the system of protection—to the right and duty of Congress to afford it, and the reasons why that duty should be performed, and to the manner in which it would be accomplished. My arguments shall be drawn from considerations applicable to the whole country, and every portion of it; they shall be stated under no excitement of feeling, nor in any sectional spirit, but with an American spirit, and an American feeling, and for the purpose of enforcing a policy required by what is due to the industry (of every description) of the whole Union. It is in this spirit, and for these purposes, that I now enter upon this subject.

I. I HOLD IT TO BE THE RIGHT, AS WELL AS THE PARAMOUNT DUTY OF CONGRESS, TO UPHOLD AND SUPPORT THE LABOR OF OUR OWN PEOPLE, AND TO PROTECT THE INDUSTRY AND PRODUCTIONS OF OUR OWN COUNTRY AGAINST FOREIGN COMPETITION. This right was directly asserted by those patriots and statesmen who composed the first Congress held under the Constitution; and it has been maintained by a great majority of the

people of the United States. Upon the faith of laws enacted to give it effect, millions upon millions of property have been invested, and millions of our fellow-citizens, whose labor and industry constitute their capital, have depended, and continue to depend, for their comfortable subsistence, and for the support and education of their children. The power to give this protection is contained in the great character which alone gives us authority to act on any subject; and "to lay duties and imposts" and "to regulate commerce," are among these prescribed powers, and are designed to enable Congress "to promote the general welfare," and uphold the interests of the whole country, so far as they may be affected by the imposition of duties, or the regulations of commerce.

To sustain and increase national wealth and prosperity, is one of the principal objects for which governments are instituted; and *that* nation which suffers its commerce, its agriculture, its manufactures, its mechanic arts, its labor in any shape, to be destroyed or materially impaired, when it has the means of preserving them, does not deserve the name of a government. If these great pursuits are threatened by the adverse policy of foreign nations, or the opposing influence of foreign pauper labor, the power "to regulate commerce" is to be exerted to prevent such unpropitious results; and it was for *this*, among other reasons, that it was conferred on Congress. Wealth has its only real foundation in labor. The productive industry alone of a country creates property, and ensures lasting prosperity; and it would be strange indeed, if a Constitution framed for *this* among other purposes, viz: "to promote the general welfare," contained no provision which would be adequate to sustain the labor of the people which established it, which is an essential element in the "general welfare" of which that Constitution speaks. But such a provision is found in it, and it has been put into practical operation ever since the adoption of the Constitution. The power asserted, is the power of self-preservation—the power of upholding national independence—the power of increasing national wealth and promoting national prosperity—the power of maintaining the great and essential interests of the country. Such is the nature of the power, and such is the origin and foundation of the RIGHT of Congress to sustain and promote the labor of its own citizens in all the branches and divisions of their industry.

The DUTY of affording this protection is not less obvious than the right to afford it. There are many considerations connected with this part of the subject, all of which have an important bearing upon it; but I shall confine myself to the enumeration of a few of the most prominent of them.

First. This protection is demanded, because our labor is our chief capital, and the only reliable foundation of our national prosperity. Take away the incentive to industry, by withdrawing from it its just reward, and it ceases to be exerted to any considerable extent—only sufficient to supply the immediate and pressing wants of animal nature. With the relaxation of industry, there ceases to be an accumulation of property, and all the evils flowing from an impoverished population will follow. To prevent such results is a paramount duty of every free Government.

Second. By affording this protection all classes

of our citizens are benefited. The price of labor, it is well known, materially governs the price of the products of agriculture; and in proportion to the reward which labor receives, is the ability of the laborer, of one class, to purchase the products of the laborer of another class, increased or diminished. This is well illustrated in the case of manufacturing and agricultural labor. If manufactures are depressed, the consumption of agricultural products is lessened, because the ability to purchase is lessened. If they are in a flourishing condition, these products command a higher price, and a more ready market. The one is dependant upon the other; and this mutual dependence requires mutual aid and protection, which, if suitably afforded, operates most beneficially upon all classes by increasing both the amount and value of the labor of all. Indeed, the capitalist is dependant upon this very protection to labor, to enable him to prosecute his business with success, or to receive a just compensation for the use of his capital. Reduced rents, suspension of business, and unemployed capital, are sure to follow in the train of unprotected labor and reduced wages.

Third. This protection will enable the consumers of articles, and especially those whose principal value consists in labor and skill, to obtain them at lower prices than if the monopoly of the American market were given to the foreigner, as it would be, if our labor were left to compete with the pauper labor and overgrown capital of other countries. A great variety of facts might be stated illustrative of this position. A few will, however, suffice; and I use the language of others in stating them: "Previous to eighteen hundred and twelve, a large amount of cotton goods was imported to this country from the East Indies. At the conclusion of the war, when a revision of duties took place, the cotton planters urged upon Congress that a sufficient duty should be retained upon cotton manufactures, east of the Cape of Good Hope, to favor the growers of American cotton. This was done, and the effect was, in some degree, to stimulate our own manufactures of the coarser description of cotton, although the great benefit of the measure was felt by Great Britain. But it was followed by so great a fall in price, that we have become exporters to the East Indies, instead of importers of this important article." This is but a single instance of the effect produced in lowering the price of the articles to the consumer, by the protection of our domestic industry. What would have been the price of manufactured cotton goods, to the citizens of the United States, had they remained dependent upon foreigners for a supply? And the amount which has been saved to them, by the substitution of similar goods of our own manufacture, is great—almost beyond computation.

The same remarks may be applied to the article of floor oil-cloths.

"In 1828, there were but five manufactories in the United States. Large quantities, perhaps three-fourths of the cloths used by our citizens, were then imported. The import is now less than 19,000 square yards, while nineteen manufactories here produced 458,000 square yards per year, competing in quality, finish, and brilliancy of colors, with the best European cloths: The average American price, at the present time, shows a reduction on former prices of nearly 30 per cent."

"The increased production and competition

among ourselves enable all classes, who need this article, to purchase it, while formerly the sales of it were confined to the wealthy."

"In 1830, the best quality of American refined sugar ranged from 15 to 17 cents per pound."

"In 1842, the second quality of American refined sugar, superior in quality, grain, and color, to the first quality of 1830—the color of that sugar being inferior to the common grade of white lump Havana, and of this, being very white and pure—may be quoted as ranging in price, during 1839, 1840, and 1841, at 13 to 16 cents."

"The first quality of American refined sugar, than which no finer article can be manufactured elsewhere, it being not only a spotless white, but perfectly chrystalized, ranged, during 1839, 1840, and 1841, at from 14½ to 16 cents."

"Cut nails, in 1822, were sold at 8 & 9½ cents per lb. The range of price for American cut nails, during 1839, 1840, and 1841, has been from 5½ to 7½ cents per lb."

"The American cut nail being superior in quality and workmanship to the foreign nail."

"Wrought spikes for ship and boat builders, in 1822, sold at 10 & 12 cents per lb."

"The range of price of American spikes, for 1839, 1840, and 1841, has been from 6 to 9 cents per lb."

"The American wrought spike is far superior to the English spike."

"The different grades of iron have undergone the same change; and, taking the whole range of iron, that in 1832 was quoted from \$110 to \$200 per ton; the price now ranges from \$85 to \$145 per ton; while it is conceded that the best quality of American iron, cast or wrought, is superior to the best qualities of foreign iron of all grades, excepting only perhaps Russia sable."

"The price of American hemlock sole-leather, in 1822, was about 25 to 30 cents per lb."

"The price of inspected, good, in 1840 and 1841, was about 18 3-5 cents per lb."

"The price of American waxed calf skin, in 1842, was about \$1 to \$1 15 per lb."

"The range of prices for the same article, in 1839, 1840, and 1841, was about 80 & 90 cents per lb."

"And the average price of domestic skins was 12 per cent. less, before the graded reduction of duties commenced, than they have averaged since, while the foreign skin is now imported, of an inferior quality to those then imported, and sold at prices equally as high as then."

The same causes have reduced the prices of a great variety of other articles of prime necessity and general use. I will not, however, enlarge upon this topic. Nothing has been more clearly demonstrated by experience than the fact that protection has lessened the price of commodities, particularly these valuable, principally, on account of the labor and skill bestowed in their production, to all who consume them. Surely, then, the duty is obvious to give that protection, which, while it promotes industry, and thus enables the laborer to receive an adequate remuneration for his work, at the same time gives to the consumer an article equally good, and oftentimes, indeed generally, much better than the imported one at a reduced price.

Fourth. This protection places us beyond the reach of dependence upon foreign nations for all

articles of necessity. It needs no argument to prove that such a dependence is both unsafe and impoverishing. It is impossible for any nation to prosper, which looks to other nations for a supply of the manufactured articles which she uses. The situation of Turkey, at the present time, has been referred to by a late writer, as affording a striking illustration of the position I have just stated. She is a Free Trade nation; and the consequence of the imports of British goods has been to stop her looms, and cause a constant drain of coin to pay the debt thus contracted, which has gone to fill the coffers of British capitalists. Mr. McCulloch, a great advocate of Free Trade, says that, by reason "of this extraordinary importation of British goods; of 600 looms for muslins busily employed in Scrutari, in 1812, only 40 remained in 1831; and of 2,000 weaving establishments in Tournove, at the former epoch, there were only 200 at the latter!" The millions thus paid annually by Turkey, for foreign labor, has had the precise effect which might have been expected. "It has destroyed her currency and impoverished her people." Let other nations beware of following her example, by adopting a similar course of policy, lest they also partake of its fruits.

Fifth. If, for want of proper protection, our industry is paralyzed, the foreign balances against us will be greatly increased, which it will require the whole specie of the country to pay. If we do not sustain our own agricultural, manufacturing, mechanical and commercial industry, what money and credit we have, must pass over to foreigners in return for the productions of their labor, and the end will be the utter prostration of all enterprise and all industry at home. Eleven millions and a half of dollars were shipped from New-York alone during the fifteen months next preceding January, 1842, to pay our foreign liabilities, among which were these for imported goods to a vast amount; two-thirds of which were on foreign account. On the contrary, if suitable duties are imposed on imported articles, especially such as are produced here, there will be a diminution of the exportation of the precious metals, capital will find employment, and labor receive adequate support.

Sixth. This leads me to remark, that this protection will restore, or most materially and essentially aid in restoring, the currency to a sound state. While it will renew public confidence, encourage industry, enable labor to perform its appropriate functions with a certainty of a fair reward, reduce the imports below the exports, and prevent an accumulation of debt, it will, by the operation of these causes, keep the specie at home, and restore a metallic currency, or what is equivalent to it, by enabling the banks to resume without danger of ruin, or great distress to those who owe them. If, however, foreigners can find a market in the United States, they will use it, and draw off our coin, and prevent a return of specie payments.

The sagacity of the British manufacturer is too obvious to be overlooked, and ought not to be disregarded. Having the monopoly of the home market, he does not intend to overstock it, and thus lessen prices by forcing the overproduction remaining after all the foreign orders are executed, upon that market. But he sends it here. He sends it *away* because he will not interfere with the market at home, which will reduce prices, and

because he does not wish to keep it on hand, liable to loss or injury, and locking up so much of his capital; and he sends it *here*, because he can do it expeditiously, and receive returns rapidly. He acts on the principle, that "a nimble sixpence is better than a slow shilling." He makes the shipment here, orders a sale at auction, and receives returns of sales in a few days, with a bill on London for the nett proceeds. This he prefers to sending elsewhere, say to Brazil, which would require several months to realize the proceeds, or more remote places, which would require a still longer period; and this, although the profits might be greater. And this answers a question sometimes asked rather triumphantly—will the British manufacturer send goods to be sold here at a loss? Certainly he will, if necessary to prevent an accumulation in the market at home, which would reduce the price there; and, consequently, it is for his interest to send here the balance of his articles not wanted at home, nor ordered from abroad, although he may not obtain a profit. Indeed it would be better for him to throw them into the sea, than to bring down the home prices, by overstocking that market. Hence they are sent and sold here, to the advantage of the British manufacturer, and to the great injury of our own citizens.

Seventh. This protection will prevent all the deleterious consequences which would result from ringing our labor down to the price of foreign labor. These consequences would be (as has been said by another) to compel our working-men to leave the manufactory and workshop, for they could not and would not compete with the European operatives. The commerce and shipping dependent upon the manufacturers would necessarily cease. The oil which they now use, estimated at one-third in value of the product of our whale fisheries, would not be needed. The flour which the laborer now buys he would not purchase, for he would raise it; and the cotton for the home market would not be required; and when supplanted in the Liverpool market, by the production in India, the planter will have no market for this great and important staple of our country. I do not intend to enter upon any *speculation* on the subject of India cotton. I do not *know* that it will be brought to perfection, and be a substitute for the cotton of the South. But I *apprehend* it will, and that very shortly. The grounds of this opinion, and the facts in support of it, I will very briefly state. Although this culture was commenced many years ago, it is supposed to have received a strong impulse from what was believed in England to be a combination, a few years ago, of American banks, and bankers, and capitalists, to control the price of American cotton in the Liverpool market; and their sharp-sighted manufacturers and men of business said, if the price can be put at eight pence the first year, it can be raised to ten pence the next. They believed that they ought not to depend upon any other country than one subject or tributary to Great Britain for this article. Cotton is as necessary, in one sense, to support the population of England as the bread which they eat, and they do not mean to rely upon any nation for either. If their manufacturing labor, devoted to the production of fabrics of cotton, cannot be employed, the consequences are readily perceived. Hence it is their policy to be independent

of other nations for the raw material; and this has been one of the principal reasons which has led, of late years, to the employment of British capital in the production of cotton in India. They are aware, too, that, in the course of human events, the friendly relations between us and them may be interrupted, and their supply of cotton may be cut off. In addition to this, they believe that another and a profitable market will be opened to their productions, and they intend to do as they always have done, sustain and advance the interests of their foreign possessions. The British Government has endeavored to carry out the principle to which it has uniformly adhered, of making the nation entirely independent of foreign nations, for all articles which it can raise or manufacture. And it is in pursuance of this principle that the East India company has taken the culture of India cotton under its protection, and, as I believe, intends to produce the results it so much desires. No sacrifice on our part: no depreciation of price submitted to by us, no temporary losses by them, will divert the British from their purpose. They mean to be, and if so, there is great reason to believe they will be, independent of us as to this article. They will, as soon as a supply can be obtained from India, impose a discriminating duty; and, I apprehend, the time is not far distant, when the cotton of the United States will be virtually shut out of the English market. The adaptation of the soil of India to its culture—the cheapness of labor—the slight difference in insurance, and the equality in freight—the progressive improvement in the quality—the increase in the growth and exportation—the use of all necessary capital to effect the object—the steady, continued perseverance of England, it may be expected, will accomplish what that country so anxiously desires—the substitution of the cotton of her own dominions for that of the United States.

The import of India cotton into Great Britain for the year 1839, was.....		132,900 bales.
For the year 1840.....	216,651	"
For the year 1841.....	273,637	"
The import into Great Britain for the month of January, 1840, was.....		13,410 "
For the month of January, 1841.....	17,300	"
Do. do. 1842.....	42,380	"

I have learnt from a highly respectable source, that letters from abroad estimate the whole crop of India cotton, for exportation, for the year 1841, at not less than 400,000 bales, and for the year 1842, 600,000 bales. If these estimates should prove to be correct, the time is not far distant when a discriminating duty will be laid, to favor the production and import of India cotton.

May we not learn a useful lesson from the effect of British competition in the production of indigo? Formerly, this was a great and valuable article of export from the Southern States, but it was supplanted by the measures taken by Great Britain to produce it in India, and which entirely succeeded. I hold in my hand an article drawn up with care, by a very intelligent gentleman, and published, consisting principally of authentic reports and tables, to an extract from which, I call the attention of the Senate, and in which he exhibits, in a very strong light, the parallel between the attempt of the East India Company, to promote the culture of indigo

and their present attempt in relation to the culture of cotton, and from which they will see the object of Great Britain in the culture of this article—the means employed, and the final results. The American indigo has been entirely supplanted; and, as early as 1807, 1808, the imports of the articles into America were nearly equal to her largest export in any previous year. In a report of the proceedings of the East India Company, in relation to the culture of indigo, it is said—

About the year 1747, most of the planters in Jamaica, and other British possessions in the West Indies, relinquished the cultivation of indigo, and the Spanish and French colonies, (where the best kinds had been made,) continuing to export, the British consumption of the finer sorts was chiefly obtained from foreign sources in Europe.

*When the British provinces of North America had broken off their connexion with the parent State, and the company's territories in India had become greatly extended, another change took place. The Court of Directors made extraordinary efforts to increase the production of indigo and improve its quality, foreseeing that, if they succeed, the result would at once be highly advantageous to India and beneficial to this country, by ensuring a regular supply of an article essentially necessary to some of the most important British manufactures.* Influenced by these views, the Court, in 1779, entered into a contract with a gentleman in Bengal, who was engaged in the cultivation, for a supply at prices which were intended to encourage the growth. Other engagements of the same kind were successively made, until the year 1788. At that period, the Court, taking review of what had been done, found that very heavy losses had occurred under the existing system, but that the indigo produced had arrived at a considerable degree of perfection. The result of the inquiry was, a determination that the company should cease to purchase for at least three years, and that the trade should be laid open to their servants, and other persons under their protection, upon the payment of freight, company's duties, and charges. This, it was hoped, would create competition, and operate towards bringing the article to as high a state of improvement as possible, at the same time that it would effect a reduction in the cost of manufacture.

As a further aid in this rising trade, the company made large advances of money, secured, on the indigo, on a plan of remittance to London; and this course was followed for many years.

In 1806, the Court saw fit to order that their commerce in indigo should be resumed in the following year, by ready-money purchases to the amount of three lacs, and open to provisional extension in that season; and with some intermissions, the company continued to purchase, either in the same mode or by contract, for exportation to London, to a greater or less amount, until a short time before the expiration of the late charter.

*To assist the planter (of India) in their attempts to rival the superior produce of the Americans—this was all that was contemplated; but happily more has been achieved. India, for many years past, has produced indigo of quality surpassing that of any other country, and has long been the chief source of supply to the rest of the world.*

*Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General, dated May 1792.*

It affords us great pleasure to remark, that the article, as to quality, is still increasing in reputation. It has already surpassed the American and French, and there is no doubt but, by perseverance and attention on the part of the planters, it will effectually rival the Spanish.

## Imports of Indigo into Great Britain.

Year.	Total of Imports.	France.	Spain.	United States.	Asia.	West Indies and British Colonies.
1782.....	495,101	.....	200	151,216	25,535	292,949
1783.....	1,284,563	91,980	50,340	518,980	93,047	294,645
1784.....	1,496,379	157,627	257,947	701,938	237,230	75,733
1785.....	1,695,065	40,691	398,100	678,911	154,291	318,341
1786.....	1,979,857	11,452	666,979	765,241	253,345	141,857
1787.....	1,880,330	17,231	300,643	941,927	363,046	62,711
1788.....	2,096,911	18,764	204,641	1,060,164	622,691	100,190
1789.....	1,671,218	60,748	319,066	528,194	371,469	35,597
1790.....	1,840,815	51,222	355,859	626,042	531,619	131,130

In a letter dated August, 1800, is the following table of the imports of indigo for the years 1796 and 1797 :

Years.	Europe.]	America.	India.	Total.	Exports.
	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.
1796.....	200,076	451,474	3,897,120	4,548,670	1,939,217
1797.....	38,818	352,149	1,754,233	2,145,200	3,085,728

The letter says :

The view presented by the several particulars strongly illustrates the observations we have laid down. The imports of 1796, contrasted with the exports show how greatly this market was overstocked by the eagerness of competition; whilst the trifling quantities received from America and other parts of Europe, in 1796, were also further reduced the next year by another cause, namely, the progressive ascendancy of Indian indigo in the course of several preceding seasons.

At the same time, the exports in 1796 exceeded those in 1795, and the exports of 1797 rose above those of 1796 in an unexampled proportion; whence it is to be clearly inferred that the Indian indigo has, notwithstanding the difficulties it has had to struggle with, obtained a very general preference throughout Europe, because nearly the whole of the exports of 1797, were of that description of indigo.

In a letter dated April, 1811, a table is given of the exports of indigo from Calcutta. For the sake of showing the completeness of the success of the company in supplanting all other parts of the world in the growth of indigo, we subjoin the table. It will be seen that many of the countries mentioned in a former table, as supplying England, are in turn supplied from her province.

	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.
	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.
London.....	13,486	17,542	21,027
Foreign—Europe....	437	587	1,294
America.....	477	1,548	3,257
Asia & Afri.	985	2,072	1,731
Total.....	15,385	21,749	27,309

From this it will be seen that, in 1807, the growth of indigo in America had been so entirely supplanted, that her imports of the article nearly equalled her largest amount of export in any previous year.

And now, Mr. President, who would not wish to prevent the injury which the country may sustain, in its industry and productions, by the competition of foreign labor and capital? Who would not desire to encourage the labor of our own people? And who will not be ready to say that protection is a clear and obvious duty, required by the best and permanent interests of the country? I am

aware that most, if not all, of those considerations have been urged again and again in the discussion of this subject, here and elsewhere. They are not new, nor now for the first time, stated. They have been often pressed upon American legislators, and some of them have been adverted to recently, in a very able article on a protective tariff and the principles of Free Trade, of which I have availed myself, as I also have of the labor of others, and of information communicated to me by gentlemen of intelligence and great respectability. They are sound, and will bear repetition; and they fully support the position I have advanced, that it is equally the right and the duty of Congress to afford adequate protection to all the branches of industry in which the people of this great nation are engaged. I shall abstain from adverting to others equally conclusive, because I believe that those which I have mentioned are sufficient to sustain the principle I have advanced; and it can hardly be expected that by adding to them I can produce conviction, if I have failed to do so by what has already been said. I content myself, therefore, with repeating that, in my judgement, the power to protect, and the duty to protect our own industry, of every description, against that of foreigners, are clear and obvious; and while the one is given, the other is required to be performed by every principle of justice, policy, and national interest. A leading and governing principle, then, is PROTECTION—protection to every department of labor—protection to all the interests of the country.

2. THIS PROTECTION IS TO BE AFFORDED BY A PROPER ADJUSTMENT OF THE TARIFF OF DUTIES ON IMPORTS. SUITABLE DISCRIMINATING DUTIES are to be laid with a view to this protection, and to secure it. If the existing laws are inadequate, they ought to be made effectual for this purpose. The compromise act had its origin in the purest and most patriotic motives. The eminent statesman who introduced and advocated it, and whose exertions mainly contributed to its passage, was actuated by the great principle which has regulated his conduct through a long life of public service—devotion to the best interests of his country. He believed that, without the adoption of such a

measure, sectional jealousies would be indulged, public excitement in some portions of the Union would be increased, alienation and discord take the place of union and harmony, and the whole system of protection be immediately endangered, if not suddenly overthrown. Such were his opinions, and with his accustomed promptness and decision, he acted upon them. And by the act which he recommended and supported, he intended to accomplish, and believed he had accomplished, the great objects which he deemed so important, viz: the restoration of peace and harmony to all sections of the Union, and at the same time the maintenance, both in theory and practice, of the great doctrine of protection—declaring that if it should be found thereafter, that some articles should need further protection than was given by the act, it would be extended to them in a spirit of harmony and compromise. At that time I was a member of the House of Representatives. I, with others, entertained a different opinion from the friends of the compromise act, in relation to the policy of that act. We voted against it. We believed that it would fail to give all that protection which the best interests of the whole Union demanded; and that when the period should arrive at which it would go into full operation, some most important branches of industry would materially suffer, and others be entirely prostrated. We did not feel willing so to vote, as afterwards to ask of those who differ from us, as a matter of courtesy, favor, or compromise, that which we deemed due to the national welfare and prosperity. Such were our opinions, honestly entertained, as to the eventual operation of the act upon a portion of the labor and industry of the country. And we indulged in no serious apprehensions of danger to the integrity and harmony of the Union, from the then existing feeling in some portions of it. We believed that the excitement would pass away, and that the descendants of those who contributed to the establishment of our national independence, and who were among the first to enter into that compact which constitutes our national Union, would not be the first to violate it. Actuated by these considerations, we used all honorable means to prevent the passage of the act. We failed. It was passed and became a law, and we have ever since obeyed it. But I consider its provisions open to repeal or alteration.

The Senator from Kentucky (Mr. CLAY) said, in the debate in 1833, that "the bill contains no obligatory pledges; it could make none; none were attempted. The power over the subject is in the Constitution, put there by those who formed it, and liable to be taken out only by an amendment of the instrument. The next Congress, and every succeeding Congress, will undoubtedly have the power to repeal the law whenever they may think proper. Whether they will exercise it or not will depend upon a sound discretion, applied to the state of the whole country, and estimating fairly the consequences of the repeal, both upon the general harmony and common interests."

If the act would promote what I consider the essential interests of the country, I would continue it in force, so far as my vote would effect it. If I believe its provisions, or any of them, to be injurious to the general welfare, I shall endeavor to procure their modification or repeal. In my action on this subject, I shall treat this law as I will

others—open to modification, or repeal, according to my views of what the public interest demands. If, therefore, the performance of the great national duty of sustaining the several departments of productive industry requires, generally, a specific, instead of an ad valorem duty on imported articles—a discriminating instead of a horizontal Tariff—suitable regulations to defeat the blighting effects of the pauper labor of other countries upon the labor of our own citizens—cash duties—all of which I believe are required—I shall advocate, and vote for them, and for such other measures as may be necessary and proper to give ADEQUATE PROTECTION to the industry, productions, and other interest of the country, notwithstanding one or more of them may be deemed to be inconsistent with the compromise act.

I have thought it due to the occasion, due to myself in explanation of my vote against that act in 1833, due to the feelings and wishes of my constituents, that I should, in this public manner, announce my determination to vote for such a Tariff of duties as will accomplish the great purpose I have indicated, although it should interfere with the act referred to. No principle of plighted faith, no agreement by way of compromise, no stipulation, express or implied, imposes on me the duty to adhere to the principles of that act, if in its operation I think it will prove injurious to the interests of the country. I shall endeavor to carry into full effect the principle contained in the resolution adopted by the Legislature of my own Commonwealth, at its session in May last, "that both justice and sound policy, do now require that the revenues necessary to the United States be derived from discriminating duties, levied on such foreign commodities as do and shall come into competition with similar commodities whose manufacture or production has been thus introduced and established in our country, so far as shall be needful to their preservation and prosperity." And that I shall maintain the foregoing principle by the practical application of another resolution of the same Legislature, which is fully sustained by the present condition of our finances—that "the adequate encouragement and protection of domestic industry do not require excessive duties on foreign productions, but only that the necessary amount of revenue be fairly distributed among and levied on such articles of foreign growth and manufacture as will best favor and sustain the great and established occupations and interests of the people." I believe such a principle, so carried out, will produce the best results to the whole country, and every portion of it. And I concur in a third resolution adopted at the same time by the same body—"that any unwarranted influence which our discriminating duties may exert upon the ability of foreign nations to pay for the staple productions peculiar to certain States, is much more than compensated to those States—first, by the large increasing home consumption of their staple productions; second, by the indisputable fact that those States which do not produce the staples referred to, consume a large proportion of the very commodities which are received from such foreign nations in exchange for such peculiar staple productions."

I have thus stated three leading principles by which I shall be governed in my action on the Tariff, viz:



1. That adequate encouragement and protection are to be afforded to the manufactures, trades, and productions of our own country, and to the industry of our own people, so as to ensure their preservation and prosperity.

2. That this is to be done by suitable discriminating duties on imports, and which, at the present time, are required to supply the wants of the Government:

3. That these important and established occupations and interests of the people are to be thus favored and sustained and upheld, although it may require, to accomplish it, alterations or modifications of the compromise act.

I have also, in a very concise form, stated some of the *reasons* why I think these principles should be adopted and carried out; and I shall refrain from a particular analysis of that act, and also from a practical application of these principles to any supposed Tariff bill, reserving all these matters to be considered when such a bill is regularly before us.

I cannot, however, forbear expressing my concurrence in the opinion advanced in some of the memorials which I have presented to the Senate, from citizens of my own state, as to the effect of the compromise act; for I believe that many of the branches of industry—such as ready-made clothing, iron, most of the manufactures of leather, paper, sugar, glass, &c. &c.—will not receive, under that act, the necessary and proper protection, by reason of which they will sustain great injury; and the demand for labor and agricultural productions dependent on them will be greatly lessened, if it should not wholly cease.

I am satisfied that the duties on foreign imports, as fixed by existing laws, will not give revenue sufficient to meet the necessary and proper expenditures of the Government. The calculations on which I have formed this opinion I will not now state, but may do so when a proper bill is before us. I will merely remark that my estimates are founded upon an expenditure commensurate with an economical administration of the Government, but such an one as the preservation of the honor, character, and interests of the nation require. I am also fully satisfied that the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the States, ought to be continued. The proceeds of the ceded lands belong to the States under the deeds of cession, and the Constitution has given to Congress the full power of *disposition* of "the Territory or other property belonging to the United States;" and the subject of distribution—"one of great national policy"—having been settled, ought not again to be opened, nor disturbed. Some, perhaps many, branches of industry can be sustained by adhering to the spirit and principles of the compromise act; but I believe also that there are very many others which will suffer, if it go into full operation; that most, if not all, of the great interests I have heretofore mentioned, will be materially injured by reason of its provisions, if suffered to take complete effect. As to the valuation spoken of in the act, if it is ascertained in every port of the Union where goods are imported, and the foreign invoice is made the basis of valuation, with almost any addition to it for charges, &c., not only will it cease to be a *home* valuation, but all the frauds and all the evasions of the law which foreigners have heretofore practiced to the dimina-

tion of the revenue, to the acquisition of ill-gotten gains by them, to the breaking down of the regular manufacturers, mechanics, and agriculturists, will again be in full operation, and the protection given to our productions and industry will be in *name* only. The *form* of protection may remain, but every vestige of the enjoyment of it will have vanished. I forbear, however, to enlarge upon this topic. I have barely referred to it, to express my belief that, as to many leading interests, the compromise act will be ineffectual to sustain them. I conclude my remarks with expressing the hope that we shall bring, to the consideration of any Tariff bill which may be presented to us, minds free from prejudice, excited feeling, or bias; that we shall all endeavor to act upon it in a truly national spirit; and that the result of our action will be, to provide an adequate revenue for the wants of Government, and sustain, and uphold the labor, productions, and all the interests of every portion of our beloved country. If such should be the result, we shall have done much to relieve the people from their embarrassments; to open anew the channels of industry; to give life and vigor to the diversified pursuits of labor in every employment; to appropriate its product to the support and comfort of ourselves and our families, instead of paying it to foreigners for their labor, and to hasten the period when we shall once more witness these days of national happiness and prosperity which we formerly enjoyed.

#### Prospects of the Tariff.

Correspondence of The New-York Tribune.  
WASHINGTON, May 19, 1842.

The Tariff bill will not come up until the Appropriation bill is passed. The estimates for the Navy will probably be cut down. That we shall have a Tariff bill before Congress adjourns, I have no doubt, and I feel confident that it will be such an one as will give Protection to American Industry, whether it be called a Tariff for Revenue or Protection, direct or incidental, I care not. A Tariff we must have, unless we resort to Direct Taxation, to meet the expenditures of the Government. One of your Representatives, Mr. McKeen, is avowedly in favor of Direct Taxation to meet the ordinary expenditures of the Government. Do you know that the floors in the Patent Office are made of stone imported from Germany, and imported too by a Connecticut man, who works an extensive stone quarry there? The stones were transported as ballast at a trifling cost. This, together with the low wages of Germany, enabled him to furnish the Government with the imported stone at a price less than he could afford his own, yielding him, too, a handsome profit. The "Hard Currency" was sent to Germany to pay for the stone, and American stone-cutters deprived of their labor. I hope the time is not far distant, if it has not already arrived, when we shall have a proper National feeling in regard to our own interests and due Protection will be extended to all branches of American Industry.

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I...Number 5.

Office No. 30 Ann-street,  
Near Astor House, Broadway.

NEW-YORK, AUGUST, 1842.

{ Price...75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

OF THIS (AUGUST) NUMBER:	
TO VI.. BRIEF EDITORIALS.....	Pages 129 to 130
VII.. REPORT ON AGRICULTURE—(By Hon. HAMMAR DENNY, of Penn.).....	131 to 137
VIII.. ADVOCATES OF THE PROTECTIVE POLICY.....	137
IX.. AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE—(State- ties).....	138 to 142
X.. HISTORY OF THE POLICY OF OUR GOVERN- MENT IN REFERENCE TO PROTECTION.....	142 to 149
XI.. NEW-YORK ON PROTECTION.....	149 to 157
XII.. HOW FREE TRADE IS PROPAGATED.....	157 to 158
XIII.. WHAT WOULD A TARIFF DO FOR THE LA- BORERS OF THIS COUNTRY?—(Editorial)....	158 to 159
XIV.. A THOUGHT FOR PATRIOTS—(Editorial)....	159
XV.. THE HOUSE TARIFF BILL—(Editorial)....	160
XVI.. PASSAGE OF THE TARIFF BILL BY THE HOUSE.....	160

¶ We have delayed the issue of this number to the last moment, in the hope of announcing in it the final action of Congress on the Tariff Bill. Its passage through the House is recorded on our last page, with the Rates of Duties proposed by it. The Senate Committee on Finance have reported it with some immaterial modifications, and it is now under discussion in that body. It will probably pass, slightly amended, about the 4th inst., and be sent to the President. We regret the necessity of adding that it will probably be knocked in the head by a *Veto*. What will be done next, we shall be better able to say when we issue our next number.

¶ The History of the Policy of our Government with regard to Protection, non-Protection and Revenue, with a passing review of the effects of Protection and (so called) Free Trade respectively on the Industry and Prosperity of the Country, which will be found in our pages to-day, is from the pen of an eminent citizen who has spent many years in the Country's service, having filled acceptably the stations of U. S. Senator and Cabinet Minister. He is an original and steadfast friend of Protection, and ably elucidates its blessings; but, being a member of the 'Democratic' party, so called, we think he does hardly justice to the motives and views of Mr. CLAY and those friends of Protection who united with him in favor of the Compromise Act of 1833. We could now wish that act had not passed; but in 1833, with a Congress about to assemble known to be hostile to the Protective System and ready to sacrifice it, it seemed the part of wisdom and true statesmanship

to save the endangered Protected Interests from imminent ruin, and trust to time for their ultimate deliverance.—Of course, nothing like injustice or partisanship is intended by the writer; and we merely mention the fact that our readers may be prepared and make allowance for any views of the matter which may differ from their own.

¶ The REPORT ON AGRICULTURE—its wants, interests and intimate dependence on the Protective Policy—which we publish originally and exclusively in this number, from the pen of Hon. HAMMAR DENNY, formerly distinguished as a Member of Congress from Pittsburgh, Pa.—will naturally fix the attention not only of Farmers but of all Producers of Wealth. Although addressed primarily to the cultivators of the soil, its truths are of equal importance and value to all who live by Labor. It deals not in figures of rhetoric, but entrenches itself impregably in figures of fact, and we are sure it will be widely and profitably considered.

¶ We have great pleasure in presenting to our readers this month the views and arguments of GEORGE CLINTON, DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, DE WITT CLINTON, ISAAC C. YATES and WILLIAM L. MARCY, Governors of the State of New-York, in favor of Protecting and fostering the Industry of the Country—and especially its Manufacturing Industry—by an efficient Discriminating Tariff, with the responses of successive Legislatures thereto—together forming an emphatic History of the views and feelings of New-York upon the great question of Protection. The archives of the State have been searched, and not a line of contrary opinion or exhortation, either from Governor or Legislature, is to be found therein. On no public question of like importance is the testimony so unanimous and emphatic. Especially ardent and cogent in behalf of Protection are the Democratic Governors, such as GEORGE CLINTON, D. D. TOMPKINS, &c. The language they held has a refreshing glow of patriotism, which stirs the heart in these times of timidity and compromise. They will carry the thoughts of many back to the old days of National trial—from 1807 to 1815—when whoever hinted opposition to the Protective Policy was regarded as little better than a Cowboy of the Revolution. We entreat that these be generally read.

**Facts for Farmers.**

At this moment we are receiving British Manufactures and Foreign Products indiscriminately at a uniform duty of 20 per cent. on the estimated value thereof, which value is to be ascertained (according to a Treasury construction) by *deducting the amount of duty from the market value*; so that the actual duty levied and collected by us is not over 15 per cent. on the real value of the goods here. At this very time Great Britain virtually *prohibits* the importation of all American Manufactures, and taxes our Agricultural staples as follows: The first column shows the several articles; the second their present market value respectively in New-York; the third the rate per cent. of the duty imposed on them by Great Britain—that duty being in all cases specific and its evasion impossible:

Am't Agricultural Products.	Present Value in New-York.	Amount of British Duties thereon.
Louisiana Sugar...	5 cents per pound.	270 per cent
Do Molasses...	21 cents per gallon.	400 per cent
S. Carolina Rice...	24 cents per pound.	118 per cent
Southern Tobacco...	8 cents per pound.	1200 per cent
Do Cotton...	8 cents per pound.	2700 per cent
Spirits from Grain.	20 cents per gallon.	273 per cent
Cider...	15 cents per gallon.	273 per cent
Wheat...	\$1 25 per bushel.	60
Barley...	75 cents per bush.	74
Oats...	50 cents per bush.	100
Potatoes...	30 cents per bush.	84
Flour...	\$6 per barrel.	60
Hay...	75 cents per 100 lbs.	137 per cent
Salted Beef...	\$6 50 per barrel.	80 per cent
Do Pork...	\$7 50 per barrel.	68 per cent
Bacon...	7 cents per pound.	85 per cent
Hams...	7 cents per pound.	85 per cent
Lard...	5 cents per pound.	34 per cent.
Butter...	15 cents per pound.	28 per cent
Cheese...	7 cents per pound.	32 per cent
Linseed Oil...	95 cents per gallon.	80 per cent
Forests—Timber...	4 cents per cubic ft.	96 per cent
Staves...	\$50 per thousand.	110 per cent

\* Generally they are prohibited.

Even this does not exhibit the full extent of the disparity; for the British 'sliding scale' of Duties on Imported Grain renders the importation from countries as distant as ours morally certain to be made at a loss. When there is a scarcity of Grain, the great operators hold back the supply and crowd up the price; this reduces the duty; when the reduction has reached the desired point, they rush a large quantity from the nearest Foreign ports, when down goes the price and up springs the duty again, shutting the door against farther importation; and when the American dealer, tempted by the news of a rise in England, comes along with his Grain, the price has fallen and the duty risen so as to ruin him.

☞ THE HARVEST throughout the Country bids fair to cheer and reward the husbandman with abundance and diffuse plenty through the land.—The only drawback on the general satisfaction is the dullness of Trade and the depression of prices consequent on the want of adequate Protection for our Industry. In other words: we are buying our Cloths, Silks, Wares, &c. of those who will not take our Grain and Meat in return, or take them grudgingly and under onerous duties. If we had

but such a Tariff as would ensure the manufacture of those articles here, that would ensure a ready and remunerating market for our surplus Grain, &c. which we never can find abroad, and which would not answer if we had it—the cost of transportation for such a distance eating up the bulk of the proceeds, and leaving the farmer a meagre return for his Labor. It must be that our toiling millions will perceive and realize this truth.

**What Protection cannot do.**

One of the lesser lights of Free Trade in this City—we forget which, but it matters little, since the same idea is repeated in each of them, favors its readers with the following startling statement and profound deduction, viz:

"Great distress still prevails in the Manufacturing districts of England, notwithstanding her high Protective Tariff and National Bank."

Now we must presume that there are human beings to whom this lame ghost of a superficial analogy stands in stead of an argument; who are really confirmed in hostility to Protection and a Bank because *England* has these, and yet many of her People are destitute! They do not trouble themselves to think whether their destitution bears any relation to the matters with which it is thus arbitrarily connected; they do not care to ask *how* destroying the Bank and abolishing Protection would mend the matter; they swallow the potion as it is made up for them; and if it ran thus—'Liberty is not worth having; for the Indians have that in abundance, yet are ignorant, destitute, drunken and wretched,'—they should, to be consistent, take this down also, with closed eyes and hearty gusto.

Protection has greatly contributed to render Great Britain the richest, most commercial and powerful nation on the face of the earth; having drawn hundreds of millions in precious stones and metals from the rest of the world within a century, and involved nearly all agricultural Countries deeply in debt to her. At this moment, she virtually owns the gold mines of Mexico and South America; and if they and we would but admit her Manufactures free of duty, she would virtually own the whole continent, through debts, mortgages, etc. in another half century.

To see what Protection has done for England, let us imagine that the People of this Country were but doomed to bear the burthens under which those of Britain now stand. (The Population and Capital of Britain are greater than ours; but, on the other hand, our vast extent of fertile soil, varied and genial climate, navigable waters, natural productions, &c. &c. so far exceed hers that it is fair to consider the intrinsic capacities of the two countries equal.) Now suppose the Productive Industry of the Union saddled with a National Debt of Four Thousand Millions of Dollars, bearing an annual Interest of One Hundred and Twenty Millions, with a Government and Military costing an equal or larger sum. Let one-tenth of all the fruits of the earth be absorbed by an Established Church, besides what the People, if Dissenters, pay their own Clergymen; let a tenth in addition of the arable land be absorbed in Royal Forests, parks and pleasure grounds of the Nobility, &c. &c. and how long could our Industry bear up under it? Certainly not the first year.

## HOME INDUSTRY CONVENTION.

Messrs. Greeley &amp; McElrath:

GENTLEMEN: The following able and comprehensive Report from the Committee on Agriculture, appointed by the United States Home Industry Convention lately held in this city, has but recently been completed, in consequence of the absence of the Chairman of that Committee, Hon. HARMAR DENNY of Pennsylvania, and it was not therefore included among the published reports of the Convention. I now hasten to submit it for publication in your excellent work, 'The Laborer,' being convinced that the Report in all its parts will be found one of great importance to Agriculturists and the friends in general of Protection to American Industry. This, it is thought, will satisfactorily explain to your readers and the members of the Convention the cause of delay in the appearance of the Report, hitherto frequently called for as a part of the proceedings of that Convention.

Very respectfully, &amp;c.

L. D. CHAPIN, Sec'y of the Con.

New-York, July 7, 1842.

P. S. I have the pleasure also to communicate herewith for your journal a very valuable paper from the pen of a distinguished citizen and friend of the late administration, who has had much practical experience as to the effects produced upon the Industry and Prosperity of the Country by the laws of Congress since the adoption of our present Constitution. The writer, than whom I am free to say no one in the Country is better qualified to write on the subject of which the communication treats, has given a clear and continuous view of the progress, the nature and effect of legislation on the subject of Protection to Home Industry. I need not, therefore, call further attention to a document embracing so much valuable information, nor more particularly allude to the distinguished source from which it emanates. It was addressed to a Committee of the American Institute, consisting of Messrs. Chandler, Clark and Chapin, and by that Committee would have been most gladly submitted to the late Convention, as intended, had it come to hand during its session. It is now in conformity with the wish of that and the Central Committee of the United States primary Home League that this paper is submitted for publication.

## REPORT ON AGRICULTURE.

[Brought in by Mr. DENNY of Pa.]

IN CONVENTION, May 7, 1842.

*The Committee on the subject of Agriculture "as affected by the commercial relations of the United States with other Countries, and the Protection of American Labor," beg leave to report—*

THE agricultural department of industry embracing what relates to the production of Cotton, Silk, Hemp, Flax and Wool, Rice, Tobacco, Beef, Pork, Grain, Breadstuffs, and a variety of other minor productions, presents to our view an extensive field, fertile in topics interesting to the Statesman, and political economist, but requires much time and labor in order to be surveyed and explored with accuracy. It cannot be expected of the Committee to go at present into even a cursory examination of most of the subjects here mentioned. On this occasion it has been thought expedient to offer a few remarks accompanied with a brief statement of some facts connected with the farming interest, more particularly as belonging to the *grain growing, and grazing districts* of the United States.

It is an imperative and primary duty of Government, in legislating for the promotion of the happiness of the people, to have a continual regard to whatever will improve the condition of the great mass forming the laboring and produc-

tive classes in the community; to whatever will secure to them regular and certain employment, give activity to industry, and guard, as far as practicable, the value of home labor from ruinous fluctuations caused by *foreign* influences, so that every one may receive a just and fair compensation for his skill and labor. This, it must be admitted, is of much importance to all engaged in labor, that it is directly the interest of the farmers, cannot well be doubted after a full consideration of the whole subject.

In the great controversy which is being carried on in our country relative to the policy of protecting American labor, the agriculturalists in some parts of the country were found arrayed on the side of the delusive theory of what is called Free Trade, against the protection of our own mechanics and laborers; others took little or no part in the matter, not believing that their interests were involved in the question; while many imbibed the opinion that protective measures which were denounced as burdening our *foreign* trade with injurious restrictions, would operate to their disadvantage, as tending to produce countervailing and retaliatory restrictions, excluding them from the *foreign* market. The *foreign* market, occupied almost their whole attention; upon it, they depended for the sale of their produce; upon the *foreign* market they were induced to believe they must chiefly rely. The fallacious doctrines to be found in a famous report which emanated from a Committee at Boston in 1828 were confided in as perfectly sound. The wheat-growers were gravely told "if we import *foreign* goods we must export *domestic* produce to pay for them; in proportion therefore as we import more *foreign* goods we shall create by the importation a new demand for *agricultural* produce." The farmers were further seriously and emphatically told that "there is no class of people more interested in resisting the prohibitory or American system than the farmers," and that this protective system diminished "the value of the whole produce of the farmer," by depriving him of a market for that surplus produce, on which his revenues mainly depends." The importance, and incalculable value of the home market, to the farmer, was overlooked; the *foreign* market engrossed his thoughts, and he became unwilling to aid, or was induced to oppose, from an honest opinion at the time, the measures intended for fostering American labor and industry. It is believed, that among our farmers in many parts of the country different sentiments are now entertained; the Boston notions of the Free Trade Committee have been repudiated and cast aside. The doctrine of that enlightened statesman and agriculturist, Mr. Jefferson, is now being received as just, and patriotic, viz., "we must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist," that is, we must have a home market for our produce, and a supply of home manufactures for consumption. The Committee will forbear to enlarge on this subject at present, and will submit a few practical considerations touching the *foreign* market, to show to the country and the farmers that it is not, comparatively, to be regarded of that high importance in which it is held by its eulogists, and under existing regulations has indeed been injurious.

Our broadstuffs are charged with heavy duties or

excluded from most foreign countries. Our commercial intercourse is much greater with Great Britain than with any other nation; yet the introduction into that country of our flour, and other produce of our farms, is very limited. The British Government, true to the interests of the farmers under its protection, excludes our flour, except under particular circumstances, such as a scarcity, or a failure in their own crops, and when the price of wheat rises in the British market to a certain sum above the usual high average price, for their own wheat, then the duty is reduced so as to admit of a supply of *foreign* produce, sufficient for the time. This brings down the price, and *foreign* grain and bread-stuffs become again subject to higher duties which shut them out from the market. Under the operation of this sliding scale of duties, disastrous fluctuations are experienced by the shippers of American flour. The Committee has good authority for stating that about three-fourths of the exports of flour to Great Britain for the last twenty years have been attended with great loss. On shipments made last autumn with the expectation that the cargoes would be received under low duties, heavy losses will be sustained; thousands of barrels are now lying in bond, which if sold at present prices would not net more than about \$5 per barrel, which cost from \$6 to \$7. The losses fall immediately on the merchant, but ultimately reach the farmers, by causing a less demand for the foreign market. The American farmer has no reason to hope for a more liberal system on the part of the British Government, from which he could derive any essential advantage. The landed and farming interest of the kingdom is too powerful and influential to permit any material and permanent relaxation of the Corn Laws to be made, by which the American producer or shipper would be much benefited. Any amelioration of the system would be felt sooner among the masters of the peasantry of Poland and Germany than it would among the farmers of the United States. Those great depots of the grain of the North of Europe, Hamburg, and Dantzic, are more convenient to Great Britain than are the ports of the United States; hence supplies reach London from the North of Europe long before a shipment from New-York. Thus the sliding scale and average system operates, not only for the protection of the British farmers, but to the positive disadvantage of American exporting corn merchants, who are too remote to take immediate advantage of a downward tendency of the duty. Their shipments may not reach the British market until after a supply has been thrown in from Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Dantzic, sufficient to check the demand and lower the price, then the duty rises to the exclusion of American products, which must go into warehouses, there to wait, to take advantage of any new change in the market, or be sold at a loss. For a few years the wheat-growers in the country bordering on our lakes have enjoyed some advantage from the easy introduction into the British Provinces of flour and wheat, to be exported as colonial produce. But as this interferes with the interests of the Canadian and Provincial farmers, efforts are being made to impose a duty of 3s. per quarter on wheat and 2s. per barrel on flour from the United States. This or some measure of the kind will probably be adopted, and our farmers will be re-

stricted in that direction. There is no foreign market to which they can resort and meet with favor or a liberal reception. They must look to the Home Market; this is under their own control; it is their own; no foreign producer can interfere with them. Our farmers can cause the home market to be enlarged to any extent by exerting their influence with the National Legislature, in favor of a wise, and patriotic policy which would protect the people in every branch of industry, from the withering and unfair competition with the half-paid, and poorly fed, laborers of Europe, and thus greatly multiply consumers of the farmer's produce.

That this Convention and the Farmers of our country may be able properly to appreciate the *foreign* market, the Committee subjoins to this report some statistical tables chiefly drawn from the reports of the Treasury department on the commerce and navigation of the United States. From these tables it will be perceived, that, although our population has increased from 3,921,426 in 1790, to 17,069,453 in 1840, more than quadrupled in 50 years, that, although there has also been a large accession to the population of those countries with which we hold the greatest commercial intercourse, as, for instance, Great Britain has augmented in population from 10,942,646 in 1801 to 18,664,761 in 1841; and although during this period many millions of acres of the most fertile soil which a Beneficent Providence has bestowed on any people, have been brought under successful cultivation, and the quantity of the three great staples, Flour, Beef and Pork, increased to many millions of surplus, yet the boasted *foreign* market has not volutarly extended its arms more widely now for the reception of these products of our farms than it did fifty years ago. During the four years from 1791 to 1794, both inclusive, we exported the average quantity of \$41,198 barrels of flour annually, besides about four millions of bushels of wheat. For 4 years, 1833 to 1836 inclusive, we exported the average annual quantity of 768,971 barrels. For the 4 years ending Sept. 1840, we exported annually the average of 896,883 barrels; for the eight years ending Sept. 1840, the average annual export was 832,931 barrels, being something less than was exported during the period first stated. In 1837, there was a scarcity in the United States, and consequently the exportation of flour was very limited. There were years also during which large exports were made to Europe, caused by the war in Spain and Portugal, and the failure of the crops in Great Britain. An inspection of the table, however, will show that as to the article of flour we have gained but little if any thing from a *foreign* market for nearly half a century. See App. No. I.

We will now examine into the consumption abroad of another staple of the Farmers of the Middle and Western States. Let us ascertain what the beef-eaters in the *foreign* markets have done for us. From the table hereto annexed, prepared from the public documents, it will be seen that we exported for the ten years from 1791 to 1800 inclusive 809,227 barrels of beef, and for the ten years 1831 to 1840 inclusive 402,471 barrels, showing an actual falling off in the use abroad, of this article, produced by our farmers, of 406,756 bbls.

Turning our attention to the exports of Pork, we find a difference in relation to this article—while the export of Beef has greatly diminished, that of Pork has increased during the last twenty years. From 1791 to 1800 inclusive there were exported 496,933 barrels of Pork, and from 1831 to 1840 inclusive 576,347 barrels. The export of this article diminished very considerably during the years 1837, 1838, and 1839, although it would appear that the consumption abroad of Pork has increased beyond what it was in 1791, yet the aggregate quantity exported for the last five years from 1836 to 1840 both inclusive, was only 186,071 barrels, while for the 5 years from 1791 to 1795, there were exported 242,077 barrels, showing an excess at that early period over the present of 56,006 barrels. For statement respecting the Pork trade, see App. No. III.

It farther appears that the aggregate quantity of Beef and Pork exported during the period of ten years from 1791 to 1800 both inclusive, was 1,306,160 barrels, and from 1831 to 1840 inclusive 978,818 bbls., exhibiting a falling off in the foreign market amounting to 327,342 bbls. If we compare the first five years of the former period with the latter five years of the second period, the difference will be found to be about 327,821 bbls. against the farmers of the present day. Facts and experience should be preferred to theories. The farmers of the Middle and Western States and of the grain-growing and grazing regions may now well ask where is the new demand for our agricultural produce promised by the Free Trade gentlemen of Boston in 1828? why have we been deprived of a foreign "market for that surplus produce on which it was alledged our revenue MAINLY depends?" It has not been diminished as those gentlemen declared it would be "by the protective system." The protective system which was recognised in the Tariffs of 1824, 1828 and 1832, terminated with the establishment of the principles of the compromise law of March 1833, and from that very period commenced a retrograde movement in the exports of the three great staples of the Middle and Western States. The compromise law was passed on the 2d March 1833, and took effect from and after the 31st of December 1833. From 1827, to 1833, both inclusive, there were exported of Beef 435,866 bbls., but during the next seven years, from 1834 to 1840, there were only 221,827 bbls. exported, a reduction taking place of 213,994 bbls. almost one half. During the former period we exported 478 591 bbls. of Pork, and during the latter only 330,589 bbls., the difference being 148,002 bbls. Of flour, there were exported from 1827 to 1833, 7,421,336 bbls., and from 1834 to 1840, 5,767,680 bbls. Thus it appears that during 7 years of the operation of the compromise law, there was a reduction in the exports of flour of one million, seven hundred and thirteen thousand six hundred and fifty-six barrels, and of Beef and Pork of three hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-six barrels. The whole of which may be estimated at upwards of thirteen millions of dollars, a sum about equal to the debt of the State of Ohio, or of Illinois. It is worthy of remark also, that our imports augmented so rapidly under these years of compromise, that at the end of six years, from 1834 to 1839 inclusive, the excess of importations of foreign goods

over our exports amounted to the enormous sum of one hundred and eighty-one millions five hundred and fifty-eight thousand eight hundred and twenty-four dollars, (\$181,558,824.) All this did not "create" any proportionate demand for the produce of our farmers. The lamentable experience of the country since 1833 refutes the proposition laid down by the Boston Free Trade advocates, "that in proportion as we import more foreign goods we shall create by the importation a new demand for our agricultural produce." See App. No. II.

Our country is admirably adapted from its extent, variety of climate and fertility of soil to supply without limit all those agricultural productions which are essentially connected with the sustenance of the nation. What the farmers most desire is a regular, convenient market, reasonable prices and a growing demand. When our Tariff protects the graziers and grain-producers from foreign competition; they possess the home market exclusively. The foreign market, has, as we have seen, been very uncertain and presents no greater advantages to the American farmers now than it did half a century ago. What then can be done for these enterprising, industrious and hardy cultivators of the soil, who laboriously fell the forest, who are instrumental in causing the wilderness to blossom as the rose, and our land to teem with every thing necessary for the comfortable subsistence of their fellow men?

If the protective system, from which we receded in 1833, operated to afford an enlarged market for agricultural products, gave value to land, employment to capital, and fair compensation for all kinds of labor, certainly it would be a dictate of sound wisdom to retrace our steps, and every farmer from Iowa to New-England will say, restore to us that system under which the country prospered, which will multiply consumers, cause a brisk demand for our produce, stimulate, protect and reward industry.

The protection of American labor may be considered as affecting agriculture in two respects; directly, where the farmer is protected in his own department, from an injurious competition with foreign labor, in the supply of the home market; and indirectly, where the protection afforded to other interests augments the demand for the products of agriculture. A duty of twenty-five cents per bushel on Wheat, and of two cents per lb. on Beef and Pork (the latter was by the Tariff of 1828 subject to a duty of three cents per lb.) protects the farmers. They meet with little or no competition in the home market, except what arises among themselves, they encounter no ruinous fluctuations in price from the importation of foreign products. The material changes they meet with, are caused by redundant or scarce crops at home, by an occasional short crop in Great Britain, where a temporary and uncertain opening may be afforded for foreign bread-stuffs, or, more especially, by a vacillating and mistaken policy of our own Government, by which the other great departments of industry become depressed, and broken down by foreign competition, which compels many useful and laborious citizens to abandon their old occupations and seek a subsistence by cultivating the soil. The farmer is beneficially effected by being himself protected from foreign pauper competitors, and also by measures

which yield ample protection to American labor in all its variety and in every branch. The resources which such a system of protection develops, the enterprise which it calls forth, the impulse which it gives to industry, to intellect, to human effort and skill, and the multifarious occupations which consequently spring up under it and invite to their pursuit, all tend to increase consumers and enlarge the Home Market for the farmer and promote the demand for agricultural produce. To supply merely subsistence, for the population, is not the only object of interest to the farmer. Upon agriculture mainly depends the supply of important raw materials for manufacturing; also of many of the comforts and luxuries which enter into the subsistence of a free people advanced in civilization and refinement; such as are yielded by the garden, poultry yard, dairy establishment, orchard, &c. Agriculture is therefore doubly interested in a system of protection of American labor. From it manufacturers, mechanics and laborers are not only fed, but derive valuable raw materials, &c., for manufactures.

The whole productive labor of the nation may be considered as chiefly employed in agriculture, manufactures, mining, and the fisheries; on these depend the national wealth and prosperity. The consumption of manufactures in this country is immense and constantly increasing with the increase of population. That our country possesses the means and ability of supplying ourselves cannot be disputed. In order to effect this desirable object and secure our independence, it has become expedient and necessary to establish a system of protection for American labor, against the destructive competition to which it would be exposed in our own market, with products from foreign workshops. How is the farmer affected by such a system? one thing is obvious, it would be for his interest that the workmen and workshops should be in his own country and within his reach, as he could then supply them with subsistence and raw materials, free from embarrassments and restrictions imposed by the policy of foreign governments. It must also be obvious to the farmer that the more numerous the manufactories, workshops, workmen, mechanics, artists and laborers at home, the greater will be the demand for the farmer's productions and the more certain his market. It is also of importance to him by exchanging his products to be able at all times to procure upon advantageous terms those manufactured articles which are required in his business and family.—The more extensively the mining operations be carried on in the country the better for the farmer; the more numerous and diversified the manufacturing establishments and mechanical pursuits in the country, the greater will be his benefit. The home demand for his produce is much increased and the home supply of manufactures becomes more abundant and cheaper.

As the immediate effect of the protective system is to encourage the employment of capital and labor in establishing and carrying on manufactures at home, the amount of benefit to the farmer will be made more palpable and distinctly understood by adverting to facts and experience, which illustrate the magnitude of the interest which agriculture has in the protection of American labor employed in manufactures.

### *First, of Wool.*

It is estimated according to the best calculations that there are in the United States, 34 millions of sheep worth about (\$70,000,000) seventy millions of dollars, requiring about eleven millions of acres of land for their keeping, which may be estimated at \$10 per acre, making the value of the land about one hundred and ten millions of dollars. Aggregate of capital employed in sheep husbandry, \$180,000,000. The annual crop is estimated at 90,000,000 lbs., worth about \$40,000,000. Here is an interest of immense importance exclusively belonging to the farmers, and for its value they are dependent on the Home Market.

Suppose the Home Market were destroyed by the introduction of foreign wools and our manufacturers broken up, where would the farmers find a market for their 90,000,000 lbs. of wool? Their customers have disappeared, and in the desolation and silence of the factory they would read the ruin which must overtake those whose capital and labor were employed in sheep husbandry. To the shambles the sheep would soon be consigned, and at least one half of the land, appropriated for their support, be subject to other tillage. This would add five and a half millions of acres to the quantity already under cultivation, and, if we allow the average of 12 bushels of wheat to the acre, would add to the surplus already in the country, sixty-six millions of bushels, equal to two-thirds of the whole wheat crop of the United States, as reported by Mr. Ellsworth for 1840, and more than double the amount reported as the Wheat product of all the Western States, of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa. Are the Wheat growers and producers of bread-stuffs willing to receive such a large accession to the surplus which they already produce? Where can a market be found for it? But a farther depression would take place, to the dismay of the farmer. To work up the 90 millions of pounds of wool would require one person for every 1000 pounds of wool annually. It is supposed that each laborer subsists two other persons, making in all 270,000. For every 100,000 pounds of wool manufactured, there is constant employment, equal to the labor of six men in the erection and repair of buildings, millwright's blacksmith's work and machinery, whether for wool worked up in families or factories, say 5,400 men whose labor supports at least two others, making 16,200 in all. The aggregate number of persons employed to work up this wool would be about 286,200, each of whom at a moderate calculation consumes \$25 worth of agricultural products amounting in the whole to the sum of \$7,155,000, to which add \$500,000 for teasels, hay, oats, &c., making \$7,655,000 paid to farmers. But if the surplus woolen fabrics from foreign pauper labor be thrown into our market, to be sold at any price and the American manufacturers, left without adequate protection, cease to work, and abandon their employment, then another serious inconvenience would result to the farmers. At least two-thirds of the persons who may thus be compelled to seek some other pursuit, become grain-growers and producers of bread-stuffs; they are no longer purchasers from the farmers, but competitors with them. What they formerly purchased they now produce; this would leave two-thirds of the \$7,655,000 worth of produce with-

out a market, say \$5,000,000, equivalent to five millions of bushels of wheat at \$1 per bushel, a high average: this added to the former quantity would make a dead unavailable surplus of 71½ millions of bushels, on hand among the farmers. Although the operations of the woollen factories are limited and restrained and the protection by no means adequate, yet the woollen business presents to the farmers a market for their wool and other products to the amount of forty-seven and a half millions of dollars. It has been estimated by good judges, that one dollar employed in woollen manufactures gives employment to five dollars of agricultural capital; some estimate the amount at eight dollars. The capital invested in woollen manufactures, according to the imperfect returns furnished in the census reports, is about \$15,765,124. This is believed to be below the true amount. In 1831 the amount was stated to be \$40,000,000, at present it is probably less, as many establishments have closed and others work on a reduced scale. It is supposed that the amount now invested in lands, water power, machinery, &c. is not less than \$25,000,000, and this will give employment to \$125,000,000 of agricultural capital invested in lands, sheep, &c. But this beautiful country of ours, with its hill and dale and wide-spreading prairies, so admirably adapted for sheep husbandry, under the judicious management of our industrious farmers, could in a very short time, if a proper system of protection were extended to woollen manufactures, and encouragement to wool-growers, supply any quantity of the raw material adequate to the whole consumption of the nation.

For the last seven years, from 1834 to 1840, both included, there have been imported, cloths, cassimeres, blankets, flannels, carpets, hosiery, worsteds, &c., amounting to the average annual value of more than \$13,000,000. Judging by a careful comparison, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that to produce articles of the value of \$13,000,000 annually, would require a fixed and floating capital invested in lands, water power, buildings, machinery, stock, &c. of eight millions: this, according to the rule adopted, would call into active operation agricultural effort equivalent to employing a capital of \$40,000,000, invested in sheep, lands, &c., and in providing subsistence. It is certainly a matter of vital importance to the farmers that the \$25,000,000, in manufactures and \$125,000,000 of agricultural capital, making \$150,000,000 of actual investment by farmers and manufacturers in the woollen business, should not only not be placed in jeopardy, but fully protected. And if the \$13,000,000 paid to the foreign laborers for their woolsens were applied to those of American make, there would then be given in the aggregate, employment for \$165,000,000 of agricultural capital.

There may seem to be a discrepancy in the estimates of the amount of agricultural capital, and that in manufactures of wool. The first estimate states the agricultural capital to be about \$180,000,000: this perhaps is near the true amount: then according to the rule adopted the capital in manufactures should be about one-fifth, or \$36,000,000. This exceeds the amount upon which the calculations were based. Our object is not to ascertain the precise amount of these investments, but to take such reasonable data as are fur-

nished by persons who have deliberately investigated the subject, in order to illustrate the value and importance of manufactures and the protective policy, to the farmers. The sum mentioned as the value of agricultural product consumed by each person, viz: \$25, we consider as under the actual amount: perhaps \$35 or \$37 would be about the correct sum.

#### Flax and Hemp.

Flax is a material used in a description of goods consumed in this country, to a very large amount. This also is the product of the farmer, and consequently he has an interest in measures which would promote a demand for this raw material, and thus give employment to his capital.

By an examination into the trade and consumption of linens, the farmers of the United States may obtain some knowledge of the advantages which might accrue to them from the establishment, protection and encouragement of the manufacture of linen in this country. At present the business is comparatively of small account; even the household manufacture of linen is perhaps much less than it was some years ago. The returns of the Marshals state the value of flax manufactured at \$322,205, which is a small amount for our agricultural people. The linen business met with a ruinous blow from the act of March 1833, which authorized bleached and unbleached linens to be admitted free of duty. The law has since been altered, and they are now subject to a duty of 20 per cent *ad valorem*. Linens are imported chiefly from England. It is supposed that in Great Britain and Ireland about 172,000 persons, are wholly employed in the linen manufacture, each earning about eighty-six or eighty-seven dollars per annum, producing as the annual value of the manufacture about \$36,500,000. The average value of the imports for four years ending Sept. 1840, of linens and flaxen goods was \$5,485,827, not quite one-sixth of the value of the manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland, and allowing about ½ for raw material would give \$1,328,609 as the value of the raw material of the manufactures imported into the United States; this with perhaps half a million for subsistence was paid to the foreign producer. Bounties, premiums, and encouragements, were granted for a long time on the exportation of linen from Great Britain, the effect of which was to supply foreigners with linens at less than cost, or very low prices, by which the foreign manufacture was kept down. In the United States the manufacture had consequently to struggle against every disadvantage, and without protection it has nearly perished. This has redounded to the advantage of the British and other foreign manufacturers. They are without a rival in our market now, and so firmly established at home that the British Government no longer pays a bounty on the export of linen. If sufficient protection were permanently secured for the manufactures of flax and hemp, the agricultural interest in the United States would be essentially benefitted, in thus having a home market for raw materials which can be raised in quantities unlimited. Ninety-five thousand tons of hemp and flax were produced in the year 1840 by the farmers of the United States; certainly they deserve protection from a ruinous competition with the serfs of Russia who labor for sixteen cents a day.



SILK is another article largely consumed in this country, and which unites the interests of the agriculturalist and manufacturer.

The Committee might proceed still further with details to show in how many instances and to what an immense extent the farmers are interested directly in the protection of American industry, to do so would however swell this report to a volume. The Committee desire to bring to view a class of cases in which the farmer is not recognized as having that kind of interest which belong to him as a producer of raw material, but as a provider of subsistence for others, who are endeavoring to supply the nation with all those commodities which conduce to the comfort, defence and independence of the people.

#### *Of Iron.*

Our attention is naturally drawn to the subject of iron; this is an article of the first necessity. The improvement in this manufacture marks, more than any other, the advance in civilization, and the progress in those arts which elevate the nation and constitute the best evidence of its wealth. In consequence of various measures of government, commencing with Mr. Jefferson's restrictive policy, followed by war, and occasional Protective Tariffs, this manufacture has advanced very considerably, although at times materially depressed. In proportion as the resources of the country and facilities for manufacturing have become known, so has the domestic supply increased and the quality improved. The fact is familiar to every one, that our country possesses inexhaustible quantities of the richest mines of coal and iron ore, and the power to manufacture to any extent.

A beneficent Providence has so admirably disposed of these two great elements of national wealth in our extensive country, as almost irresistibly to invite to their use and forcibly to display the mutual dependence and connection of mining, manufacturing and agriculture.

That large iron district which spreads from New Jersey through the great coal-fields of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Western Virginia, abounding in water power, is in close proximity and chequered with the most fertile agricultural districts. Go farther West, and we find Ohio, Kentucky, and above all Missouri, presenting to view an iron region and mineral resources in the immediate vicinity of the most fruitful portion of the Union. Let these be called into active operation, and fully improved under proper protection: then the industrious farmers of the west will be provided with a nearer market for a vast amount of their products. Then they may derive the ploughshare through the virgin soil of their prairies, or cover them with flocks and herds, without the fear of not finding a market to compensate for their labor.

The advantage to the farmers of the domestic iron manufacture, under the protection, incidental and direct, which it has received, will be best understood by considering a few particulars based upon facts, and the census returns. It is believed from the data furnished that there are 257,025 persons, men, women and children, sustained in carrying on the iron manufacture. Allowing each person to consume 12½ cents per day of agricultural product, the whole amount consumed per annum would be \$11,726,765.

"This amount falls a little short of the facts actually ascertained at several establishments, owing principally to grain and forage fed to horses and cattle, employed in the business."

Here then is a market for the farmers at which they dispose of \$11,726,765 worth of produce, to which may be added \$6,387,500 paid for subsistence for about 140,000 persons, connected with the manufactures of hardware, cutlery, machinery, small arms and cannon, wagons, carriages, &c., making an aggregate of \$18,114,265 worth of agricultural produce consumed among the iron operatives, being about thirteen millions, or 12,833,131 more than the average annual value of flour exported during the last 20 years; almost equal to the aggregate amount of the exports of beef, tallow, hides, &c., pork, hogs, lard, &c., for eight years from 1833 to 1840; the value of the whole exports of beef, &c., and pork, &c., from that period amounted to but \$18,551,519. The average annual value of the exports of flour, beef, &c., pork, &c., for seven years, viz: from 1834 to 1840 inclusive, was \$7,369,913. Thus it would appear that in the production and manufacture of iron, a market is afforded to the American farmers for their produce, worth in one year \$10,744,352 more than the value of all the flour, beef, &c., and pork, &c., together, sent to the foreign market of the whole world, annually, for the seven years ending Sept. 1840. Can any proof be more conclusive of the importance to our farmers of the protection of these manufactures? Can they afford to give all this up, adopt the free trade doctrines, and trust to the consumption in the foreign market? Can the farmers concur in measures which would convert at least one-third of the 257,025 persons sustained by the iron manufacture into tillers of the soil and producers of bread-stuffs, and thus not only supply themselves, but raise more than enough for the other two-thirds? What is here said with regard to the iron manufacture may be predicated relatively of all the others, which are now seeking protection against the destructive operation of the compromise law and free trade principles. This subject may receive additional illustration, evincing more strongly the advantages to the farmers, if the protective system were fully carried out. The importation of pig, bar iron and steel, and manufactures of iron for the two years of 1839 and 1840, amounted to \$20,102,317, making an average, for these two years of \$10,051,158, and the average for the 7 years from 1834 to 1840 inclusive, will be found to have been but little below what is here stated; while from 1827 to 1833 inclusive, the average was about seven millions. Now it is obvious if the foreign manufacturers to whom we have paid these \$10,051,158, had been residing in the United States, they would have paid about \$7,500,000 for labor, of which there would have been paid to our farmers about \$5,000,000 for produce. It is estimated that the capital employed in the manufacture of iron is a little less than the amount of the annual product. Bar iron alone forms more than three-sevenths of the whole amount—about \$4,316,377. If we estimate the whole value as that of bar iron and castings, and that the annual product rather exceeds the amount of capital; which has been ascertained to be nearly the fact at a number of establishments, exclusive of woodland and mines of iron and coal, we may assume

that the capital employed was about 10,000,000. It is stated that the capital employed in the United States is about \$22,500, and employs and subsists 257,025 persons. We may therefore reasonably suppose that the \$10,000,000 paid for foreign iron manufactures gives employment and subsistence to one-third that number, viz. 85,675 persons, who would consume in the United States \$3,908,921 worth of agricultural products. All which goes to sustain the foreign land owners, and producers of subsistence, but which might, in a great measure, if not entirely, be secured to our own farmers by a wise system of protection.

It is not necessary to go into farther details, and before closing this report, it may be useful to present a condensed view of the beneficial results of protection, as manifested in what has been already detailed respecting woolen and iron manufactures. Amount paid to farmers for annual

product of wool.....\$40,000,000  
Do for subsistence.....7,655,000

Paid for subsistence by the iron manufacturers.....18,114,265

Total paid for agricultural produce..\$65,769,265

Being almost nine times the value of the Flour, Beef and Pork, taken by the foreign market. If we add to this the probable gain, were sufficient and steady production afforded to these operations so as ultimately to cause a supply for the home consumption, the amount would be swelled largely: say for wool and subsistence for manufacturing 13,000,000 imported woollens \$26,666,666; for subsistence for manufacturing imported iron, say \$4,000,000, making an additional sum of \$30,666,666. Thus the amount which a wise system of national policy might secure to the farmers, would be about \$96,433,931 derived from these two branches of industry, wool and iron, to which might be farther added, the value of subsistence required by other business operations incidentally and directly connected with and dependent upon the former, such as the oil trade, soap, wire, &c. Where is the foreign market equal to this? What would become of this amount of agricultural production, if our manufacturing establishments were broken up, this home market destroyed, and the country surrendered to foreign manufacturers and laborers who do not now consume, taking the average of the seven years, 1834 to 1840, seven and a half millions worth of Flour, Beef and Pork?

If such be the immense results accruing to the farmers under a protective system in the cases of wool and iron, may we not well conclude that similar benefits follow in all other instances where like protection is found? There are other great interests in the country equally demanding the fostering care of paternal legislation which diffuse among the farmers incalculable benefits; all of which, in common with wool and iron, are threatened with destruction unless the protecting arm of the Government be extended for their relief. And the ruin which is impending the for manufacturers will come like an avalanche upon the farmers, involving all in the same distress.

That such will be the fatal catastrophe attendant upon the existing law, which has been gradually undermining our manufacturing interests, no one can longer doubt, after an impartial examination into their condition and prospects. Even foreigners, advocates of free trade, hostile to every

measure, intended to promote the independence of the country and protect American labor, and who view with a jealous eye American rivalry, behold the same effects, and entertain the same opinion of that measure. The Edinburg Reviewers, and that distinguished British Free Trade writer, J. R. McCulloch, coincide in the opinion as to the fate which awaits us under the compromise law. Here is their language. "The Tariff forced cotton, woollen, iron and other manufactures into a premature existence in the United States; but we have little doubt, that except in the coarser fabrics, and those where it is necessary to use large quantities of the raw material, the late modifications of the Tariff have given a death-blow to the American Manufacturing system." This is the deliberate judgement of those who are anxious to build up and sustain British manufactures upon the ruin of all others. What, then, is the duty of the American Government? Is it not to disappoint the expectations of those who seek the overthrow of our best interests, by placing around our country that great shield of protection, which can be moved only by the arm of Government.

The stimulus which the protective policy gives to the whole country, produces prosperity among the farmers; a general activity in trade and commerce is felt beneficially by them. And while home competition excites to improvement, it invariably, ultimately cheapens the articles. All those commodities of domestic manufacture which are largely consumed by the farmers have not only been cheapened, but many of them greatly improved. In all instances where the domestic manufacturers have obtained the command of the market the foreign manufacturer has been compelled to reduce his price or leave the market, take for example, nails, window glass, white lead, ploughs, axes, scythes, sickles, hoes, spades, shovels, &c. as well as cotton goods. But to retain a position, or to gain the ascendancy in our own market, the foreign manufacturers are driven to the necessity of sacrificing their goods at auctions, or greatly reducing the wages of the laborers and workmen so low that they are deprived of the comforts, and most of the common necessities of life, or supported in part out of the poor rates. This is a condition to which no patriot would wish to see the free men of this country reduced. If protection be withdrawn and withheld, this downward march must inevitably take place, and our mechanics and laborers be assimilated to the degraded, half starved workmen of Great Britain, and our free farmers reduced to the miserable condition of the serfs of Russia or Leibeigeners or bond men of Hanover and Prussia.

HARMAR DENNY, Penn.  
J. O. CHOULES, N. Y.  
ALEXANDER WALSH, N. Y.  
R. L. ALLEN, N. Y.  
R. C. NICHOLAS, N. Y.  
A. SPOONER, N. Y.  
L. J. S. CARPENTER, Mass.  
R. NORTON, Mass.  
B. TAFT, Mass.  
J. W. THOMPSON, N. Y.

Committee.

Of the eight Presidents of the United States, GEORGE WASHINGTON, THOMAS JEFFERSON, JAMES MADISON, JAMES MONROE, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and ANDREW JACKSON have early, boldly advocated the Protective Policy; MARTIN VAN BUREN and JOHN TYLER in a more qualified manner; JOHN ADAMS alone has said nothing on the subject.

## Agriculture and Commerce.

Statistics, Compiled from the Census of 1842.  
OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES, WITH OTHER FACTS BEARING THEREON.

## No. I.

TABLE OF FLOUR, BEEF AND PORK EXPORTED FROM 1791 TO 1840.

Year.	Flour. Bbls.	Beef. Bbls.	Pork. Bbls.	Year.	Flour. Bbls.	Beef. Bbls.	Pork. Bbls.
1791*	619,681	62,771	27,781	1816..	729,059	33,399	19,280
1792..	824,464	74,636	38,098	1817..	1,479,196	37,889	14,462
1793..	1,074,659	75,106	38,563	1818..	1,157,697	36,875	17,553
1794..	846,010	100,886	49,442	1819..	750,660	34,966	28,173
1795..	687,369	96,149	88,193	1820..	1,177,056	53,191	44,091
1796..	725,194	92,521	73,691	1821..	1,056,119	66,887	66,647
1797..	515,533	51,812	40,125	1822..	827,865	97,610	68,352
1798..	567,653	89,000	33,115	1823..	756,792	61,418	55,329
1799..	519,265	91,321	62,259	1824..	996,792	66,074	67,229
1800†	853,062	75,045	55,467	1825..	813,906	83,025	85,769
1801†	1,102,444	75,331	79,779	1826†	857,826	72,396	89,951
1802..	1,156,246	61,520	78,239	1827..	868,492	90,685	79,313
1803..	1,311,853	77,934	96,602	1828..	860,809	66,640	53,836
1804..	810,008	134,836	111,532	1829..	837,385	51,100	59,539
1805†	777,515	115,532	57,925	1830..	1,227,434	46,842	45,645
1806..	782,724	117,419	36,277	1831..	1,806,529	60,770	51,263
1807..	1,249,819	84,209	39,247	1832..	864,919	55,507	88,625
1808..	263,813	20,101	15,478	1833..	955,768	64,322	105,870
1809..	846,247	28,555	42,652	1834..	935,352	46,181	82,691
1810..	798,431	47,699	37,203	1835..	779,396	39,028	61,827
1811**	1,445,012	76,743	37,270	1836..	505,400	50,226	22,450
1812**	1,443,402	42,757	22,746	1837†	318,719	29,076	24,593
1813**	1,280,943	43,741	17,537	1838..	448,161	23,491	31,356
1814..	153,274	20,297	4,640	1839..	923,151	16,189	41,301
1815..	862,739	13,130	9,673	1840..	1,897,501	19,681	66,281

\* From 1790 to 1794, inclusive, there were exported about one million of bushels of Wheat annually.

† Scarcity and failure of crops in Great Britain. From 1826 to 1831 crops in England were very deficient. Importations into England in those years from all parts unusually large, particularly in 1829, 1830 and 1831.

\*\* During the years 1811, 1812 and 1813, the exportations were made principally to Spain and Portugal.

†† Crop deficient in the United States.

## No. II.

Table of the value of Foreign Imports, and of the quantity of FLOUR, BEEF and PORK, and value of all Agricultural Products, except Cotton and Tobacco, exported annually, from 1827 to 1840.

Year.	Foreign Imports.	Domestic Produce.			Total Produce of Agriculture exported, except Cotton and Tobacco. Value, including Rice, &c.
		Flour. bbls.	Beef. bbls.	Pork. bbls.	
1827.....	\$79,481,056	869,482	99,685	73,815	\$11,128,475
1828.....	89,509,624	880,909	96,640	53,836	10,853,696
1829.....	74,492,527	857,383	51,100	59,539	12,396,229
1830.....	107,876,929	1,077,434	46,842	45,645	11,716,080
1831.....	103,191,124	1,806,529	60,770	51,263	17,636,408
1832.....	101,029,266	964,919	55,507	88,625	11,691,732
1833.....	106,118,311	955,768	64,322	105,870	13,725,246
1834.....	126,521,332	935,352	46,181	82,691	11,397,080
1835.....	149,895,742	779,396	39,028	61,827	11,638,085
1836.....	189,980,035	505,400	50,226	22,450	10,282,559
1837.....	140,989,217	318,719	29,076	24,593	9,849,532
1838.....	113,717,044	448,161	23,491	31,356	9,245,807
1839.....	162,052,132	923,151	16,189	41,301	13,851,819
1840.....	167,141,519	1,897,501	19,681	66,281	16,771,075

\* Crops failed in England. † Scarcity in the U. States.

## No. III.

A Statement showing the Rate per pound Ohio Pork netted to that State from sales made in New-York in 1841 and '42.

In the early part of the season of 1841 some sales were made of Ohio Pork at from \$12 to \$13 per bbl. Mess and \$9½ to \$10½ Prime, but the great majority was sold at \$10 Mess and \$8 Prime, while some sales run as low as \$7 and \$5 per bbl. Mess and Prime; the average according to opinion of dealers was \$9½ Mess and \$7½ Prime per bbl., and as the article usually runs 2 bbls. Prime

to 1 of Mess, the general average in New-York market per bbl. in 1841 was.....\$8 16

From which deduct charges of packing, transportation to market, &c. to wit: Cost of bbl., salt and packing.....\$1 75 pr. bbl.

Cost of transportation from different points in Ohio to New-York, including insurance... 2 50 "

Interest on investment say.... 15 "

Cost of Lighterage from dock in New-York to Inspection Yard and Inspector's charges for inspecting..... 71 "

Commissions for selling and other incidental charges in New-York..... 30 " \$5 41

\$2 75

Thus netting to Ohio only two dollars and seventy-five cents for 200 lbs. of Pork, being only 1½ of a cent per pound for her Pork dressed in the hog!

In ordinary times, Hams, Shoulders and Lard pay an extra price which goes to make up the wastage (feet, ears, etc.) on the hogs and generally something more, so as to lessen the cost of the Pork; but this year (1841) owing to the large surplus constantly pressing upon the market, those articles sold extremely low, viz: 2½ to 6 cents per pound for those in good order, and as the surplus was large, dealers were obliged to hold over a part, a portion of which were spoiled and in consequence were sold at exceedingly low rates, (viz: about 1 cent per pound,) or thrown into the dock. Lard, owing to a surplus, also sold low, to wit, 4 to 6½c. per lb. Therefore taking into account the wastage on those articles, the expense of curing Hams and Shoulders and trying the Lard, those articles have done no better than the Pork.

Above you have the result of 1841: that of 1842 is much more disastrous to the Ohio grower of the Pork. Thus far the New-York market for that quality of Pork has ranged \$8 to \$8½ Mess and \$6 to \$6½ Prime per barrel, making a general average per bbl. of.....\$6 92

From which deduct expenses as before stated

of getting it to market..... 5 41

\$1 51

Netting to Ohio thus far in 1842, one dollar and fifty-one cents for 200 lbs. of Pork, or ½ of a cent per pound for dressed Pork in the hog!!!

Hams and Shoulders are doing better this year than they were in 1841, but good Lard is lower. Under any view of the subject, however, the Ohio Pork has not thus far in 1842 netted much if any over one cent. per pound to the grower.

The undersigned Commission Merchants, and dealers in provisions, believe the above statement to be correct.

KISSAM, STONE & CO.  
N. T. HUBBARD, CHENERY & CO.  
DOWS & GUITEAU.

New-York, April 6, 1842.

For a number of years previous to 1841, the price of Pork has ranged from \$14 to \$22. In our opinion, the low prices of '41 and '42 are owing to a surplus, and whenever we get a surplus of flour or any article of produce, with no foreign outlet, the result will be the same. Flour probably will go as low as \$3½ in the New-York market.  
D. & G.

## No. IV.

[Prepared for the Journal of Commerce, by Edwin Williams, April 7th, 1842.]

## BRITISH CORN LAWS.

The following Table shows the operation of Sir Robert Peel's Sliding Scale of Duties on Wheat and Flour, imported into Great Britain, from foreign countries:

*Price per quarter of 8 bush.	Price per bushel.	Duty per qr. bush.	Duty on bls. of Flour.
Under 51s.....	\$1 53...	20s...60cts...	\$2 89
51s to 52s.....	1 56...	19s...57...	2 74
52s to 55s.....	1 65...	18s...54...	2 60
55s to 56s.....	1 68...	17s...51...	2 45
56s to 57s.....	1 71...	16s...48...	2 31
57s to 58s.....	1 74...	15s...45...	2 17
58s to 59s.....	1 77...	14s...42...	2 03
59s to 60s.....	1 80...	13s...39...	1 88
60s to 61s.....	1 83...	12s...36...	1 73
61s to 62s.....	1 86...	11s...33...	1 59
62s to 63s.....	1 89...	10s...30...	1 45
63s to 64s.....	1 92...	9s...27...	1 31
64s to 65s.....	1 95...	8s...24...	1 16
65s to 66s.....	1 98...	7s...21...	1 01
66s to 69s.....	2 07...	6s...18...	0 86
69s to 70s.....	2 10...	5s...15...	0 72
70s to 71s.....	2 1g...	4s...12...	0 57
71s to 72s.....	2 16...	3s...9...	0 43
72s to 73s.....	2 19...	2s...6...	0 28
73s or above.....	0 00...	1s...3...	0 14

Average prices in England of Wheat per quarter of 8 bushels—in 1830, 64s 3d; in 1831, 66s 4d; in 1832, 58s 8d; in 1833, 52s 11d; in 1834, 46s 2d; in 1835, 39s 4d; in 1836, 48s 6d; in 1837, 55s 10d; in 1838, 64s 7d; in 1839, 70s 8d; in 1840, 66s 4d; in 1841, 64s 5d.

\*The average price is ascertained by taking the sales for six weeks in 150 of the principal market towns.

## PRICES OF WHEAT ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

[Prepared by Edwin Williams.]

Average prices of Wheat in the principal grain markets of Europe, in the year 1840, ascertained by the British Consuls at the ports named:

	Price pr. qr.	Per bush. to England.	Freight per bushel.
St. Petersburg.....	39s 7 d.....	1 17.....	15 cts.
Riga.....	49 7.....	1 49.....	14
Liebau.....	43 7.....	1 31.....	15
Odessa (Blk Sea).....	26 6.....	80.....	30
Dantzic.....	36.....	1 08.....	12
Stockholm.....	30.....	90.....	13
Konigsberg.....	40.....	1 20.....	15
Stettin.....	40.....	1 20.....	13
Memel.....	35.....	1 05.....	13
Elsinore.....	30.....	90.....	12
Hamburg.....	35.....	1 05.....	12
Rotterdam.....	55.....	1 65.....	07
Antwerp.....	56 5.....	1 69.....	07
Palermo (Sicily).....	38.....	1 14.....	25

N. B.—All the above Ports, it will be observed, are in the North of Europe, except Odessa and Palermo. Some of the prices given above are the average for a series of years; others are the lowest rates in a single year. The average of the above prices is 40s 6d per quarter or \$1 51½ per bushel, and the average of freight to England is about 15 cents per bushel. This would make the actual average cost delivered in England 45s 4d per quarter, or \$1 46½ per bushel without duties. It appears that Grain is cheaper in Russia than in any other part of Europe. The prices in 1835 in the government of Tamboff were for Wheat, 13s 6d to 14s 1d per quarter (40s to 42 cents per bushel) Rye 7s 1d to 7s 7d per quarter, (22 cents per bushel), Oats 4s 9d to 5s 9d per quarter, (14 to 16 cents per bushel). The expenses to St. Petersburg were about 30 per cent. on Wheat, and above 100 per cent on Rye and Oats. The average price of Wheat in France in the 1836 was 38s per quarter, or \$1 16 per bushel, and the average of prices from 1819 to 1836 was 40s 1d per quarter, or \$1 20 per bushel of 60 lb. The average price in England in 1836 was

42s 6d per quarter, or \$1 44½ per bushel; in 1841 64s 6d, or \$1 53½ per bushel.

The following are the recent quotations of prices of Wheat and Flour in the United States and Canada:

United States.	Wheat per bush.	Flour pr. bbl. 198 lbs.
New-York, April 26, 1842....	\$1 25.....	\$6 00
Philadelphia, 23, ".....	1 20.....	5 75
Baltimore, 23, ".....	1 18.....	5 62½
Fredericksburg, 18, ".....	1 10.....	5 50
Richmond, 18, ".....	1 10.....	5 75
Detroit, 19, ".....	0 87½.....	4 37½
Canada.		
Montreal, 29, ".....	1 30.....	7 00
Toronto, 23, ".....	1 00.....	5 00

The average prices of freight to England from the above ports may be estimated at 20 cents per bushel for Wheat, and 60 to 75 cents per barrel for Flour:

## IMPORTATION OF GRAIN INTO GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Statement of Foreign Grain imported and entered for Home consumption in Great Britain and Ireland in 1840 and 1841:

	1840.	1841.
Wheat (quarters).....	2,024,917.....	2,300,888
Flour (cwt).....	1,317,814.....	1,214,220
Barley (quarters).....	618,801.....	222,825
Oats ".....	512,811.....	20,850
Rye ".....	1,857.....	518
Indian Corn ".....	21,073.....	7,738
Peas ".....	159,456.....	132,857
Beans ".....	129,517.....	267,698
Oatmeal (cwt).....	6,601.....	11,105
Duties paid on the above in 1840	£922,468	
Do in 1841	888,646	

## No. V.

Statement of the Importation and Consumption of Nails, Lead, &c. in periods of five years, and of the Exportation of American Nails.

	FOREIGN IMPORTED.	AMERICAN EXPORTED.	BAR SHEET.	LEAD.	WHITE AND RED LEAD.
	lbs.	lbs.	pig lead, shot—lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1816..	2,404,610				
1816 to 1820	1,170,727..	231,803.	4,542,011.	3,220,102	
1820 to 1821	560,033..	705,950.	4,032,803.	3,409,076	
1821 to 1825	506,365..	969,945.	2,345,904.	1,320,567	
1825 to 1830	753,964.	1,129,910.	1,530,613.	538,470	
1830 to 1835	994,679.	1,895,293.	103,989.	616,604	
1835 to 1840					

The foregoing statement shows the progress which has been made towards supplying the home demand with the articles mentioned, and in the case of Nails, exporting largely.

## No. VI.

Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of bushels of WHEAT, BARLEY, OATS, RYE, BUCKWHEAT and INDIAN CORN raised in the United States:

	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.
	Wheat.	Oats.	Rye.	Bkwh.	Corn.	
Maine.....	848,186	1,076,409	157,941	51,543	950,528	
New Hampshire.....	422,124	1,296,114	308,148	105,103	1,162,572	
Massachusetts.....	157,523	1,319,680	306,014	87,000	1,208,122	
Rhode Island.....	3,008	171,517	34,521	2,979	450,488	
Connecticut.....	87,009	1,453,352	737,424	305,043	1,500,441	

Vermont	496,800	2,222,584	280,983	228,416	1,119,678
Total	2,014,120	7,539,566	1,985,041	778,084	6,992,909
Total bushels of Barley raised in these States, 779,493.					
Total value	\$10,826,301.90				

## NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

New-York	12,288,418	20,675,427	2,979,323	2,287,885	10,972,286
N Jersey	774,203	3,083,524	1,665,820	856,117	4,361,975
Pennsylvania	13,213,077	20,841,819	6,618,873	2,113,742	14,240,022
Total	26,275,698	44,601,190	11,258,016	5,257,744	29,574,283
Total bushels of Barley raised in these States, 2,742,462.					
Total value	\$71,951,348.70				

## SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

Delaware	815,165	927,405	33,546	11,299	2,099,350
Maryland	3,345,793	3,534,211	723,577	73,606	9,283,086
Virginia	10,109,716	13,451,062	1,482,799	243,822	34,577,591
N Carolina	1,980,885	3,193,941	213,971	15,591	23,893,763
Total	15,731,549	21,106,619	2,453,893	344,118	68,803,799
Total bushels of Barley raised in these States, 2,742,462.					
Total value	\$60,702,539.96				

## SOUTHERN COTTON-GROWING STATES.

S Carolina	968,354	1,436,208	44,738	72	14,722,808
Georgia	1,891,830	1,810,090	60,893	141	20,906,122
Alabama	828,052	1,486,353	51,008	58	20,947,004
Mississippi	196,626	668,624	11,444	61	15,161,237
Louisiana	60	107,553	1,812	....	5,952,912
Tennessee	4,569,692	7,035,678	304,329	17,118	44,986,188
Total	5,364,674	12,314,246	474,015	17,450	120,675,268
Total bushels of Barley raised in these States, 51,101.					
Total value	\$74,031,054.60				

## WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky	4,893,152	7,155,974	1,321,373	3,169	39,847,129
Ohio	16,571,991	14,585,103	614,205	638,139	39,668,144
Indiana	4,049,375	5,801,805	133,621	40,019	26,156,887
Illinois	3,835,309	4,988,008	83,197	87,894	22,634,211
Missouri	1,937,336	2,234,947	69,608	15,318	17,332,624
Arkansas	165,879	189,553	6,219	88	4,846,632
Michigan	2,157,109	2,114,051	34,236	115,862	2,277,089
Florida	412	13,829	305	....	898,974
Wisconsin	212,116	406,514	1,965	10,654	379,359
Iowa	154,693	216,385	3,792	6,212	1,406,341
D Columbia	12,147	15,751	5,041	272	39,485

Total	32,439,321	37,709,720	2,475,602	894,347	151,485,616
Total bushels of Barley raised in these States, 490,474.					
Total value	\$125,807,670.10				
Grand total	\$342,418,651.60				

## No. VII.

Statistical Table showing the aggregate No. of FLOURING MILLS, BARRELS OF FLOUR MANUFACTURED, No. of GRIST MILLS, SAW MILLS, OIL MILLS, VALUE OF MANUFACTURES, No. of Men employed, in the United States.

## EASTERN STATES.

	flour gals	flour grist	saw oil	value of	men
	mills	mills	mills	manuf.	emp.
Maine	20	6,669	538	181	29
N Hampshire	3	809	499	959	9
Massachusetts	12	7,436	678	1,252	7
Rhode Island	....	144	123	....	....
Connecticut	7	15,500	394	673	57
Vermont	7	4,495	312	1,081	20

49	35,200	2,525	5,469	113	87,401,353
Total value	\$7,369,410				

## NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

New-York	338	1,881,385	1,750	6,356	63
New-Jersey	64	188,797	509	597	21
Pennsylvania	736	1,185,405	2,554	5,389	166
Total	1,138	3,255,587	3,183	12,342	230
Total value	\$25,169,043				

## SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.

Delaware	21	78,194	108	123	....
Maryland	189	466,708	478	430	9
Virginia	784	1,041,526	2,714	1,987	61
N Carolina	323	87,641	2,083	1,058	46
Total	1,297	1,672,069	5,329	3,596	116
Total value	\$3,218,718				

## SOUTHERN STATES.

S Carolina	164	58,458	1,016	748	19
Georgia	114	55,159	1,051	677	8
Alabama	51	23,684	797	524	16
Mississippi	16	1,809	806	308	28
Louisiana	....	....	276	139	50
Tennessee	265	67,881	1,565	977	26
Total	605	206,970	5,511	3,570	146
Total value	\$3,974,719				

## WESTERN STATES.

Kentucky	238	273,088	1,515	718	23
Ohio	636	1,311,954	1,325	2,883	112
Indiana	203	224,624	846	1,248	54
Illinois	98	172,667	640	785	16
Missouri	84	49,363	636	393	9
Arkansas	10	1,430	292	83	1
Michigan	93	202,980	87	491	....
Florida	....	62	65	2	....

Wisconsin	4	800	29	124	....
Iowa	6	4,540	57	71	....
Dist. Columbia	4	25,500	4	1	....
Total	1,277	2,266,736	6,483	8,867	218
Total value	\$3,218,718				
Grand Total Value	\$65,658,470				

## VIII.

Statistical Table showing the Aggregate Amount of LIVE STOCK in the United States.

	Horses and Mules.	Neat Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Poultry of all kinds. Estim. value.
EASTERN STATES.					
Maine	59,208	327,255	649,264	117,386	\$123,171
N. Hamp.	43,982	275,562	617,390	121,671	107,092
Mass.	61,484	252,574	578,225	143,221	179,157
R. Island	8,024	36,391	99,146	30,659	61,702
Connecticut	34,659	239,650	403,452	131,951	176,629
Vermont	62,402	384,341	1,681,819	238,860	131,576
Total	359,660	1,545,273	3,820,307	749,698	\$772,329
Total value	\$42,543,902				

NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.					
New-York	474,543	1,911,244	5,118,777	1,900,065	1,153,413
New-Jersey	70,502	220,202	219,225	261,443	336,885
Pennsylvania	365,129	1,172,653	1,787,620	1,508,964	885,701
Total	910,174	3,304,111	7,105,622	3,669,472	2,176,167
Total value	\$106,720,236				

SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.					
Delaware	14,421	53,883	39,347	74,222	47,265
Maryland	92,220	225,714	297,922	416,943	218,763
Virginia	326,438	1,024,149	1,386,772	1,992,155	759,838
N. Carolina	166,096	617,371	598,279	1,649,716	544,125
Total	599,687	1,921,116	2,129,290	4,133,042	1,569,853
Total value	\$66,818,189				

SOUTHERN STATES.					
S. Carolina	129,921	572,608	232,981	675,832	396,364
Georgia	157,540	884,414	367,107	1,457,755	449,623
Alabama	143,147	668,018	163,249	1,423,579	404,594
Mississippi	109,227	623,197	128,367	1,001,280	386,482
Louisiana	99,838	383,451	39,077	323,320	282,559
Tennessee	341,409	822,855	741,569	2,926,607	666,969
Total	981,152	3,952,336	1,631,363	8,011,166	2,510,901
Total value	\$122,553,921				

WESTERN STATES.					
Kentucky	355,853	787,698	1,008,240	2,310,533	556,439
Ohio	450,527	1,217,674	2,028,401	2,699,746	551,181
Indiana	241,036	619,940	675,982	1,623,609	357,594
Illinois	129,335	626,274	395,672	1,495,254	309,204
Missouri	106,032	433,575	348,018	1,271,161	270,647
Arkansas	51,472	188,786	42,151	393,658	109,466
Michigan	30,144	185,190	99,618	295,898	82,730
Florida	12,043	118,084	7,192	92,680	61,007
Wisconsin	5,735	30,269	3,462	51,383	16,167
Iowa	10,784	38,049	15,554	104,899	10,629
D. of Colum	2,145	3,274	706	4,673	9,592
Total	1,575,016	4,248,750	4,624,902	9,742,885	2,314,070
Total value	\$156,714,055				
Grand total	\$338,644,448				

## IX.

Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of HOPS, WAX, POTATOES, HAY AND HEMP raised in the United States.

	Pounds.	Pounds.	Rubels.	Tons.	Hay.
	Hops.	Wax.	Potatoes.	Hemp.	Flax.
Maine	89,940	3,793	10,392,280	691,356	38
New-Hampshire	243,425	1,345	6,206,606	496,197	264
Massachusetts	254,795	1,196	6,585,652	569,396	2
Rhode Island	113	165	911,973	63,449	....
Connecticut	4,578	3,897	3,414,238	426,704	418
Vermont	46,137	4,640	8,898,761	868,796	294
Total	567,963	14,966	35,180,500	3,063,752	1384
Total value	\$25,689,693				

NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.					
New-York	447,320	32,795	30,123,614	3,127,047	1,1304
New-Jersey	4,231	10,061	2,072,069	334,861	2,1654
Pennsylvania	49,481	33,107	9,585,663	1,311,643	2,6494
Total	501,232	95,963	41,731,346	4,773,551	5,946
Total value	\$37,138,800				

SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.					
Delaware	746	1,998	200,712	22,483	524
Maryland	2,337	3,674	1,038,433	106,877	488
Virginia	10,457	65,020	2,944,660	344,704	25,2044
North Carolina	1,638	118,923	2,669,289	101,369	9,8794
Total	14,765	188,705	6,791,944	685,246	36,014
Total value	\$4,984,637				

SOUTHERN STATES.					
South Carolina	85	18,897	2,499,313	24,618	....
Georgia	773	10,780	1,291,366	16,969	104
Alabama	625	25,226	1,708,336	12,718	5
Mississippi	154	6,835	1,630,100	171	16

Louisiana .....	115	1,012	834,341	24,851
Tennessee .....	850	50,907	1,904,370	31,333
	2,810	119,636	10,068,248	110,360
Total Value.....			\$21,706,472	3,376½

Kentucky .....	742	38,445	1,055,085	89,968
Ohio .....	62,185	38,850	5,806,021	1,022,037
Indiana .....	38,591	30,647	1,525,794	174,029
Illinois .....	17,742	29,173	2,025,590	184,932
Missouri .....	789	56,461	783,788	40,083
Arkansas .....		7,079	293,068	586
Michigan .....	11,381	4,583	2,109,285	130,805
Florida .....		75	284,817	1,197
Wisconsin .....	153	1,474	419,804	30,938
Iowa .....	53	2,132	234,063	17,953
Dist. of Columbia .....	24	44	12,053	1,931
	151,684	209,013	14,323,534	1,685,197
Total Value.....			\$13,106,201	
Grand Total Value.....			\$102,627,613	

**X.**  
*Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of Wood sold, value of the products of the DAIRY, of the ORCHARD, galls. of Wine made, home made or family Goods, in the United States:*

	Wood.	Dairy.	Orchard.	Wine.	Fa. Gds.
	Cords.	Value.	Value.	Galls.	Value.
Maine.....	205,011	1,498,302	\$149,384	2,326	\$604,397
N. Hampshire.....	116,226	1,638,545	239,979	94	536,303
Mass.....	278,069	2,673,259	589,177	185	231,942
R. Island.....	48,656	235,229	32,098	86	51,183
Connecticut.....	159,062	1,576,354	294,232	2,066	226,162
Vermont.....	66,559	2,006,797	213,944	94	674,547
	905,483	9,117,244	1,320,814	6,086	2,536,532
Total Value.....		\$14,323,380			

	Northern Middle States.
New-York.....	1,053,928 10,486,021 1,701,955 6,799 4,636,547
New-Jersey .....	340,802 1,328,032 484,706 9,416 201,625
Pennsylvania.....	269,516 3,187,282 618,179 14,328 1,305,063
	1,684,041 15,011,345 2,784,130 50,543 6,141,265
Total Value.....	\$26,456,616.

	Southern Middle States.
Delaware.....	67,864 113,828 28,311 322 62,116
Maryland.....	178,181 437,486 105,740 7,585 176,050
Virginia.....	408,880 1,480,488 708,765 13,811 2,441,672
N. Carolina.....	40,484 674,840 306,040 28,752 1,413,242
	689,669 2,736,151 1,325,723 50,570 4,083,080
Total Value.....	\$9,106,778.

	Southern States.
S. Carolina.....	171,451 577,810 52,275 643 936,703
Georgia.....	57,459 693,172 158,123 8,647 1,467,630
Alabama.....	60,965 285,200 55,340 1,677 1,666,119
Mississippi.....	118,423 358,585 14,426 12 682,945
Louisiana.....	202,867 153,089 11,789 2,894 65,190
Tennessee.....	104,014 472,141 367,105 683 2,886,641
	715,169 2,452,977 656,989 15,016 7,689,248
Total Value.....	\$11,854,756

	Western States.
Kentucky.....	264,222 831,363 434,935 2,209 2,622,462
Ohio.....	272,527 1,948,889 475,271 11,594 1,853,937
Indiana.....	185,712 742,369 110,055 10,385 1,289,802
Illinois.....	134,549 428,175 128,756 474 993,567
Missouri.....	61,981 100,432 90,878 22 1,149,544
Arkansas.....	78,908 59,205 10,680 .... 489,750
Michigan.....	54,498 301,052 16,075 .... 113,955
Florida.....	9,343 33,094 1,058 .... 20,205
Wisconsin.....	22,810 35,677 37 .... 12,567
Iowa.....	7,504 23,640 50 .... 25,986
Dis. Columbia.....	1,287 6,568 5,507 25 1,500
	1,111,539 4,499,311 1,269,279 24,519 8,573,255
Total Value.....	\$16,023,964.
Grand Total Value.....	\$77,575,364

**XI.**  
*Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of Value of Produce of Market Gardeners, Nurseries and Florists, &c., Men employed and Capital invested in the United States.*

	Val. produce m'rkt' garden'rs.	Val. produce n'rries & flrsts.	Men employed.	Capital invest'd.
Maine.....	\$51,579	85	689	84,774
New-Hampshire.....	18,648	35	21	1,480
Massachusetts.....	233,004	111,814	232	45,170
Rhode Island.....	67,741	12,604	207	240,374
Connecticut.....	61,938	18,114	202	126,346
Vermont.....	16,276		48	6,677
Total.....	\$489,521	\$148,627	1,459	502,701

	Northern Middle States.
New-York.....	498,128 78,980 525 253,558
New-Jersey.....	246,613 26,167 1,353 125,116
Pennsylvania.....	263,912 50,127 1,168 867,475
Total.....	\$981,651 \$155,274 2,914 1,241,149

	Southern Middle States.
Delaware.....	1,035 1,130 9 1,106
Maryland.....	138,197 10,591 619 48,241
Virginia.....	92,359 38,789 173 19,900
North Carolina.....	25,475 48,581 20 4,663
Total.....	\$283,066 \$99,091 831 74,504

	Southern States.
South Carolina.....	38,167 2,139 1,052 210,860
Georgia.....	19,546 1,853 418 9,218
Alabama.....	31,978 370 85 56,425
Mississippi.....	42,868 489 66 45,063
Louisiana.....	240,042 32,415 849 356,711
Tennessee.....	18,812 71,100 34 10,760
Total.....	\$582,561 \$108,376 2,010 692,152

	Western States.
Kentucky.....	125,071 6,226 350 106,597
Ohio.....	97,806 19,707 149 31,400
Indiana.....	61,212 17,251 309 73,622
Illinois.....	71,911 22,590 77 17,515
Missouri.....	57,181 6,205 8 37,075
Arkansas.....	2,738 415 9 6,538
Michigan.....	4,051 6,307 57 24,573
Florida.....	11,758 10 60 6,500
Wisconsin.....	3,106 1,025 89 85,616
Iowa.....	2,170 4,200 10 1,698
Dist. of Columb.....	52,885 850 163 42,593
Total.....	\$469,697 \$85,168 1,349 456,271

**XII.**  
*Statistical Table showing the aggregate amount of products of the FOREST, No. of men employed, &c., in the United States.*

	Value of Blbs of Lumber.	Tar, &c.	Ashea. Skins.	Gins'ng. &c.	No. of Men.
Maine.....	\$1,808,683	208	\$8,027	32,271	2,862
New-Hamp.....	538,217	1134	2,330	1,220	1,027
Mass.....	344,845	6	60	31,639	174
R. Island.....	44,455			155	50
Connecticut.....	147,841		19,769	13,974	120
Vermont.....	346,938		712½	1,750	2,500
	\$3,126,980		1,098½	\$31,837	\$2,498 4,181

	Northern Middle States.
New-York.....	3,891,302 402 7,613½ 15,536 143,332 4,684
New-Jersey .....	271,581 2,200 20,000 65,073 446
Pennsylvania.....	1,150,230 1,595 263 9,271 44,237 1,998
	\$5,313,113 4,197 7,878½ \$45,126 222,704 7,096

	SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.			
Delaware...	\$5,582		7,557	
Maryland...	226,977	2,527	11,690	115
Virginia ....	532,032	5,909	23,214	49,654 2,218
N. Carolina.	506,768	503,451	38,26	66,040 2,694
	\$1,001,359	\$1,012,820	\$69,031	\$114,941 5,027

	Southern States.
S. Carolina.....	\$587,694 735 \$1,225 9,347 508
Georgia.....	114,650 153 2,928 9,281 221
Alabama.....	169,008 197 3,585 4,281 84
Mississippi.....	192,794 2,248 3,582 6,673 123
Louisiana.....	66,106 2,293 1,179 1,635 54
Tennessee.....	217,806 3,336 1 2,602 1,635 262
	\$1,297,248 8,902 \$14,000 29,191 1,272

	\$1,287,248	5,902	1	\$14,900	22,191	1,272
WESTERN STATES						
Kentucky...	\$130,329	700		\$17,860	34,510	508
Ohio.....	263,621	5,631	6,009½	37,218	15,396	326
Indiana.....	429,701		2	220,885	9,902	790
Illinois.....	203,666		2	39,412	6,763	366
Missouri.....	70,255	356		373,121	4,015	1,194
Arkansas.....	176,617	34		37,647	3,805	343
Michigan.....	326,325		145	54,232	6,453	330
Florida.....	20,546			7,004		8
Wisconsin.....	202,328		1	124,776	3,562	593
Iowa.....	50,281	25		33,594		87
Dist. Colum						
	\$1,929,769	6,747	6,956	\$645,147	84,246	4,464

**XIII.**  
*Statistical Table, showing the aggregate amount of DISTILLED AND FERMENTED LIQUORS produced, number of Men employed and Capital invested in the United States:*

	Distill.eries.	Galls. produc'd.	Brew.eries.	Galls. produc'd.	Men employ'd.	Capital invest'd.
Maine.....	5	191,000	.....	.....	7	\$29,000
N. Hamp.....	5	51,344	.....	.....	7	15,000
Mass.....	37	5,177,910	7	429,800	154	963,100
R. Island.....	4	845,000	3	89,800	42	130,000
Conn.....	70	215,892	.....	.....	42	56,380
Vermont.....	2	5,500	1	12,900	5	8,850
	121	6,493,546	12	565,300	227	1,306,328
Total value.....						\$1,712,566

NORTHERN MIDDLE STATES.						
N. York.	218	11,975,815	83	6,036,122	1,466	3,107,066
N. Jersey.	219	334,017	6	206,375	384	209,276
Penn.....	1,010	6,240,193	87	12,765,974	1,907	1,569,477
	1,441	18,546,025	176	19,051,471	3,697	4,927,407
Total value.....						\$7,968,916

SOUTHERN MIDDLE STATES.					
Delaware.....	3	38,500	9	8,000	
Maryland.....	75	366,218	11	828,140	185,790
Virginia.....	1,454	985,725	5	32,980	1,631
N. Car.....	2,802	1,051,979	...	17,431	1,422
	4,339	2,383,917	19	918,651	5,361
Total value.....					\$523,964
SOUTHERN STATES.					
S. Car.....	251	102,288	...	219	14,542
Georgia.....	308	126,746	22	218	28,806
Alabama.....	188	127,230	7	200	220
Mississippi.....	14	5,150	2	132	12
Louisiana.....	5	285,238	1	2,498	27
Tennessee.....	1426	1,108,107	6	1,835	1,841
	2,277	1,754,041	58	4,597	1,637
Total value.....					\$438,270
WESTERN STATES.					
Kentucky.....	889	1,763,685	50	214,589	1,062
Ohio.....	390	6,322,467	59	1,422,584	798
Indiana.....	323	1,787,108	20	189,392	300
Illinois.....	160	1,557,384	11	90,300	293
Missouri.....	293	508,398	7	374,700	385
Arkansas.....	83	26,415	...	38	10,305
Michigan.....	34	337,781	10	808,686	116
Florida.....	...	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin.....	3	8,300	3	14,300	11
Iowa.....	2	4,310	...	...	3
Dis. of Col. 1	6,000	1	185,000	25	67,000
	2,138	12,323,098	161	2,778,461	3,181
Total value.....					\$3,543,849
Grand Total Value.....					\$14,328,605

## A History of the Policy of our Government in reference to Protection.

(For the American Laborer.)

To the Friends of Home Industry and Reciprocity:

In looking back to the history of our country since the Declaration of Independence, this strange anomaly presents itself—that we have been uniformly more prosperous under the most adverse circumstances, than we have been under these that were most favorable. During the Revolutionary struggle, our lands, where not immediately invaded by the enemy, rose in value; our industry was protected, our agriculture flourished, and our condition was much better when we came out of the war than when we went into it.

Immediately after the peace, we were deluged with British goods upon credit, without the means of making remittances, as our products of agriculture were excluded by the British Government, under duties almost prohibitory, as they now are, except cotton.

A melancholy scene of pecuniary distress soon followed; our manufacturing establishments, which had grown up during the war, were at once prostrated; real property depreciated so as to ruin our wealthiest land holders; agriculture languished for want of a market; Lawyers and Sheriffs had full employment in collecting debts contracted for British goods. State Legislatures were engaged in making laws to give time to the debtor to make payment, to assign property in payment of executions, and in issuing paper money to be loaned to the citizens, to afford them a temporary relief—remedies generally worse than the disease. Our country suffered more in all its means of wealth and happiness in four years of peace, than it had done in the previous seven years' war.

In our late war with Great Britain, called the second war of Independence, our country prospered beyond all former example; real property everywhere rose in value; our agriculture and manufactures flourished; our industry was protected; every man who was willing to work, had full employment, and an adequate reward for his labor.

But on the return of peace, our country was again filled with British manufactures, to the utter ruin of our most important manufacturing establishments and the waste of property to the amount of millions.

During the years 1819, 20, 21, 22 and 23, the most intense suffering pervaded the country, for the want of means to discharge our immense debt, contracted for cheap goods, imported and spread throughout every section of the Union.

Capt. Marryat, in his Diary for a later period, but applying perfectly well to this, says: "In such places as Buffalo and Cleveland, every thing is to be had that you can procure at New-York or Boston. In those two towns on Lake Erie, are stores better furnished, and handsomer, than any shops at Norwich, in England; and you will find in either of them, articles for which, at Norwich, you would be obliged to send to London. It is the same thing at almost every town in America, with which communication is easy. Would you furnish a house in one of these, you will find every article of furniture—carpets, stoves, grates, marble chimney-pieces, pier glasses, pianos, lamps, candelabras, glass, china, &c. in twice the quantity, and in greater variety, than in any provincial town in England." "This arises from the system of credit extended throughout every vein and artery of the country, and by which English goods are forced, as if with a force-pump, in every available depot in the Union; and thus, in a town so newly raised, that the stumps of the forest trees are not only still surrounding the houses, but remain standing in the cellars, you will find every luxury that can be required."

Our country was drained of its specie, to pay for British manufactures, collected by our importing and country merchants by means of our Banks, who substituted their depreciated paper for the sound currency sent abroad.

We long labored under the pressure of a heavy National debt, which absorbed the means of prosperity and internal improvement. Its extinction was hailed as a jubilee, that was to add to our National wealth and happiness. Yet our situation has never been more disastrous than it has been for most of the time since the extinction of that debt.

All these facts go to prove that Foreign wars and a National debt, curses as they are, are less destructive of the prosperity of our country, than is the miserable system of legislation, which leaves our home industry, agricultural, manufacturing and commercial, without adequate protection.

While we are at peace, and the produce of our soil is abundant, our National Legislature should be held responsible for the prosperity of the country. They are as much bound to promote the general welfare, as they are to provide for the common defence. It is a duty imposed upon them by the spirit of the Constitution, to secure by law, so far as they have the power, the just industry of our laboring and productive classes, forming the great body of our population; to find employment for them and an adequate reward for their labor; to save them from the effects of a competition with the laborers of Europe, who work for what will barely support life.

The labor of our productive classes is our only source of wealth and prosperity; if this is neglected, distress, bankruptcy and crime must follow.

Our country is now thoroughly roused to a sense of its situation. A determination every where prevails to investigate the causes of our unexamplified pecuniary distress, and to apply the proper remedy.

For this we are much indebted to the members of the American Institute of the City of New-York, whose measures have led to the establishment of the Home League, for the promotion of American Industry and reciprocal commerce. From the patriotism and justice of the cause in which they are engaged, and its immense importance to the country, there can hardly be a doubt, that they will meet with that public aid and support, that shall insure their success.

The managers of the last Annual Fair of the American Institute, call upon us to inquire, Why are countries possessing advantages bearing no comparison with ours, more prosperous and happy than we? why our country, with its invaluable products of agriculture, its mineral riches, its navigable streams, its boundless water-power, its facilities for manufactures; the intelligence and enterprise of its citizens; their talent in discovering improvements in machinery; why, with all these advantages, are the business concerns of our country subjected to frequent fluctuations, embarrassments, bankruptcy and suffering?

It would be difficult to assign all the causes which have contributed to this deplorable state of things, but it is easy to assign the most important, and that is a want of adequate protection to our Home Industry, and of a just and reciprocal commerce with the powers of Europe.

If instead of passing the Compromise Act of 1833, which to a certain extent is an abandonment of protective Tariffs and discriminating duties, Congress had passed a law countervailing the unjust and selfish commercial regulations of the Powers of Europe, so that the United States should take no more of the products of Great Britain, France, Sweden and Russia, than they take of ours, which would be but strict justice, then indeed the condition of our country would be at this moment more prosperous than it has been at any former period of our history.

In writing upon this subject, I have no party views, for the Compromise Act was not exclusively the measure of the Representatives in Congress of either of the great parties now dividing the Union, but of both, and both are responsible for the consequences of the policy adopted. Many of the most sincere advocates of discriminating and protective duties, voted for the Compromise Act, under a delusive hope that good was to result from it; Some even believed it necessary to save a part of the protective system from impending ruin.

They must now see the utter failure of all the conditions upon which such hopes and fears were founded. And it is a duty which they owe to themselves and their country, to take the lead in all measures necessary to afford a remedy for the evils of this ill fated act.

The time has now arrived, when it becomes the duty of the friends of Home Industry and reciprocal commerce to express, without fear or reserve, and without regard to party considerations, their opinions of the effects of this act, adopted suddenly and hastily at the close of a session of Congress, in which the people at large had no participation. As a new arrangement of duties must

soon take place, if not with a view to afford protection to the industry of the country, at least with a view to revenue, the subject becomes one of intense interest, and of immediate and earnest inquiry.

That I may contribute in some small degree to promote the object of such inquiry, and at the same time answer to the call of the Managers of the last Annual Fair of the American Institute, I will endeavor to give a brief outline of the history of the American Tariff, its adoption and the different changes to which it has been subjected.

The degrading restrictions imposed upon our industry while British Colonies, were intolerable acts of oppression, and enforced with the utmost rigor by the Parliament of Great Britain. Even Lord Chatham, the friend of America, declared that he would not willingly permit the manufacture of a hobnail in these Colonies. This, together with the attempt to tax us without our consent, led to the Revolutionary War.

The war itself afforded protection to our industry, under which manufactures were established and agriculture encouraged, which enabled us to bear the pressure of our long and arduous struggle for independence.

On the return of peace, all protection of our industry was at an end; our manufacturing establishments were abandoned; our agriculture prostrated for want of that market which our manufacturing establishments had afforded, and our country flooded with British goods. The old Congress afforded no protection to our manufactures, for they had no power to do it.

Some of the States adopted laws and laid duties on foreign goods to protect their own industry, but these laws were inefficient from a want of unity of action among the States. New-York and Pennsylvania laid duties upon foreign goods imported into the harbors of New-York and Philadelphia, as well for revenue as for the protection of their manufactures. The revenues arising from these duties, went exclusively into the Treasuries of New-York and Pennsylvania, while a considerable portion of them were paid by the citizens of New-Jersey and Connecticut as consumers. This was an oppression not to be borne by the latter States, and New Jersey, to relieve herself, made Perth Amboy a free port of entry, which completely defeated the object of New-York and Pennsylvania, both as respected revenue and protection. Collisions of a like character took place between other States, which resulted in the abandonment of all protection to home industry. This was a subject of the highest gratification to the British Government, and one of which they endeavored to take the greatest possible advantage.

Lord Sheffield, in his observations on the commerce of the United States, page 276, says: "It is certain that the confusion of the American States can now only hurt themselves. They must pay Europe in the best manner they can for clothing, and many articles for which they are not likely to have the credit they had while in more settled circumstances. If one or more States should prohibit the manufactures of any particular country, they will find their way to them through other States, by various means. The difficulty will only raise the price on the consumers, in the States where the articles are prohibited. The British manufactures found their way to every part



of the country during a most rancorous war, and the most strenuous American manufacturers acknowledge that no impost or excise laws will for a long time be regarded in America. In the mean time, and at all times, Britain will have nothing to apprehend. The United States will hardly enter into real hostilities with Britain. Britain need not quarrel with them at all; but should either happen, some stout frigates cruising between Halifax and Bermuda, and between the latter and the Bahamas, would completely command the commerce of this mighty Continent." His Lordship no doubt meant such stout frigates as the *Guerriere*, the *Macedonian* and the *Java*.

It was impossible, under the limited powers of the old Confederation, to raise revenue from commerce, or protect the industry of the country.—These considerations, more than all others, led to the formation of our present Constitution; the adoption of which was celebrated throughout the United States, by all classes of citizens, but by none with more enthusiasm than by our laboring and productive classes, who in all our great towns and cities from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, exhibited their joy for the benefits secured to them, by immense processions, with flags, banners, mottoes and emblems, expressive of the various kinds of industry to be fostered by this new order of things, and their reliance upon the support of Government; none of which expressed more truly the feelings of the people at large, than the flag of a procession in Philadelphia, the motto of which was "*May the Union Government protect the manufactures of America.*"

The distressed situation of the country required the immediate interference of Congress. The first memorial ever presented to that body, was on the 11th of April, 1789, by seven hundred and twenty tradesmen, mechanics and others of the town of Baltimore, praying an imposition of such duties on all foreign articles, which can be made in America, as would give a just and decided preference to the labors of the petitioners. And that there might be granted to them, in common with the other manufacturers and mechanics of the United States, such relief, as to Congress might seem proper. This was soon followed by a memorial from the mechanics and manufacturers of New-York for the encouragement of manufactures;—From the ship-builders of Philadelphia, praying for the encouragement and protection of their branch of industry; From the tradesmen and manufacturers of Boston, praying for the encouragement of ship-building and manufactures; From the Captains of American ships lying at Charleston, South Carolina, praying for additional duties on foreign tonnage; and from the citizens of New Jersey praying for protection and encouragement in the manufacture of iron and nails.

The second act of Congress, passed on the 4th day of July, 1789, for raising revenue, expressly acknowledges the principle of duties levied for the purpose of encouraging and protecting manufactures.

This act was signed by George Washington, President of the United States, who was a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution; as were also Elbridge Gerry, Nicholas Gilman, Roger Sherman, John Langdon, Caleb Strong, William S. Johnson, Oliver Ellsworth, William Paterson, Thomas Fitzsimons, Robert Morris,

Richard Bassett, George Read, James Madison, Abraham Baldwin and William Fell, Members of Congress, who voted for this bill, and certainly knew whether it was in accordance with the Constitution which they had assisted to form, and which they had signed but a few months before.—This act may be considered as a ceterogeneous exposition of the Constitution, by the authors of both. And yet it is now pretended that Congress has no right to afford encouragement to the industry of the country by a protective Tariff; but that, in imposing duties on imports, they must be governed by a regard to the revenue alone.

Sixteen days after this, Congress passed another act affording the most abundant protection to our tonnage and navigation, by discriminating, and even prohibitory duties, in their fullest extent; and by so doing, rendered an infinite service to the country.

To the encouragement of manufactures Congress were less liberal, and afforded protection with a timid hand, from a belief, probably, that the country was not yet prepared for this branch of industry. In fact, although our commerce flourished beyond our anticipations, our manufactures were depressed for want of the encouragement so liberally and so properly afforded to our tonnage and navigation.

The manufacturers struggled to sustain themselves, and Congress at different times, to save them from utter ruin, gave relief, but not such as afforded adequate protection.

In 1792-94 and 97, small additional duties were laid. In 1800, articles paying a duty of ten per cent. ad valorem were charged twelve and a half per centum; and additional specific duties were laid upon sugar, molasses and wines.

By the act of the 26th of March, 1804, two and a half per cent. additional duty was laid on all articles subject to ad valorem duties, for defraying the expense of our intercourse with the Barbary Powers, and carrying on a war with the Regency of Tripoli. The money to be thus raised was to be called the Mediterranean Fund; and so far from its being intended as an encouragement to home industry, it was carefully provided that this additional duty should cease, at the expiration of three months, from the ratification of a treaty of peace with such Barbary Powers as the United States should be at war with. This duty was continued to 1808.

In 1804 additional duties were imposed; but on the approach of a war with Great Britain, our manufactures were found in a deplorable condition. The wretched policy of neglecting them became most apparent, and Congress hastened, from the necessity of the case, to give an adequate protection to home industry, which they should have done years before.

On the 1st of July, 1812, an additional duty of one hundred per cent. was laid upon the permanent duties then imposed by law, to continue in force during the war with Great Britain, and for one year after the conclusion of peace.

These duties, by an act of the 5th of February, 1816, were continued until the 30th of June following, with an additional duty of 42 per cent. upon the amount of duties which should then exist, on foreign goods, wares and merchandize, until a new Tariff of duties should be established by law.

Although the act continuing these duties presented our manufactures under the most favorable aspect, yet fears were then entertained that they were soon to be doomed to ruin.

On the 16th of February, 1816, the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures, to which was referred the memorials and petitions of the manufacturers of cotton and wool, reported, among other things, "that from the views which they had taken, they considered the situation of the manufacturing establishments to be perilous. A liberal encouragement will put them again into operation, with increased powers; but should they be withheld, they will be prostrated. Thousands will be reduced to want and wretchedness. A capital of nearly sixty millions of dollars will become inactive, the greater part of which will be a dead loss to the manufacturers."

From the want of the encouragement recommended by this Committee, in the establishment of a new Tariff, a great portion of this immense capital was irretrievably lost to the manufacturers and to the country. We were overwhelmed with British goods, and a frightful scene of pecuniary distress pervaded the land.

The Tariff of 1816 was laid with a view to revenue, and not protection, except as to the mercantile and agricultural interests. Due protection was given to the production of cotton, sugar and tobacco, and to the manufactures connected with them, but others, the most important manufactures, were left without such protection, to struggle with foreign capital, foreign skill and foreign labor. Our manufacturing establishments generally were in a more disastrous condition than they had been before—particularly the manufactures of iron and woollens.

The manufacture of iron is one, without which we cannot be considered an independent nation.—For the purposes of defence it is indispensable. None more decidedly merits the fostering care of the Government. As it requires great capital as well as great skill, it cannot succeed without adequate and uniform protection. Yet no manufacturing interest in the United States has met with so much opposition, or been subject to such ruinous losses from the laws of Congress.

In the Tariff bill of 1816, the duty proposed on iron in bars or bolts, except iron manufactured by rolling, was seventy-five cents per hundred weight. This was not half the rate of duty laid upon cotton or brown sugar, which was three cents per pound. It costs as much to make two pounds of bar iron, by the process of hammering, as to produce one pound of cotton or brown sugar. The duty on a ton of hammered bar iron, by this bill, would be fifteen dollars, while the duty upon a ton of cotton or sugar would be sixty-seven dollars and twenty cents.

A motion was made in Committee of the Whole in the House of Representatives, by a Member from Pennsylvania, to increase the duty upon this description of iron, but it failed. And a motion was then made to reduce it to forty-five cents the hundred weight, being nine dollars the ton, and this succeeded by a vote of 89 to 51. Thus were the establishments for manufacturing bar iron in the United States, deliberately consigned to ruin, by the votes of Representatives from States, whose industry was protected by this Tariff bill. Two Representatives, however, from South Carolina,

Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Maynard, voted against this reduction, while two of the Representatives from Pennsylvania, Mr. John Ross and Mr. William Crawford, voted in favor of it. A key to this measure for destroying the manufacture of iron, may be found in the fact that at this time nearly as much iron was made in Pennsylvania as in all the other States. By a reference to the internal duties, we find that the excise upon iron from the 18th day of April, 1815, to the 22d of February, 1816, in all the States amounted to 61,903 dollars, of which Pennsylvania paid \$27,941.

In 1828, and again in 1832, a drawback was given on railroad iron, under regulations which admit of the most gross frauds upon the revenue, and which are still continued. In the Speech of Governor Miller, Senator from South Carolina, on the 23d of February, 1832, he stated to the Senate as follows: "It will be recollected, that two years since, a Company was incorporated in South Carolina, to make a railroad from Charleston to Hamburg; and they applied to Congress to assist them. While the result of this application, and the extent of their means remained uncertain, an intelligent capitalist told me, that if the scheme failed, the Company would realize, in the purchase of manufactured iron, which pays a less duty than the raw material, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars upon the iron purchased for the railroad in Europe, by selling it, for common agricultural purposes." (See printed Speech, page 26.)

I have been informed that very large sums have been realized in South Carolina by the very process suggested by Governor Miller's 'intelligent capitalist,' and no doubt much more will be realized in the same way, as objections were made on the part of South Carolina, to restoring the duty upon railroad iron at the late extra session of Congress, although revenue was much wanted; and further time is given to import railroad iron duty free, to be sold, no doubt, for common agricultural purposes.

After the passing of the Compromise Bill, and almost at the last hour of the session, a bill was smuggled through the two Houses of Congress suspending the provisos of the 10th and 12th clauses of the 2d section of the Tariff act of the 14th of July, 1832, to the 1st of June, 1834, and which have been suspended from time to time, and finally repealed.

These provisos were introduced to prevent gross frauds, by which the duties upon iron were evaded, to the great loss of the revenue, and injury to the manufacturers of iron, who were fully entitled, by the Compromise Act, to the benefit of those provisos. And the Compromise Act was thus violated the first hour of its existence. For this piece of legislation, the reader is referred to Niles's Register, vol. 8th, 4th series, page 35, where he will find a rare specimen of the manner in which business is sometimes managed in Congress.

Under the ruinous Tariff of 1816, the manufacturers struggled for existence, and frequently made appeals to Congress.

By two acts of Congress of the 20th of April, 1818, additional duties were laid upon various articles, including iron and certain manufactures of iron. This relief to the manufacturers of iron was afforded after a great portion of them were ruined.

The first great act based upon the general principles of protecting and fostering the home indus-

try of our country, was that of the Tariff of 1824.

Under this act our surplus revenue found a profitable investment in manufacturing establishments. Our laboring and producing classes found employment, at a rate of wages which enabled them to support themselves and families, and to educate their children. Our agriculturists found a profitable market for their produce, in supplying the manufacturing establishments, and our national wealth and prosperity rapidly increased.

It was one decided object of this Tariff to foster and encourage the growth of wool in the United States, and to promote the manufacture of woollens. This was equally important to the agriculture and the manufactures of the country; but it was attended with great difficulty, inasmuch as it was necessary to lay duties upon the raw material as well as upon the manufactures of it. This required a nice adjustment, for if a due proportion should not be preserved in laying these duties, the whole must fail. If, for instance, a high duty should be laid upon wool and a low one upon the manufacture of that article, it is evident that the manufacture must fail; and as evident that the growth of wool upon such manufacture, must fail.

There was no part of the Tariff of 1824 that the British Government was more determined to defeat than that of duties upon woollen goods.—Before this period, this Government imposed a duty of sixpence sterling upon wool imported for the manufacture of her fine cloths. To meet our proposed increase of duties upon woollens, and to sustain their manufacturers of woollens in our market, they promptly reduced their duty of sixpence, to one penny sterling per pound upon wool, which enabled the British manufacturer to reduce the price of his cloths, and by under-valuations and various other frauds, he was enabled to keep possession of our market as before. In fact, the Tariff of 1824 was completely defeated, so far as the manufacture of woollens was concerned.

It had this good effect, however, that it relieved us from five-sixths of the tax which Great Britain levied upon us, by means of her duty upon wool. For it was a tax of sixpence sterling upon every pound of wool used in cloth of British manufacture, consumed in this country, as direct as if it had been collected in our cities by his Majesty's proper officers. As direct, as the tax the British Government once derived from us under the Stamp Act: As direct, as was the tax she endeavored to lay upon us by means of her duty of three pence sterling per pound on the tea she sent to the rebellious town of Boston.

For the purpose of defeating our Tariff of 1824, the tribute of sixpence sterling, thus levied upon us, was reduced to one penny sterling; just one penny sterling more than we would submit to, in the article of tea, when British Colonies.

The friends of American Industry did not patiently submit to this open and undisguised interference of the British Government to defeat the operation of our laws.

On the 10th of January, 1827, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives, known by the name of the Woollens Bill, the object of which was, to give the manufacturers of woollens the same protection that it was intended to give them by the law of 1824. This bill met with so much opposition in the House of Representatives, that it did not reach the Senate till the 13th of

February—just eighteen days before the close of the session, when there could be no hope of its becoming a law. Various efforts were made to bring this bill before the Senate for consideration, but in vain; it was lost for want of time, which was a great triumph for the British interest.

At the next session another effort was made upon a more extended scale, which resulted in the Tariff act of the 19th of May, 1828. This was called the high Tariff, and was so, as compared with the Tariff of 1816; but a low one, as compared with the Tariffs of the Powers of Europe, with whom we have an established commerce. At this time, however, a high Tariff was necessary for revenue, as our Public Debt was not yet extinguished, and we were still paying upon that debt ten millions of dollars a year.

The chief cause of its being called a high Tariff, and which created the greatest discontent, was the high rate of duty imposed upon woollens, and which in fact was higher than would have been necessary, if a very high duty had not been imposed upon wool. This high rate of duty upon wool was imposed against the will of the friends of the Tariff, and by the votes of its opponents; and it was absolutely necessary to impose a corresponding duty upon woollens, or abandon their manufacture.

On the 23d of April, this bill came to the Senate with this provision, that a duty be laid upon unmanufactured wool of four cents per pound, and also in addition thereto, forty per cent. ad valorem, until the 30th day of June, 1829, and from that time an additional ad valorem duty of five per cent. be imposed annually, until the whole of said ad valorem duty should amount to 50 per centum.

On coarse wools, therefore, of the value of eight cents per pound, extensively imported, but not produced in the United States, the specific duty would amount to 50 per cent. and the ad valorem duty on the 30th of June, 1829, to 50 per cent. more, making the whole duty one hundred per cent. upon the raw material. This was evidently calculated to destroy the manufacture of cloths from the coarser wools.

The operation of this duty upon the finer wools was not so oppressive to the manufacturers, but still sufficiently so to exceed by more than 12 per cent. the duty proposed in the bill upon the cloths to be manufactured from such wools.

This high rate of duty upon wools had been resisted by the friends of domestic manufactures in the House of Representatives, advocated by their opponents, and carried by the aid of their votes.

Mr. Mallory, when he introduced this bill, by instruction of the Committee of Manufactures of the House of Representatives, gave notice that he was opposed to the high duty upon wool, and in his Speech of the 4th of March, he proved most clearly that this duty was calculated to destroy the manufacture of woollens, and of course the growth of wool in the United States, as we could not expect a market for this article abroad.

He made a motion so to modify the duties upon wools and woollens as to except wools costing not more than eight cents per pound, from the operation of the specific duty. This motion was lost by a majority of thirty-four, the gentlemen from the South voting against it. On the 9th of April he made a motion to modify the duties upon wools and woollens, so as to exempt all wools from the

specific duty, and to fix the duty upon wool at 40 per centum until the 30th of June, 1829, and then adding 5 per cent. per annum, until it should amount to 50 per cent. To this Mr. Ingham proposed an amendment limiting the duty to 40 per cent. ad valorem. This was lost by a majority of 41 votes; those opposed to the duty on woollens voting against it. Other efforts were made to equalize the duties upon wool and woollens, but in vain.

The bill as it passed the House of Representatives was considered as defeating the whole object of the measure, so far as wools and woollens were concerned. No hope was entertained that the House would recede from their vote for the high duty upon wool. And no hope was entertained that the opponents of the bill in the Senate would vote for a reduction of the duty upon wool; so far from it, an effort was made to increase the ad valorem duty upon this article, from 50 to 70 per cent. The Senators opposed to the duty upon woollens voting for this increased duty upon wool, which would have made the duty upon wool costing not more than eight cents per pound, amount to 120 per cent. ad valorem.

It only remained for the Senators in favor of the bill, so to adjust the duties upon woollens, that the excess of duty upon the raw material should not destroy their manufacture. They introduced amendments increasing the duties upon woollens, which were adopted by the Senate and agreed to by the House of Representatives, and thus the great interest, which it was the chief object of this bill to preserve, was saved from immediate destruction.

I have been somewhat particular upon this subject, from a wish to do justice to the Senators in favor of the bill, who, in the performance of a sacred duty to their country, had the moral courage to meet the difficulties presented to them, with a firmness and decision that insured success, and placed one of our most important manufactures upon a basis not to be disturbed by any farther interference on the part of the British Government.

This adjustment of duties, upon wools and woollens, made under the most unfavorable circumstances, was not considered as a permanent arrangement; for the time was rapidly approaching when the extinction of the public debt would require a revision of the Tariff, and a reduction of revenue by an amount of ten millions of dollars a year.

It was confidently hoped, that in our happy condition as a nation without a public debt, such a system of duties might be adopted as would yield all the revenue wanted for the purposes of Government, and at the same time afford adequate protection to every branch of industry in our country.

As a measure preparatory to the adoption of such a system of duties, Mr. Clay, in the Senate of the United States, on the 10th of January, 1832, introduced a resolution "that the existing duties upon articles imported from foreign countries, and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties on wines, and silks, and that they ought to be reduced."

Mr. Hayne moved to amend this resolution by striking out all after the word countries and inserting, "be so reduced that the amount of the pub-

lic revenue shall be sufficient to defray the expenses of Government, according to their present scale, after payment of the public debt; and that allowing reasonable time for the *gradual reduction* of the present high duties on the articles coming into competition with similar articles made or produced in the United States, the duties be *ultimately equalized so that the duties on no article, shall, as compared with the value of that article, vary materially from the general average*."

On the 22d of March, 1832, Mr. Hayne declared in the Senate, that this amendment was the farthest possible extent he could accede to, as a Representative of South Carolina.

This amendment, if adopted, was a total abandonment of the principle of discriminating duties for any purpose whatever.

In his Speech in support of this amendment, Mr. Hayne (page 18) says: "We cannot manufacture. Except as to a few coarse articles, *slave labor* is utterly incapable of being successfully applied to such an object. Slaves are too improvident, too incapable of that minute, constant, delicate attention, and that persevering industry, which is essential to the success of manufacturing establishments."

This, in connection with the fact that the slave population of South Carolina greatly exceeds that of the whites, affords a distinct view of the policy of this State, as advocated by Mr. Hayne; a knowledge of which, may be collected from various other sources, but more particularly from the elaborate Speech of Mr. McDuffie in the House of Representatives on the 29th of April, 1830, in which, after attempting to prove the truth of the famous forty-bale system, and expressing an opinion that an additional importation of foreign manufactures to the amount of twelve millions of dollars a year into the United States would take place, but for the encouragement given to our domestic manufactures by high protective duties, he adds: "there is scarcely any limit to the consumption of our cotton in Europe, but that which is imposed by our refusal to take manufactures in exchange for it. If therefore we are permitted to import the twelve millions of dollars' worth of manufactures that have been excluded by our commercial restrictions, or, rather, if they had never been excluded by those restrictions, it cannot be reasonably doubted, that we should now have a demand in Europe for *four hundred thousand bales of cotton* beyond the existing demand."—(Gales and Seaton's Debates, vol. VI. part 2d, page 850.)

This is the four hundred thousand bale system, to be consummated by a total abolition of discriminating duties.

The new adjustment of duties upon imports was debated in the two Houses of Congress with great animation for nearly six months; and resulted in the adoption of the Tariff law of the 14th of July, 1832.

The Members of Congress were never more thoroughly instructed by their constituents, upon any subject before them, than upon this. In obedience to which, the majorities in the two Houses proceeded with great zeal, but at the same time with great deliberation, so to adjust the duties upon imports as to reduce the revenue to the wants of the Government; afford a reasonable protection to the industry of the country, and conciliate the Southern States, by putting at a low rate of duty

certain articles of great consumption among them, as wines and silks, and especially negro cloths, the high duty upon which, under the law of 1828, had been a subject of great complaint.

By the new law, wool of a less value than eight cents per pound, was made duty free; if exceeding the value of eight cents the pound, subject to a duty of four cents the pound, and forty per centum ad valorem. "On all milled and failed cloth, known by the name of plains, kerseys or kendal cottons, of which wool shall be the only material, the value whereof shall not exceed thirty-five cents the square yard, five per centum ad valorem."—These were the negro cloths which by the law of 1828 had been put at fifty per centum ad valorem, now reduced to merely a nominal duty. The duty on bar iron not manufactured by hammering was reduced from \$22 40 to \$18 per ton—on bar iron, from \$37 to \$30 per ton—on Pig iron from 62½ cents to 50 cents per hundred weight, and other descriptions of iron, in a like proportion. The reduction of duties under this law was such as to leave a revenue of about 15 million of dollars from imports, which is the amount estimated by Secretary Taney for the year 1834; at which time the population of the United States including the Territories, amounted to nearly 15 millions—so that the revenue to be derived from our commerce, was to amount annually to about one dollar a head on our aggregate population.

To show how far this law should be considered a conciliatory measure, it is proper to state that the Senate made many amendments to the bill, several of which were agreed to by the House, but they refused to concur in others, among them one to increase the duty on brown sugar from two and a half cents to three cents per pound, and one to increase the duty on broad and narrow cloths costing more than thirty-five cents the square yard from 50 to 57 per cent.

A Committee of Conference was appointed upon this subject of disagreement, consisting of Mr. Drayton, Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Davis of Massachusetts, Mr. Gaither and Mr. Hart, on the part of the House, and Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Dickerson and Mr. Hayne on the part of the Senate. By Mr. Hayne's influence and vote in the Committee of Conference, it was agreed to recommend to the Senate to recede from their amendments. Some of the Senators believed that as the duties upon wools, by the bill, considerably exceeded fifty per centum ad valorem, the duty on the cloth to be manufactured from such wool should also exceed fifty per centum ad valorem, and therefore that the amendment of the Senate should be adhered to. To avoid the vote on receding from the amendment of the Senate, Mr. Bell of New Hampshire moved that the bill and the amendments be indefinitely postponed. On this motion the yeas were Messrs. Bell, Clayton, Foot, Holmes, Knight, Naudain, Robbins, Ruggles, Seymour and Waggaman—10. The nays, Messrs. Benton, Bibb, Brown, Buckner, Chambers, Clay, Dallas, Dickerson, Dudley, Ellis, Ewing, Forsyth, Freelinghuysen, Grundy, Hayne, Hendricks, Hill, Johnston, Kane, King, Mangum, Marcy, Moore, Poindexter, Prentiss, Robinson, Silsbee, Smith, Sprague, Tazewell, Tipton, Tomlinson, Troup, Tyler, Webster, White, Wilkins—38.

Had the Senators from the Southern States voted for this indefinite postponement, the bill

would have been lost. They not only preserved the bill by this vote, but also voted to recede from the amendments of the Senate, thereby contributing essentially to give the bill the form in which it finally passed, and in which form it never would have passed, but for the spirit of conciliation on the part of those who voted to recede from the amendments of the Senate.

Those who voted for the indefinite postponement of the bill with the amendments, were actuated by a determination to preserve a just proportion between the duties upon wool and the cloth to be manufactured from it, except Mr. Waggaman of Louisiana, whose constituents had no particular interest in the manufacture of woollens, but had a deep interest in the manufacture of sugar. Mr. Waggaman could not perceive the justice or policy of reducing the duty upon brown sugar from three to two and a half cents per pound, while the duty upon cotton remained at three cents per pound, without any attempt to reduce it.

The Tariff law of 1828 was repealed, and the law of 1832 reduced the revenue so as to exceed the exigencies of the Government, for the Public Debt was not yet extinguished, yet nullifying denunciations were soon heard from South Carolina. On the 24th of November, the South Carolina Convention, among other things, ordained, that the Tariff law of 1828 (now repealed) and that of the 14th of July, 1832, were "unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers and citizens." And they further ordained, "that it shall not be lawful for any of the constituted authorities, whether of this State or of the United States, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by said acts within the limits of this State; but that it shall be the duty of the Legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement, and arrest the operation of the said acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States within this State, from and after the first day of February next, and the duty of all other constituted authorities, and of all persons residing or being within the limits of this State, and they are hereby required and enjoined to obey and give effect to this ordinance, and such acts and measures of the Legislature, as may be passed or adopted in obedience thereto."

On the 10th of December, President Jackson issued his Proclamation to enforce the revenue laws, and ten days afterward Governor Hayne (late Senator) issued his counter Proclamation.—These documents may be found in Niles's Register together with others upon the same subject, and notices of the military preparations in that State to meet the crisis that was apprehended.

The Legislature of the State, to carry out the provisions of the ordinance, passed a replevin act, much more peaceful in its character than was expected, and leaving no reason to fear any opposition by force of arms to the revenue laws of the United States.

Early in the next session of Congress, Mr. Verplanck introduced a bill, the object of which was to repeal the Tariff act of 1832. After various discussion of the bill, such alterations were made in it as defeated the object for which it was intro-

duced. In the mean time the peaceful reign of Nullification commenced on the first day of February. Mr. Clay, on the 12th day of that month, introduced his Compromise Bill into the Senate of the United States.

As Congress were to adjourn on the third of March, it was evident that this bill could not receive the consideration which its importance merited by the Senators and Representatives; much less could they consult their constituents, and receive advice and instruction. In fact the people whose interests were to be vitally affected, could have no participation whatever in this measure, from want of time.

With a degree of precipitation unexampled, this Compromise Bill was passed, totally deranging the whole system of discriminating duties, and leaving our manufacturing establishments to languish under a slow process of reductions, until the 30th of June, 1842, when they are to receive their *coup de grace*, by a reduction of all protective duty to 20 per cent *ad valorem*.

And this act, hastily passed, is to be considered as one of peculiar sanctity, in fact as an amendment to the constitution of the United States! As such it attempts to restrain future legislation, and to limit the power of Congress—and we are now solemnly warned, not to alter the general average principle of this law, or to abandon this horizontal Tariff, as it has been aptly called, lest we violate the compromise. To lay a low duty upon jewelry, which with a high one would yield no revenue, is to be considered as a violation of the compromise. To lay a high duty upon rum or brandy, is a violation of the compromise. And should we become smokers of opium like the Chinese, and the British merchants should send tons of their pernicious drug to our shores, we shall not be permitted to exclude it by high duties, as this would be a violation of the compromise, and an infringement of the principle of Free Trade! The effects of this compromise were such, as might well have been anticipated. It gave an impetus to the Industry of Great Britain, and caused a corresponding depression of our own. It diverted the capital that should have been invested in manufacturing establishments, to the purchase of lands,—city lots,—fancy stocks and every kind of wild speculation. It led to ruinous importations. In 1834, our imports exceeded our exports by more than 22,000,000 of dollars; in 1835 by more than 28,000,000 of dollars; in 1836, by more than 61,000,000 of dollars, and in 1837 by more than 23,000,000 of dollars—in these four years our imports exceeded our exports by more than one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars.

And can we be at a loss, as to the great and chief cause of the pecuniary distress of our country?

We are blessed with the smiles of Heaven. Our crops are most abundant. Of the produce of the Earth we have enough and to spare; yet a scene of unparalleled distress pervades every part of the country from the North to the South, from the East to the West.

It is in the power of Congress to afford a remedy to all the evils of their past legislation—and if our laboring and productive classes forming three-fourths of our population, will support those, and these alone who protect their industry—all will be safe.

## NEW-YORK ON PROTECTION.

*Extracts from the Messages of the several Governors of this State in relation to the Protective Policy, with the action of the Legislature responding thereto.*

[Collated for The American Laborer.]

*Extract from Gov. GEORGE CLINTON's Message, 16th Jan. 1786.*

"The dangers which we so lately experienced by a dependence on foreign supplies of Iron and Gunpowder, ought to awaken our prudence, and put us on our guard against events, however distant and unforeseen. Our country abounds with materials for carrying on these manufactures to the utmost extent, and we must discover a want of policy and of vigilance, highly inexcusable, if we neglect the obvious advantages which Providence hath so kindly placed within our reach."

*From Gov. GEORGE CLINTON's Message, 11th Jan. 1788.*

"The profuse use of luxuries brought from abroad drains us of our wealth, and is the source from which most of our present difficulties proceed. I would, therefore, submit to the wisdom of the Legislature, the propriety of limiting the consumption of foreign articles, by encouraging the manufacture of our own productions, as far as may be consistent with our situation, and a due regard to beneficial commerce."

*From Gov. D. D. TOMPKINS's Message, 26th Jan. 1808.*

"The improvement of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, will at all times, and under all circumstances, attract the attention and command the exertions of a just and wise Government; but in our present situation, external commerce being almost entirely cut off, and when it is not improbable that an appeal to arms will soon be made, it is peculiarly important to adopt all measures in our power, in order to increase the means of supplying ourselves, and to encourage these arts which contribute to the support and comfort of human life; to facilitate interior communication, and to invigorate the enterprising spirit of our country."

*From Gov. D. D. TOMPKINS's Message, 29th Jan. 1811.*

"The precarious situation of foreign commerce, and a retrospective view of the multiplied violations of our sovereignty and neutral rights, render the astonishing progress which has been made in the improvement and extension of Domestic Manufactures, a source of lively satisfaction. A beneficent Providence has endowed our country with an abundant supply of raw materials of every description, and our citizens are eminently distinguished for persevering industry and for great ingenuity in all mechanical arts. The returns of the Census recently taken prove not only the unexampled increase of Population in the United States, but furnish also evidence of the flourishing condition of our Manufactures. Let us extend to them the utmost encouragement and protection which our finances will admit; and we shall soon convince the belligerents of Europe, to whom we have been extensive and profitable customers, that their

mad and unjust policy toward us will ultimately recoil upon themselves, by giving to our industry, our resources and our policy a new direction, calculated to render us really independent."

*From Gov. TOMPKINS'S Message, Feb. 2, 1816.*

"Among the objects that will necessarily invite the attention of the Legislature, the situation of the Manufacturing interests of the country ought not to be disregarded. The early effort they made to render their country independent of foreign supplies, not a little facilitated the operations of the Late War. *A neglect by Government of their interests, cannot but restrain, in the event of future hostilities, the direction that Patriotism and enterprise would otherwise give to a great proportion of the capital of the country. It is a proposition too plain to require any observation to enforce it; that no nation can be really and substantially independent, which relies on any other for its essential supplies of clothing.* The maintenance of our Manufactures is, in my view, of deep interest to the present and future prosperity of our country, and I confidently recommend them to your patronage and protection."

*From Gov. TOMPKINS'S Message, Nov. 5, 1816.*

"It is greatly to be deplored, when capitalists had, from the purest motives of patriotism, and when the best interests of the country required it, adventured their property in them, that establishments for Domestic Manufactures should have been suffered to be suspended, or even to languish. An appeal to the General Government has produced partial relief; but the utmost exertions of the State Legislature will be required to yield such farther encouragement as will place the manufacturers of domestic articles upon an equal footing with the importers of foreign merchandize."

*Answer of the Senate.*

"The Senate are fully sensible of the necessity of affording every possible support and encouragement to our Domestic Manufactures. Justice demands that we should make an effort to preserve from ruin such of our fellow citizens as have embarked a large proportion of their substance in establishments for this purpose when the interests and necessities of the country required it; and we will cheerfully co-operate in the adoption of any measures which may be thought best calculated to afford them adequate relief."

*Answer of the Assembly.*

"The encouragement of Domestic Manufactures shall also receive that attention which is due to a subject so interesting to the community, and particularly to those who have so largely adventured in enterprises of this nature."

IN SENATE, Jan. 20, 1817.

Mr. ELMENDORF, from the Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly, to whom was referred that part of his Excellency the Governor's Speech which relates to Domestic Manufactures, reported as follows, to wit:

That the return of peace having opened to this country an uninterrupted communication with all the nations of Europe, has held forth such inducements to commercial enterprise, as have deluged our country with foreign fabrics. Though it cannot be expected that such a course of things will

long continue, at the immense loss which must necessarily be sustained by those concerned in the importation of these articles, it is yet to be feared that while Great Britain finds her European market circumscribed by the neighboring powers, she will still contrive to throw into our market such quantities of manufactured goods as will altogether suspend the operation of our Cotton and Woollen Manufactures, if not altogether ruin the manufacturer.

Great Britain established her manufactures on the plan of exclusion. She prohibited manufactures from abroad, and invited the manufacturer to her shores; she taxed the living to employ her looms; and to ensure the sale of their products, ordained that the dead should be shrouded in woollens—and lest the manufacturing art should travel to other countries, she imprisons the weaver and the artisan who make an attempt to withdraw from her dominion.

The Congress of the United States, at their last session, adopted two very masterly reports made by their Committee of Commerce and Manufactures. These reports recognized the importance of manufactures, and the policy of protecting them effectually against foreign machinations.—"The foreign manufacturers and merchants," said the Committee, "will put in requisition all the powers of ingenuity, will practice whatever art can devise and capital accomplish to prevent the American establishments from striking root, and flourishing in their rich and native soil. The American manufacturers have good reasons for their apprehensions. They have much at stake: they have a large capital employed, and are feelingly alive for its fate. The foreign manufacturers and merchants know this, and will redouble with renovated zeal the stroke to prostrate them. They also knew that should the American manufacturing establishments fall, their mouldering piles, the visible ruins of a legislative breath, will warn all who shall tread in the same footsteps, of the doom and inevitable destiny of their establishments."

Many of these predictions are in a course of fulfilment, notwithstanding the patriotic intentions of the Federal Government to prevent it. Some of our manufactories are prostrated, and others tottering to their fall. The duty of 25 per cent., if of sufficient amount, is not of sufficient duration, to produce confidence in men of capital; as at the end of three years it is to be reduced to 20 per cent. It can never be expected that large sums of money will be invested in manufactories, while there is a probability that they will not receive permanent support.

The distress which has overtaken all classes of society since Congress adjourned, evinces the injurious effects of unlimited importations. The farmer and manufacturer, the merchant himself, have felt severely the depression of trade, and the depreciation of their pursuits, more especially in the Eastern and Middle States.

When we consider that much capital had been employed in manufactories—that great inconvenience had been experienced through want of such establishments at the commencement of the late war—when we consider that we have most valuable flocks of merino sheep and cotton in abundance—that in 1815 there were employed in cotton factories alone one hundred thousand persons, and a capital of forty millions of dollars—that of these

100,000 persons, 66,000 were women and children (who were of no service in agriculture)—when we reflect that manufactures will be the life of agriculture, by furnishing a market at home, and restore the precious metals from abroad—the Committee are strongly induced to believe it to be of the highest importance to mature and defend those institutions in their infancy, which in their maturity will requite our beloved country by prosperity and comforts and perfect independence.

New-York has a deep interest in the protection of domestic manufactures, as the late census affirms. In 1810 they exceeded \$33,000,000—and in 1813-14 must have been more than \$50,000,000. This amount of domestic industry we have reason to fear has in a great measure subsided, and can only be revived by affording it full protection, and creating around it a legislative barrier to ward off foreign pressure. This must be done by the General Government: and the Committee believing that the sense of the people of the State of New-York, expressed through their representatives to Congress, will receive due attention, respectfully submit the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and the Delegates of this State requested, to use their influence at the present session of the National Legislature to obtain efficient protection for the infant manufactures of the United States, particularly woolen and cotton, either by a permanent augmentation of the duties upon certain goods, or by the prohibition of such woolen and cotton goods from foreign countries, as can be supplied by our own manufactures.

The Committee further report that they have not omitted taking into their consideration what advantages our manufacturing establishments might be expected to derive from liberal loans out of the Treasury. On this point they are constrained to be of opinion, under present circumstances, that no such aid, within the extent of the ability of the State, can afford that permanent support which might render them publicly useful and profitable to the owners.

The great influx of imported cotton and woolen goods forced into our markets by sales at public auction, rendered practicable and even profitable in consequence of the extensive frauds practiced by shipping them for this express purpose, accompanied with fraudulent invoices, in which they are prized so far below their original cost as to evade the effect of duties upon importation. It is in this way that as well the sale of imported goods, as those of our own manufacture, are successfully forestalled in the market, and ruin has thereby been brought to the door of the fair importer as well as manufacturer. To correct so extensive an evil, an appeal will not be made in vain to the patriotism of the country, for the purpose of introducing into domestic use our own cotton and woolen fabrics; and the Committee deem it not unbecoming the immediate Representatives of the people in the Legislature to set the example.

It is with the proudest satisfaction we can state that our ability to manufacture cotton and woolen, is to the full extent necessary for domestic use; and that we have so far advanced in the knowledge of the art of manufacturing, as to equal in appearance those imported, while at the same time they are much more substantial for wear; and with the exception of cottons imported from

beyond the Cape of Good Hope, it is confidently believed that our own manufactures, especially the woolen, can be afforded for sale in the market for the same prices at which they can be fairly imported. Therefore the Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to the Members of the Legislature, and all Officers of Government of this State, and the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of this State in Congress, to clothe themselves, when acting in their public capacities, in the manufactured goods of our own country; and to take all practicable means to cause them to be extensively introduced into general and domestic use in preference to those of foreign importation.

The Committee also deem it highly expedient, in furtherance of their views above expressed, that the buildings and machinery of all cotton and woolen factories should be exempted from taxation, and that all manufacturers actually employed in manufacturing, should be exempted from all militia duty, from working the public highways, and from serving as jurors in all suits to the value of twenty-five dollars or under; and therefore ask for leave to report a bill prepared for that purpose.

*From Gov. DE WITT CLINTON'S Message, 27th Jan. 1818.*

"As foreign markets are always fluctuating in their prices, and uncertain as to their exigencies, we must rely principally on our own Internal Consumption for the staple and permanent support of agriculture. But this can only be effected by the excitement of other kinds of industry, and the creation of a great manufacturing interest. The excessive importation of foreign fabrics was the signal of ruin to institutions founded by enterprising industry, reared by beneficial skill, and identified with the general welfare. The raw materials of iron, woolen and cotton manufactures are abundant, and those for the minor and auxiliary ones can in most cases be procured at home with equal facility.—Nothing is wanting to destroy foreign competition but the steady protection of the Government and the public spirit of the country. High duties and prohibiting provisions applied to foreign productions, afford the most efficient encouragement to our manufactures; and these measures appertain to the legitimate functions of the National Government. But much may be done by the State Government by liberal accommodations, by judicious exemptions, and by the whole weight of its influence; and much more may be accomplished by the public spirit of the community. For, I am persuaded that if every citizen who adopts the fabrics of other nations, would seriously consider that he is not only paying taxes for the support of foreign governments, but that he participates in undermining one of the main pillars of our productive industry, he would imitate the honorable preference which you have this day evinced in favor of American manufactures."

*Answer of the Assembly.*

"The manufactures of a country demand the attention of every Government which means to preserve a real and perfect independence; not only as they are at all times conducive to the general prosperity, but as they enable her to rely on her own resources when war interrupts her foreign intercourse. Experience has afforded us a lesson



on this subject which should never be obliterated from our memories. We have seen this nation dependent on her enemy for some articles of the first necessity for our armies, and our wants in this respect were too frequently supplied by treasonable violations of the duties of our citizens.

"The patriotic zeal with which many engaged in manufactures, deserves great consideration.—The powers of the State Government, in relation to this subject, are confined to narrow limits by the National Constitution; but we are bound to exert those powers to the greatest extent that a due regard to the general welfare will permit; and we feel the more incited to this by the open avowals made in the councils of our first and last enemy, that it was her policy to prostrate these manufactures which she saw rapidly rising in our country, and which she perceived would soon render us as independent of her workshops as we are of her government."

IN ASSEMBLY, March 30, 1818.

Mr. RANDALL, from the Committee to whom was referred that part of the Speech of his Excellency the Governor, which relates to Domestic Manufactures, reported:

That the subject which has been referred to their consideration, is one that involves the vital interests of the nation. No people can be considered as perfectly independent, that do not possess within themselves the means of furnishing the necessities of life, whether these necessities be considered of a primary nature, or have become so from long and fixed habits of what may be properly denominated luxury.

The Committee are of opinion that this nation is one among the favored few that embraces a soil and climate prolific in the dispensations of all that is requisite to render life agreeable, and the state of society prosperous. Providence seems to have fitted this country for the residence of freemen, and by a proper improvement of the advantages which she has bestowed upon us, to render the New World completely independent of the Old. It remains only for our legislators to pursue the path pointed out by nature, to consummate that first, greatest maxim in national politics—*Be independent*!

To accomplish this, it is only necessary that in a ratio with the increase of our population, should be the increase of arts and sciences, and our manufactures. Impressed with the importance of this maxim, the Committee have viewed with concern the rapid decay which has taken place in some important branches of manufactures within a few years, the total extinguishment of others, and the embarrassments of all. They have endeavored to revert back to the causes which for a time gave them a rapid increase, and again suffered them prematurely to decay. During the dark and portentous days which preceded the late rupture between this country and England, and the consequent embarrassment of commercial intercourse with that nation, all deeply felt the want of the progress of manufactures in this country; and with an ardor peculiar to the American people, many capitalists patriotically endeavored to remedy the evil, by vesting that capital in manufacturing establishments, which had hitherto been employed in commerce. Elated with the hopes of profitable success, they began to hail the day that was to

emancipate this nation as well from the thralldom of British manufactures, as from British maxims of government. The Committee deeply regret that those hopes and those expectations have not been realized.

Whether this disappointment has arisen from the improvidence of the National Government, or the uncalculating zeal of those engaged in manufacturing, comes not within the province of the Committee to decide; but they are apprehensive that it may in a measure be attributed to both. On the one hand we have seen, that while our National Legislature manifested an anxious wish, during the days of trouble, to see our manufactures flourish, yet when the political horizon began to assume a more serene aspect, they failed to establish a Tariff that should prove a guaranty to those who had embarked in manufactures of the greatest importance to the country. On the other, we have seen classes of men possessing less wealth, dazzled with the prospects of gain, to those who had early engaged in manufacturing, embark their all in like speculations, and, thoughtless of the result, lavish, with a prodigal hand, their resources on *Agents* and *sub-Agents*, till the shock felt at the restoration of peace and the revival of commerce, prostrated the fabric of their imaginary riches, and cast them upon the world, bankrupt in wealth as well as prudence.

The Committee are fully impressed with the belief that a want of economy in the management of a variety of manufacturing establishments, (and more particularly those of cotton and woolen cloth,) has been one great cause of the present embarrassment. They are the more strengthened in this belief from the fact which has come within their knowledge, that some of these establishments which have been governed by a rigid attention to economy, have to this day continued to be kept in successful operation. In saying this, the Committee do not wish to be understood as expressing an opinion that legislative protection ought not to be extended to these branches of manufacture. On the contrary, they are of opinion that much ought to be done for them as well as for others. But as is justly observed by his Excellency, "these measures appertain to the legitimate functions of the National Government." But while this duty peculiarly pertains to the General Government, the Committee are convinced that much may be done by the liberality of the State toward enhancing the resources of domestic wealth as well as national independence.

It is on household manufactures which a vast majority of our citizens ought to depend for a supply of the conveniences of life; and the Committee are pleased to see that a fund is about to be established for the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures, the success of which will be accompanied by the enhancement of the quantity as well as an improvement of the quality of domestic goods. In addition to this, the Committee are of opinion that it would be proper to exempt certain descriptions of property vested in manufactories which have not heretofore been exempted from taxation. They have for that purpose prepared a bill and directed their Chairman to ask leave to bring in the same.

The Committee further beg leave to recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

*Resolved*, (if the Honorable the Senate concur

herein.) That it be earnestly recommended to the Members of the Legislature and all Officers of Government of this State, and the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of this State in Congress, to clothe themselves, when acting in their official capacities, in the manufactured goods of their own country; and to take all practicable means to cause them to be extensively introduced into general and domestic use, in preference to those of foreign importation.

*From Gov. CLINTON's Message, June 4, 1820.*

"Experience has evinced the precarious and fluctuating nature of foreign markets for the disposal of our products. Even in the most prosperous times of our commerce, and in seasons of the greatest foreign demand, there was at least twice as much grain consumed in this State alone, as was exported from all the United States. The principal supplies of agricultural productions not required for the use of the agricultural interest, must either be consumed at home or lost to the cultivator. Foreign Commerce may co-operate in creating flourishing Atlantic cities; but internal trade must erect our towns on the lakes and rivers, and our inland villages; and internal trade must derive its principal aliment from the products of our agriculture and manufactures. As the protection of the foreign end of the carrying trade, two of the greatest branches of commerce, is entirely entrusted to the National Government, the State authorities cannot extend their power beyond the encouragement of the home trade, by cherishing the agricultural and manufacturing interests, and promoting the channels of communication; and the coöperation of the general administration for the attainment of these invaluable ends is, to a certain extent, all important.

The reciprocal dependence of the great departments of productive industry is a wise dispensation of Providence to extend the space of human usefulness, to animate and multiply the motives for activity, and to cement the fabric of human society. The successful progress of the important channels of communication now opening in this State will have a benign influence not only in producing facility and cheapness of transportation for the proceeds of labor, but also in creating markets for their consumption. Already do we perceive the establishment of villages on the borders of the great canal; and the raw materials of the husbandman, obtained with comparative ease and cheapness by the manufacturer, will be converted into articles of accommodation and comfort. This, in time, will establish on a solid foundation, an important interest, which will use the fruits of agriculture, as well in the fabrication of commodities as in the sustenance of human life. And thus, by the reciprocal action of benign influences, the great departments of productive labor will harmoniously coöperate in creating individual and national opulence. The carriers, buyers and lenders of commodities will constitute an important class in the interior; and the great accession to the other professions and pursuits, and the general augmentation of our population, in consequence of our growing prosperity, will enable us to carry on a vast system of internal trade, which will, in a great measure supersede the necessity of foreign markets."

*Response of the Legislature.*

IN ASSEMBLY.....FEB. 24, 1820.

Whereas, in the opinion of this Legislature, the

distress which pervades our whole country, has arisen principally, if not wholly, from the heavy importations of foreign goods, the payment for which, in consequence of the low price, and decreased demands of our articles of export, having rendered the balance of trade heavily against us, has caused large quantities of specie to be drawn out of the country, and at the same time brought ruin and distress on thousands of our citizens, who had vested their property in manufacturing establishments, which are now entirely unproductive, and rest a dead weight on their hands: And whereas, the capital thus vested and lying dead, if again brought into operation, and the necessary aid afforded by government to our manufacturing interests, the nation would in a short time, possess within itself, all the essentials of national supply, and thereby prevent that impoverishing drain of specie which has tended very much to cripple our moneyed institutions in their operations, and which must increase if importations are permitted to the extent they now are, until the precious metals are entirely swept from the country: Wherefore

*Resolved*, (if the honorable the Senate concur herein.) That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their influence to obtain such revision and regulation of the present Tariff, and in such other manner as shall in their opinion, tend so much to reduce the importation of foreign goods as shall effectually protect our own manufactures.

*Resolved*, (if the honorable the Senate concur herein.) That it be earnestly recommended to the members of the legislature, and all officers of Government of this State and the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of this State in Congress to clothe themselves when acting in their public capacity in the manufactured goods of our country, and to take all practicable means to cause them to be introduced into general use, in preference to those of foreign importations.

*From Gov. CLINTON's Message, Nov. 7, 1820.*

"Agriculture must look for its principal and solid encouragement to the home market, and this will be improved by the general augmentation of our population, and especially by the increase of that portion of it which is not engaged in the cultivation of the earth. The manufacturing interest, and that numerous class of the community which will be employed in the inland carrying trade, and the dealers in the sale, purchase and exchange of commodities, must contribute the most efficient friends of agriculture. The fluctuations of harvests in the different parts of the United States, and the differences of productions will frequently produce facilities in the way of reciprocal supply; and the necessities of Europe will almost always create in a greater or less degree a demand for our staple articles."

*Response of the Legislature.*

IN ASSEMBLY.....JAN. 16, 1821.

Mr. CROLIUS, from the Committee appointed on that part of the speech of his Excellency the Governor which relates to trade and manufactures, submitted the following preamble and resolutions for the consideration of the House.

Whereas, it is the duty of every government to pursue such course of policy with regard to its internal as well as external relations, as shall tend to a full development of its resources, and the security of its permanent interests and prosperity: The depressed state of commerce for several years past, particularly the last year, having caused a

considerable diminution in the revenue of the nation, and there being no reasonable hope of its speedy revival, it becomes the bounden duty of Government to devise such measures as may tend to relieve as much as possible, the distresses of the community arising from such a state of things. By a proper encouragement of domestic manufactures, agriculture, which is considered not only the source of *wealth*, but the independence of a nation, will be essentially aided. This policy directly tends to promote consumption, as it increases the demand for the raw material, and therefore encourages the cultivation of the soil; it extends the home market, and converts agricultural products into commodities which constitute riches and comfort; it calls forth the energies and capacities of a people, and destroys a pernicious dependence on foreign nations; it encourages productive industry, internal trade and exchange, while it lays the foundation of an extensive and prosperous commerce: Wherefore

*Resolved*, (if the honorable the Senate concur herein,) That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to exert their influence to obtain the adoption of such measures, at the present session as will effectually protect every branch of domestic manufactures against foreign competition; increase the home market for our agricultural products; prevent the existence of a balance of trade against the United States in favor of manufacturing nations; and promote the circulation of American capital among the American people.

*Resolved*, (if the honorable the Senate concur herein,) That it be earnestly recommended to the members of the Legislature and all public officers of the State Government, to the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of this State in Congress and to the people of the State of New-York, to exert every effort to encourage the domestic industry and manufactures of the country, and to introduce them into their families in preference to those of foreign importations.

*From Gov. CLINTON'S Message, Jan, 1, 1822.*

"The great and sudden augmentation of the price of our principal commodity, in consequence of an anticipated relaxation of the Corn-Laws of Great Britain, and its subsequent deselusion on the receipts of unfavorable intelligence, are calculated to make a deep and serious impression on the public mind, and to point to the sources of evils which it may be in our power to obviate. The excess of the products of the soil beyond the consumption of the agricultural interest, must either find a sale in the home and the foreign markets, or be lost to the proprietors. To rely upon foreign markets, is to expose ourselves to the caprice of foreign policy, and to commit primary interests to the guardianship of rival nations. We must therefore consult the substantial and permanent prosperity of agriculture, by providing for the domestic consumption of its productions; and this can only be accomplished by the dense population of manufacturing towns and commercial cities; and it is indeed highly satisfactory to witness the growing prosperity of the manufacturing interest after the blow which it received on the termination of the late war. In its fabrics, its consumptions, and all its operations, it stimulates agricultural industry, by purchasing its productions and administering to its accommodations. And as the superabundance of the products of agriculture and manufactures, must create the

materials of foreign commerce, it is obvious that all these great departments of human industry are dependent on each other, and are closely connected in promoting the general prosperity. A nation purely agricultural, which derives the fabrics of art from foreign supplies, will almost always be poor. Commerce, in order to be beneficial, ought to export more than it imports; and the general state of our country emphatically inculcates the necessity of entrenching ourselves in our own resources, of cultivating the creative powers of domestic industry, and of banishing those excesses of luxury, and extravagance, which are the bane of individual happiness and republican virtue.

"In the excess of our imports above our exports, the prodigal consumption of foreign commodities, the unfavorable rate of exchange, and the exhausting exportation of metallic money, we perceive the sources and the signs of individual distress and national debility; and the course of this commerce which is recommended, not by the wealth it produces for the people, but by the revenue it creates for the Government, must eventually be arrested by the poverty and misery which it will generate. There is no truth more evident, than that our importations must be finally governed by our exportations; for if we consume more than we create, if we buy more than we sell, we must sooner or later, encounter a crisis when our credit and our resources will be exhausted. The necessity of encouraging the home market will be more manifest when we consider that our principal commodities are excluded from foreign countries. Flax seed and pot and pearl ashes are indeed, admitted into Great Britain, but the West India islands are closed against us, and in the loss of a valuable market for our live stock, lumber and grain, we experience no inconsiderable injury. Relying upon the wisdom and public spirit of the national authorities to devise and apply efficacious remedies for these evils, either by amicable arrangements or counteracting restrictions, let us attend to those duties which the importance of the occasion, and the severity of the pressure imperiously demand from our hands.

"Under this impression, it is gratifying to perceive the enterprising spirit of our agriculturists seeking various sources of emolument, directing itself to new objects, and extending its operations over a greater area. When our manufactories were in a great measure prostrated, the price of wool underwent a corresponding depression; but there is now every reasonable encouragement for the raising of sheep, and all that branch of rural economy which embraces grazing and live stock in general, has been a lucrative occupation. Our husbandmen have also turned their attention to the cultivation of hemp and flax, and a machine which has lately been invented for the dressing of these articles, will, in all probability, form a new era in our agriculture. It is estimated that one machine can prepare a ton in a day, at the cost of two cents a pound, thereby surmounting every objection that has been made against this kind of husbandry, and supplying the raw materials of several invaluable manufactures, with a facility equal in importance and similar in character to that which has been successfully experienced in the cotton of the South. The iron ore of all descriptions which is found in many parts of

the State, inexhaustible in quantity, and unsurpassed in quality, has lately attracted pointed attention, and will enable us in a short time to dispense with importations. Salt, manufactured in the vicinity of the ocean, or from those inexhaustible depositories which nature has provided in the interior of the country, can be procured without resorting to foreign supplies.

"Various manufactures, entitled to every encouragement, are rising into notice and usefulness. And I might particularly indicate a valuable establishment in the city of New-York, which, with the adoption of an ingenious invention, is enabled to work up great quantities of wool and cotton, to employ several hundred persons, and to save several hundred thousand dollars to the country. A powerful and general impulse has been given to the fabrication of cotton cloths: thereby rendering us to a considerable extent independent of extraneous supplies, and establishing upon a firm foundation a valuable and increasing market for the most important production of our Southern brethren. And when we extend our view to those great Federal Republics which are rising up in the Southern section of America, breaking the chains of colonial dependence and commercial monopoly, asserting the rights and vindicating the dignity of human nature, with glorious and triumphant success; and when we contemplate the commercial relations, which will grow out of these momentous changes, and the close alliance of interest and intimacy of communication which must necessarily arise from facility of intercourse, from proximity of territory, from reciprocal wants, and from republican sympathies, we must be encouraged in our career of productive industry, under a full persuasion that it will find an ample remuneration for its exertions in the extension of its accommodations to the most opulent regions of the globe."

*Response of the Legislature.*

IN ASSEMBLY, ..... JAN. 18, 1823.

Mr. McCLOUD, from the Committee on Trade and Manufactures, having taken in consideration the great and important subject of national industry, reported the following preamble and resolutions for the consideration of the House:

*Whereas*, public opinion is now drawn to explore the causes of the existing evils and distress that pervade every part of the country, some ascribing it to one cause and some to another, but generally all overlooking the real cause of the destruction of national industry, and likewise overlooking the solemn fact that all nations have fallen to decay, in proportion as they abandoned, and have prospered in proportion as they have protected national industry: And whereas in the opinion of your Committee, the embarrassed state of the country, has arisen principally, if not wholly, from the enormous importations of foreign goods, our imports far exceeding our exports, the payment for which, in consequence of the low prices, and decreased demands for our articles of export, has rendered the balance of trade heavy against us—has caused the specie to be drained out of the country, and at the same time brought ruin and distress on many of our fellow citizens, who had vested their property in manufacturing establishments, a proportion of which are now entirely unproductive: And whereas, the capital thus vested

if properly brought into operation, and the necessary aid afforded by the General Government to our agricultural, and manufacturing interests, the nation would, in a short time, possess within itself, all the essentials of national supply, and thereby prevent that impoverishing drain of specie which has tended to cripple our moneyed institutions in their operations, and which will increase, if importations are permitted to the extent they now are, until the residue of the precious metals are swept from the country; that the heavy and ruinous balance of trade between the imports and exports of this country, has become a subject of great claim, that in the days of our commercial prosperity, war or famine raged throughout the world, whilst this happy country remained neutral, enjoying the benefits arising from a free intercourse and uninterrupted commerce with all nations. Then did our exports far exceed our imports; then was the course of exchange between this and other countries greatly in our favor. But those times have ceased to exist, and the only remedy remaining, in order to reinstate and promote the best interests of this country, is to encourage and foster domestic manufactures, agriculture and internal commerce. Wherefore

*Resolved*, That the present depressed state of our trade and manufactures, may justly be traced to the ruinous and mistaken policy pursued by the General Government; and that we consider the extreme pressure of the times on all classes of our fellow citizens a proper and indispensable subject of public inquiry: that the efficient causes and real sufferings of the people ought to be investigated and ascertained, and that an effectual remedy be discovered and applied.

*Resolved*, That the primary and leading cause of the present desponding and languishing state of our agricultural and manufacturing interests, is wholly owing to the excessive and enormous importations of foreign fabrics and transatlantic manufactures, as well as wheat, potatoes and other articles of foreign productions to the great injury of our farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers; that this glutting influx of products and fabrics from the hands of foreign artists, directly effects an actual prohibition, and a complete destitution of a market for the supplies of our productions; that it damps and paralyzes American genius and enterprise, and introduces amongst us pride, indolence and ignorance, with all their concomitant train of moral and political evils; the natural and inevitable consequences of which, are to drain our coffers of their treasure, not for the benefit or circulation amongst our fellow citizens, but for the support and advancement of foreign nations to the prejudices if not the ruin and destruction of our own.

*Resolved*, That the manufacturing and commercial interests of our country are inseparably connected: that the advancement of the one should not be at the expense and ruin of the others; that the present stagnation of our overgrown agriculture, originates from the infancy and want of protection of our manufactures. But when public patronage shall extend her fostering hand to the latter, the votaries of these noble arts will increase and decrease in number, until they balance each other, and by their mutual and reciprocal dependence will produce the grand "American desideratum—national happiness and National Independence."

*Resolved*, That the establishment and extension of manufactures from materials of domestic production, sufficient to supply our home market, would secure to our citizens all the pecuniary benefits arising from the art of manufacturing, and in the lapse of a few years would become no inconsiderable

source of revenue. That it would open an extensive and honorable field of employment to that great mass of community who are now destitute, and would enable every citizen to procure with ease and facility the necessities and comforts of life; that it would have a direct tendency to promote agriculture, by establishing at home a market, sure and unfluctuating—and by increasing the value of the productions of the soil, and thereby give an incentive to active and productive industry; that it would tend to relieve the country gradually and in a short time entirely, from a disgraceful dependence on foreign nations for the clothing and other necessities essential to our comfort and happiness.

*Resolved*, That it is an incumbent duty of the National Government to extend its fostering care and protection to every species of home industry which are connected with national defence, national interests, and national independence.

*Resolved*, That "allegiance and protection are reciprocal duties—and to withhold the one forfeits the claim to the other." And it is due to justice to state, that the manufacturers of this country have not had that protection afforded them by the Government to which their importance and utility give them so fair a claim.

*Resolved*, (if the honorable the Senate concur herein,) That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions and preamble to each of the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress, and that they be requested to use their influence to obtain such revision and regulation of the Tariff, as shall in their opinion, tend so much to reduce the importations of foreign goods, as shall effectually afford equal protection to agriculture, manufactures and commerce.

*Concurrent recital and Resolutions of the Senate and Assembly, Feb. 11, 1823.*

Whereas, the People of this State engaged in agricultural and manufactures require additional protection for these great sources of national wealth and safety, and the fruits of their toil and industry are sensibly injured by the great influx of foreign manufactures, and the light duties imposed on articles of foreign growth imported into the United States: And, whereas, it is the bounden and paramount duty of all free Governments, to afford encouragement, aid and protection to the internal industry of the country, over which they may exercise a jurisdiction, and thus promote the prosperity and perpetuate the independence of the people: And, whereas, it is the opinion of the Committee on trade and manufactures, after a full and patient investigation of the subject, that laws should be passed by the Congress of the United States, affording a further and more effectual encouragement and protection to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country: Wherefore,

*Resolved*, That our Representatives in Congress be requested to use their best endeavors to procure such alterations in the Tariff of the United States, as will best remedy the evil complained of, by affording permanent and effectual encouragement and protection to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of this State and the other States in the Union. [Same recital & resolutions adopted Feb. 18, 1824.

*From Gov. YATES's Message, Jan. 6, 1824.*

"To ensure the permanent independence and substantial interest of a nation, proper and energetic measures ought not to be neglected by its government, to prevent as far as practicable, a dependence on foreign supplies for articles of domestic consumption. During the late war with Great Britain, manufacturing establishments of various descriptions, for fabrics since imported to an alarming extent, were in successful operation,

sufficiently so to test our ability and capacity to supply the necessities of the country; but for the want of due encouragement by counteracting duties, to prevent the destruction of those manufactures, as well as to avoid an alarming foreign indebtedness on the part of our citizens, some of them have ceased to exist, but others have been continued, by the unwearied perseverance and enterprise of meritorious citizens, whose confidence in the fostering care of Government eventually to sustain them, could not be shaken: and I trust that the period has at length arrived, when an almost united and general opinion favorable to their support by discreet and competent encouragement prevades the community; and which it is confidently hoped and expected will not be disregarded by the constituted authorities of the country.

*Response of the Legislature.*

IN ASSEMBLY,..... JAN. 13, 1824

Mr. McCLEURE, from the Committee on Trade and Manufactures, reported:

That they have taken into consideration this important and interesting national subject, and from the view the Committee have taken, they are convinced that the time has arrived, when this country must depend upon its own resources; and that it is not only the interest, but the duty of the national government, to encourage and protect our agriculture and manufactures from foreign competition, until we are placed upon the fair and equitable grounds of reciprocity, with all such nations as we have intercourse with. For to use the language of a wise and enlightened statesman "to be independent for the necessities and comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves; we must place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist, as not only the wealth, but the independence and security of the country, are materially and inseparably connected" with the prosperity of both.

The Committee view with serious apprehensions, the total failure of some of our infant manufactures, and consequent injury to the agricultural interest of the country, unless wisely and extensively protected by Government.

The Committee are decidedly of the opinion that every wise nation, with a view to these great objects, ought to endeavor to possess within itself, all the essentials of national supply; these comprise the means of subsistence, clothing and defence, and which are as necessary to our independence and comfort as they are to our existence as a nation.

The Committee deem it unnecessary to enter into an elaborate discussion of this subject from a conviction that our Representatives in Congress, who are friendly to the promotion of home industry, will advocate the cause of their constituents with their usual zeal and ability, and from a belief that not only this House, but a great proportion of our fellow-citizens, are thoroughly convinced of the necessity of giving every possible aid, encouragement and protection to every species of American industry, as well as to the enterprise and genius of our citizens, whereby our present distresses would be alleviated and confidence be restored. But to effect this desirable object, it is evident that the interference and aid of the General Government are indispensable.

*From Gov. CLYTON'S Message, Jan. 1, 1828.*

"Whatever differences of opinion may prevail as to the most eligible means of fostering manufactures, there can be none as to the expediency of a judicious encouragement. To work the products of soil, forests and mines into fabrics for our own accommodation, is obviously in accordance with our highest interests, and in unison with the most approved doctrines of political philosophy. Our staple productions being either not required in Europe or excluded to a great extent, directly from the West Indies, it behoves us to resort to other expedients to supply our wants at home, or to meet the exigencies of other countries. The culture of Hemp and Flax has been strongly recommended for both purposes."

The Committee, therefore, respectfully submit the following preamble and resolutions for the consideration of the House."

*Whereas*, in the opinion of this Legislature, the great distress which pervades this country has arisen principally, if not wholly, from the great influx of foreign goods, the payment in consequence of the low prices and decreased demands of our articles of export, having rendered the balance of trade heavy against us, and consequently has caused large quantities of specie, bank, Government and other stocks to be drawn out of the country, and has brought in its train, ruin and distress on thousands of our fellow citizens who had vested their property in manufacturing establishments which are now entirely unproductive: And whereas, the evils that have borne so heavily on the manufacturer, in consequence of such excessive importations, are now felt by the agriculturalist, and consequently extend throughout the whole community, and will progress until relief and protection are afforded to our agriculture and manufactures by the National Government whose province alone it is to protect and foster them, by such additional duties and restrictions as shall secure to them a home market, and enable them to compete with foreigners: Therefore

*Resolved*, That the agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests of our country are inseparably connected: that the advancement of the one should not be at the expense and ruin of the others; that the establishment and extension of manufactures from materials of domestic production, sufficient to supply our home market, would secure to our citizens all the pecuniary benefits arising from the art of manufacturing and in the lapse of a few years would become no inconsiderable source of revenue; that it would open an extensive and honorable field of employment to that great mass of the community who are now destitute, and would enable every citizen to procure with ease and facility the necessities and comforts of life; that it would have a direct tendency to promote agriculture by establishing at home a market, sure and unfluctuating, and by increasing the value of the productions of the soil, give an incentive or active and productive industry; that it would tend to relieve the country gradually, and in a short time entirely, from a disgraceful dependence on foreign nations for the clothing and other necessities essential to our comfort and happiness.

*Resolved*, (if the honorable the Senate concur herein.) That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their influence to obtain such a revision and renovation of the present Tariff, and in such other manner as shall effectually protect the agriculture and manufactures of our own country.

In SENATE, Feb. 18, 1824.

The above resolutions were amended, by expunging the preamble, and agreed to.

*From Gov. MARCY'S Message, Jan. 1, 1833.*

"Manufactures are a branch of industry emi-

nently connected with our prosperity, and at this time an object of peculiar solicitude to a large portion of our constituents. The principle of giving encouragement and protection to them was recognized in one of the first acts of Congress passed after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The representatives of all the States in the councils of the nation, have at one period or another, given their sanction to this principle; and down to the present period it has entered into and influenced the policy of the Federal Government. The extent to which it should be carried has often been in dispute; but the rightful authority to encourage and protect manufactures, either directly or incidentally has not until within a recent period been seriously questioned by any considerable portion of the people of the United States. I am persuaded there is nothing in the operation of this principle, in a course of wise and prudent legislation, that conflicts with the objects for which our federal compact was formed, or that imposes unequal and oppressive burdens on the people of one section of the country, as the necessary consequence of the benefits it confers upon others. If this principle has been misapplied, and injurious effects have thereby resulted, the proper remedy for them, does not require an abandonment of it."

*From Gov. MARCY'S Message, Jan. 7, 1834.*

"The citizens of this State have invested a large amount of capital in manufacturing establishments. The encouragement which this branch of industry has been most anxious to obtain, is protection against foreign rivalry; and this could be given only by the General Government. The policy, as well as the right of giving it, otherwise than as it incidentally results from the imposition of such duties on imports as are necessary to raise a revenue merely sufficient to support the Government, has been contested. This interest has suffered by the frequency of legislation on the subject of the Tariff, and by the uncertainty as to the measure of protection it would permanently receive. Hopes are now confidently entertained that the existing laws will remain for some years without material modification. Should such be the case, there is reason to believe that our manufactures will flourish, and soon acquire a permanency which will enable them to withstand foreign competition."

#### How Free Trade is Propagated.

Most of our readers will have seen and read what purported to be the Report of Mr. Hume to the British Parliament in favor of Free Trade or low duties as affording most Revenue, and the best Protection. It was published in an extra or double sheet of Bennett's Herald, the British organ here, and in every way forced into circulation. The following extract from a late speech of Mr. Randolph of N. J., exposes a part of the knavery of this pretended Report:

A report of Mr. Hume (to the English Parliament) made some time since in the House of Commons, was relied on by Mr. Habersham, and his Free Trade friends, to sustain the position *that low duties will produce the most revenue*. That report has been widely circulated in this country, and had been placed *gratuitously* in the hands of each

of our Representatives (whether by British or American aid we need not state,) for it was printed in Carlisle, England, and sent in sheets to this country, and was held to be *authority* as to this point.

But on examination, it was ascertained that the document was *not*, as it purported to be, the report of Mr. Hume. *It consists of garbled extracts, carefully culled out, and so arranged, as to teach us poor Republicans correct notions of Free Trade, by altering the testimony, by misapplying the facts, in short by making the report answer the ends which its "British getters up" had in view, viz: of deceiving us into the belief that the low duties will produce the most revenue.*

So much for British influence! So much too for the *fears* entertained by Britain if American Industry were properly encouraged!

#### What would a Tariff do for the Laborers of this Country?

A Free Trade friend in Illinois, in a private letter of friendship and good will, writes us as follows:

"My personal affairs are not as prosperous as I could wish. I undertook to make a farm and raise a crop of corn, beans and tobacco. When I began, corn was worth 25 cents, beans 150, and tobacco 7. When I got through with my crop every thing was down to zero—corn *no sale*, beans 25 cents, tobacco 24 cents—so I sold out; lost some \$400, cursed the business, and quit. I have now got some 40 acres of land well broken and fenced, and a log cabin on it. I have 240 acres in a box, but only about 40 in cultivation. I live in town and follow my profession; but now *this business* as well as all others, is too dull to afford a living. Money is exceedingly scarce here, and, withal, goods (merchants' goods) are very high. The farmers have nothing to buy money with except their wheat, and even that is generally pledged for the payment of some merchant's claim long before it is harvested. The merchants are the only men who do make money, and the only aristocrats we have. I have said money was scarce; so indeed it is, and daily getting scarcer. The banks are constantly collecting their issues and curtailing their circulation preparatory to a resumption of specie payments, and as our population is deeply in debt, it is deeply affected by this movement. Each revolving day finds the poor debtor more unable to meet his engagements, and farther from obtaining relief; and what is worse, there does not appear to be any prospect of an improvement in monetary matters. All over the world men have changed from being idle consumers to active producers: the world is full of provisions, and every body is still raising, with no prospect of finding mouths to consume. You advocate a high Tariff, or a moderate Tariff, and seem to suppose that will afford a remedy for existing evils; but you have left the great point of 'how the producer is to be benefited' unexplained, i. e., how the farmer is to get a good price for his corn when there is more corn in the world than the world can eat. If you could set half the people in the United States to manufacturing, the other half might do well enough at raising corn for them; but, unfortunately, as soon as you cut off the manufactures of Europe from our market, you throw myriads of miserable foreign operatives out of employ, who will come here and raise corn. The price will fall of course, and then hard times will come again. You still cling to an idea which I think ought to have been exploded long ago, viz., that legislation can afford a remedy for a disordered currency and hard times."

Having thus quoted the whole of our friend's statement of the case, we propose now to answer, as clearly as we may, his main question, 'How the Producer is to be benefited?' by a Protective Tariff. True, we have repeatedly attempted to do this, in our Report on the Principle of Protection to the Home Industry Convention, and in many Editorials. But, since our friend has either not seen or not read these, or does not consider them at all to the purpose, and there are doubtless others in the same predicament, we will make one more patient effort.

Our friend does not give a very clear account of what are the actual prices of agricultural products

in Central Illinois at present; but, from various sources we are able to state them very nearly, as follows: Wheat 31c., Beans 25c., Corn 18c., Pork 14c., Beef 14c., Tobacco 24c., &c. &c. Now the prices of Manufactured Goods in that State are nearly as high as ever there, as we learn from this letter and other sources. In other words—Illinois, being almost wholly devoted to Agriculture, the products of such culture command on her soil only from *one-fourth* to *one-half* their average value throughout the civilized world; while all articles which she receives in exchange for her surplus products cost her quite as much as their average value elsewhere, and in fact rather more.

Let us state the case again: Good Broadcloth costs in England say \$3 per yard, is sold to Illinois merchants at \$3 50, and by them retailed at \$5 per yard. Each yard of it consumed there costs her sixteen bushels of Wheat, twenty bushels of Beans, twenty-six bushels of Corn, over three hundred weight of Pork or Beef, or two hundred weight of Tobacco, as the case may be. At the same time, the producers of this same cloth in England receive for it per yard less than *two* bushels of Wheat or Beans, *three* of Corn, *twenty* to *thirty* weight of Pork or Beef, or *three* or *four* pounds of Tobacco. In other words—the Producer on one side receives about an *eighth* or *tenth* part of the price paid for his goods (in products) by the producer on the other side of the water.—Does our friend begin to see into the mischief now?

—'Ah but!' says a Free Trader, 'just take off all the duties, and this enormous disparity would cease!' Undoubtedly, if *all* duties were taken off on both sides, it would be diminished; but our taking off the twenty or thirty per cent. we levy on British Manufactures, while her exaction of one to five hundred per cent. on our Agricultural products continued in force, would not mend the matter. But let *all* duties be taken off on both sides, and still the evil is but palliated, not removed. There still remains the flagrant disparity which *must* exist so long as four thousand miles of land and water lie between the producers of Food on the one hand and Clothing on the other.

Now we insist that this State of things is injurious to the producers of *both* Countries—the Agricultural and the Manufacturing—but let us see how it bears upon them *relatively*: Suppose that all duties are abolished on both sides and, a perfect Free trade established, this is an inevitable result: the Country producing Grain, Meat, &c. and buying its Cloths and Wares therewith *must sell its Products at such a price that they can be transported to those Countries which buy food and there sold lower than the same can be afforded from other quarters*. For instance; the average price of Wheat in the interior of Russia and Poland is as low as 50 cents a bushel; at Odessa 80c. (cost of trans-

porting to England 15;) at Dantisc 90c. (cost of transporting to England 10,) &c. &c. That is, all duties being discarded, England can buy all the Wheat she wants at an average cost of \$1 per bushel at her wharves; and Illinois, if she buys her Cloth of England, must sell her Wheat at that price, less the cost of transporting it from her soil to England, which would be at least 50c. from Chicago and Alton, and 75c. from her interior. Of course, the average value of Wheat throughout the State could not exceed 37½c. per bushel; and that of other Agricultural products would range accordingly.

But, while the Illinois farmer would thus be forced to sell his products for about one-third their average price throughout the world, the Cloth which he would receive in exchange would cost him fully its average price elsewhere, and, being of little bulk and weight in proportion to its value, would cost but little comparatively for transportation. That is to say, allowing both Cloth and Grain to sell at their ultimate markets at their average value throughout the world, the Illinois farmer must pay two-thirds of the market value of his Grain for its transportation to England, while the British manufacturer will pay but a fifth part of the value of his Cloth for its transportation to Illinois. Is there any longer room for wonder that the Farming community is embarrassed? Is not here a clear explanation of the fact that a merely Agricultural community, exchanging its products for the Manufactures of distant lands, has very rarely been independent and prosperous? And will not our friend see here a reason why Manufactures are said to need Protection, clamor for Protection, &c.?—their small bulk compared with the labor, capital and skill required to produce them bringing them in direct competition with the cheapest corresponding products of any part of the world, while Agricultural staples are protected from such rivalry at least fifty per cent. by their bulk alone.

Here, then, in order to pay for one hundred yards of Broadcloth in Illinois, (costing \$300) eight hundred bushels of Wheat must there be produced; three-eighths of which goes to the cloth-maker in England, and five-eighths to support the numerous shippers, factors, merchants, &c. &c. who form the chain between the two widely separated classes of producers. Now, suppose these Producers could have the sagacity to perceive that they are thus drudging and famishing to no purpose: and the Grain-growers should say to the Cloth-makers—'We cannot go to you to raise Grain, for there is not sufficient Land in England, and the Aristocracy hold it at most exorbitant rates; but do you Cloth-makers come to us; and we will lay such a duty on Foreign Cloths that you can securely and profitably pursue your business, in spite of the discouragements and losses incident to such a new branch of business.' What is the conse-

quence? Suppose the same broadcloth which costs \$3 in England would for a short time cost \$4 50 if made in Illinois, how would the farmer's account stand? The moment Manufacturing within and around his State became so extended as to consume all its surplus Grain, the price of that article would rise nearly or quite to the average of the world, or \$1 per bushel. Now, instead of paying ten bushels of Wheat at 37½c. for a yard of English broadcloth costing \$3 and selling at \$3½ to \$4, he would pay at most six bushels for the American article, costing \$5; and this Home Policy, though effecting an absolute saving of nearly one-half of the cost to the farmer, is stigmatized as *taxing him fifty per cent. for the exclusive benefit of the manufacturer!*

We cannot, within the reasonable compass of a single article, follow out this simple exposition into all its results; yet we think our friend can hardly fail to see by this time how Protection is to benefit the Producer or Laborer, not in one vocation but in all; not of our own country only, but the famished workmen of Europe also, by vastly diminishing the number of non-producers or intermediate agents of transmission and exchange, who now eat out the substance of the land.

We are grieved to hear a thinking man talk of excessive production, danger of influx of foreign producers, &c. &c. in this Nineteenth Century. Where has the man been this age? That there may be an excessive product in a particular sphere of industry is most true; and if the development of a Nation's resources is partial, one-sided and shapeless as ours yet is, that may be a source of disaster and suffering. But if the National energies were fully and fairly developed—if Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce had each its due proportions—we might as rationally talk of starving from excess of food as National embarrassment from excess of Production. In such a state of things, every well-disposed laborer who came among us would be a welcome and positive addition to the National wealth, no matter to what calling he might apply himself. If the fact be otherwise now, the fault is not with the immigrants, but in our neglect fully to foster and develop our Home Industry in all its feasible departments.

—There are some other points which we must touch at another time.

#### A Thought for Patriots.

It is a fact which ought to have weight that every advocate of what is called Free Trade, is acting precisely as the Aristocracy of Great Britain desire of us. They all insist that we ought to take British goods at low or no duties, while our products are charged an average of 250 per cent. in return. This may be very advantageous for them, but can it be wise in us or just to our own interests?



From the Albany Evening Journal.

## The House Tariff Bill.

A Comparative Statement of the most Important Articles bearing Specific Duties, as imposed in the Bill just passed by the House of Representatives, and by the Act of 1832.

NAMES OF ARTICLES.	DUTIES BY	
	ACT 1832.	HOUSE BILL.
Flannels and baizes, square yard..	16	14
Carpeting, russels, &c..do.	63	55
do Venetian, &c..do.	35	30
do flour of th pat..do.	43	35
Oilcloth furniture..do.	124	10
Cotton bagging..do.	54	5
Vinegar..do.	8	8
Beer in casks..do.	15	15
Beer in bottles..do.	20	20
Oil, fish, &c..do.	15	15
Oil, olive..do.	25	20
Oil, castor..do.	40	20
Oil, linseed..do.	25	25
Oil, rapeseed..do.	25	25
Sugar, brown..pound.	24	24
Sugar, white clayed..do.	24	4
Sugar, loaf..do.	12	6
Sugar, lump & other ref..do.	10	6
Sugar, candy..do.	12	4
Sugar, sirup..do.	24	5
Chocolate..do.	4	4
Cheese..do.	9	4
Tallow candles..do.	5	4
Lard..do.	3	3
Beef and pork..do.	2	2
Bacon..do.	3	3
Butter..do.	3	5
Saltpetre, refined..do.	3	2
Oil of vitriol..do.	3	1
Dry ochre..do.	1	1
Ochre in oil..do.	14	1
Red and white lead..do.	5	4
Whiting..do.	1	14
Litharge..do.	5	1
Sugar of lead..do.	5	4
Lead, pig, &c..do.	5	4
Lead, pipes..do.	5	4
Lead, old scrap..do.	2	14
Cordage, tarred..do.	4	5
Cordage, untarred..do.	5	6
Twine, pack thread, &c..do.	5	6
Corks..do.	12	30 pr c
Copper rods and belts..do.	4	4
Copper nails and spikes..do.	5	4
Wire, cap or bonnet..do.	12	12
do iron & steel nov adv No 14..do.	4	8
do do do above No 14..do.	2	8 a 11
Iron nails..do.	4	8
Iron spikes..do.	4	24
do cables, ch'ns and parts..do.	3	24
do anchors..do.	2	24
do anvils..do.	2	24
do h'kmit's hams, &c..do.	24	24
do castings vessels, &c..do.	14	14
do all other..do.	1	1
do round and braziers rods		
do 3-16 & 8-16 dia..do.	3	24
do nail or spike rods..do.	3	24
do sheep or hoop..do.	3	24
do band &c..do.	3	24
do in pigs..do.	50	50
do old scrap..do.	624	50
do bar rolled..do.	150	137
do bar hammered..do.	90	85
Hemp..do.	209	200
Alum..do.	250	50
Copperas..do.	200	200
Wheat flour..do.	50	70
Salt..do.	6	75
Coal..do.	6	75
Wheat..do.	25	25
Oats..do.	10	10
Potatoes..do.	10	10
Paper, folio and q'r p't..lb.	20	17
do foolscap, &c..do.	17	15
do printing cop'pt, &c..do.	10	104
do sheathing, &c..do.	3	3
Paper, all other..do.	15	15
Books prior to 1775..vol.	4	4
do other than English..do.	4	4
do Greek and Latin b'd..do.	15	15
do do do unb'd..do.	13	13
do all other unb'd..do.	30	13
do all other unb'd..do.	28	13
Aph's vials under 8oz..gr.	71	71
do do 6 to 16oz..do.	25	25
Demijohns..No.	25	15 a 20
Glass bottles to 1 quart..do.	200	300
Glass bottles over 1 qt..do.	25	400
Playing cards..do.	30	25
Window glass not over 8 by 10, per		
100..do.	300	250

Window glass over 8 by 10 and not over 10 by 12, 100 square feet..	50	50
Window glass over 10 by 12, do..	400	600
Fish dried or smoked, quintal..	100	100
Fish, salmon..barrel..	300	300
Fish, mackerel..do.	150	150
Fish, all other..do.	60	100
Shoes and slippers, silk, pair..	30	25
Shoes, prunella..do.	25	25
Shoes, leather, &c..do.	25	30
Shoes, children..do.	15	15
Boots and booties..do.	150	120
Wool over 8 cts..pound..	40 pr ct	30 pr ct
and 4 cts..	43 cts	43 cts
Woolen yarn..do.	50 pr ct	30 pr ct
and 4 cts..	43 cts	43 cts
Merino shawls..per ct..	50	40
Cloths and cassimeres..do.	50	40
Other woollen manufac..do.	50	30
Clothes, ready made..do.	50	50
Glass, cut..pound..	50 pr ct	25 a 42
and 4 cts..	43 cts	43 cts
Glass, plain and other..do.	20 pr ct	10
and 2 cts..	42 cts	42 cts

## Passage of the Tariff Bill by the House.

The great Measure of the Session—the bill to provide adequate Revenue for the Government and at the same time protect the Industry of the Country—passed the House of Representatives on the 16th of July, by the following vote:

YEAS.—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Landaff, W. Andrews, Sherlock J. Andrews, Appleton, Arnold, Ayrigg, Babcock, Baker, Barron, Barton, Birdseye, Blair, Boardman, Bond, Botts, Briggs, Brockway, Bronson, Jeremiah Brown, Burnell, Calhoun, Thomas J. Campbell, Childs, Chittenden, John E. Clark, Staley, N. Clarke, James Cooper, Cowan, Cranston, Cravens, Cushing, Garrett Davis, John Edwards, Everett, Fessenden, Fillmore, A. Lawrence Foster, Gates, Gentry, Giddings, Goggin, Patrick G. Goode, Graham, Granger, Green, Hall, Halsted, Howard, Hudson, Joseph R. Ingersoll, James Irvin, WILLIAM W. IRWIN, James, William Cost Johnson, Isaac D. Jones, John P. Kennedy, Lane, Linn, McKean, Thomas F. Marshall, Samson Mason, Matlock, Matlocks, Maxwell, Maynard, Moore, Morgan, Morris, Morrow, Osborne, Owlsey, Parmenter, Pearce, Pendleton, Pepe, Powell, Ramsey, Benjamin Randall, Alexander Randall, Randolph, Ridgway, Rodney, William Russell, James M. Russell, Saltonstall, Shepperd, Simonton, Slade, Truman Smith, Sollers, Sprigg, Stanley, Stokely, Stratton, Alexander H. H. Stuart, John T. Stuart, Summers, Talliaferro, John B. Thompson, Richard W. Thompson, Tillinghast, Toland, Tomlinson, Triplett, Trumbull, Underwood, Van Rensselaer, Wallace, Washington, Edward D. White, Joseph L. White, Joseph L. Williams, Yerke, Augustus Young, John Young—88.

**Van Buren** man (1) in Italics; the Tyler men (2) in small capitals; the remainder (113) in Roman are WHIGS.

NAYS.—Messrs. Arrington, Atherton, Beeson, Bidlack, Black, Bowne, Boyd, Brewster, Aaron V. Brown, Milton Brown, Charles Brown, Burke, Sampson H. Butler, William Butler, Wm. O. Butler, G. W. Caldwell, P. C. Caldwell, J. Campbell, W. E. Campbell, Caruthers, Cary, Casey, Chapman, Clifford, Clinton, Cotes, Mark A. Cooper, Cross, Daniel, Richard D. Davis, Dawson, Dean, Deberry, Doan, Doig, Eastman, John C. Edwards, Egbert, John G. Floyd, Charles A. Floyd, Forbance, Thomas F. Foster, Gamble, Gerry, GILMER, William O. Goode, Gordon, Gustine, Gwin, Habersham, Harris, John Hastings, Hays, Holmes, Hopkins, Houck, Houston, Hubard, Hunter, Charles J. Ingersoll, Jack, Cave Johnson, John W. Jones, Keim, Andrew Kennedy, King, Lewis, Littlefield, Abraham McClellan, Robt. McClellan, McKay, McKoon, MALLORY, Marchand, Alfred Marshall, John T. Mason, Mathews, Medill, Meriwether, Miller, Mitchell, Newhard, Partridge, Payne, Pickens, Plumer, Read, Reding, Rencher, Reynolds, Rhett, Riggs, Rogers, Roosevelt, Sanford, Saunders, Shaw, Shields, William Smith, Snyder, Steenrod, Sumpster, Jacob Thompson, Turney, Van Buren, Ward, Warren, Watterson, Weller, James W. Williams, C. H. Williams, Wood—112.

**The Whigs** (14) are in Italics; the Tyler men (2) in small capitals; the remainder (96) in Roman, are Van Buren.

Absent, 4 Whigs, 2 Tyler, 6 Van Buren.

Several Van Buren members professed a willingness to vote for a Tariff, if the clause containing the Distribution of the Public Land Proceeds to the States were stricken out; but this would have alienated more votes than it gained.

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 6.

Office No. 30 Ann-street,  
Near Astor House, Broadway.

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1842.

{ Price..75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

OF THIS (SEPTEMBER) NUMBER.	
I..A TARIFF AT LAST—(Editorial).....Page	161
II..THE NEW TARIFF—(A Synopsis).....	162
III..SPEECH OF HON. A. H. H. STUART, of Va.....	163 to 178
IV...ANNIVERSARY OF THE HOME LEAGUE.....	178 to 180
V...SPEECH OF HON. CHASLES HUDSON, of Mass.....	181 to 182

### A Tariff at Last!

We have delayed the issue of this number of The Laborer a few days, in order that we might be able to announce in it, as we do most joyfully, THE PASSAGE OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF BY CONGRESS, AND ITS SANCTION BY THE PRESIDENT.—This vital measure was consummated on the 30th ult. and, taking effect immediately, is now the law of the land. The history of the action upon the subject since our last is briefly as follows:

The bill, of which a summary of its provisions with the vote of the House thereon was given in our last, passed the Senate on the 5th of August by the following vote:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Archer, Barrow, Bates, Bayard, Choate, Clayton, Conrad, Crafts, Crittenden, Dayton, Evans, Huntington, Kerr, Mangum, Merrick, Miller, Morehead, Porter, Phelps, Simmons, Smith, of Ia, Sprague, Tallmadge, White, Woodbridge—25. [All Whigs.]

**NAYS**—Messrs. Allen, Bagby, Benton, Buchanan, Calhoun, Cutbert, Fulton, Graham, King, Linn, McRoberts, Preston, Rizer, Sevier, Smith, of Connecticut, Sturgeon, Tappan, Walker, Wilcox, Williams, Woodbury, Wright, Young—33.

[Three sort-of Whigs in Italics; 26 Loco-Focos in Roman. Absent Mr. Henderson, Whig. Mr. Berrien of Ga. (Whig) did not vote.]

The bill having thus passed both Houses was sent to the President, and returned by him on the 9th with a *Veto*. The ground of his objections was the 27th section of the bill, which continues the Distribution of the Proceeds of Public Lands to the States, although the Duties are hereby raised above 20 per cent.

The bill thus vetoed was returned to the House, (in which it originated,) and, after a Report from a Select Committee strongly censuring the *Veto*—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Chairman—the question was taken on repassing the bill in spite of the President's objections, and the vote stood, Yeas 98; Nays 90—less than the constitutional majority of two-thirds in the affirmative; so the bill failed to become a law. Mr. Adams's Report was adopted by a vote of 100 to 80.

Several successive attempts were now made by Mr. McKENNAN of Pa. C. J. INGERSOLL of Pa. and others to introduce a new Revenue bill, but without success until, after many anxious consultations among the friends of the Tariff, but without

effect, on the 22d, Mr. T. M. T. McKENNAN moved to strike out a Provisional Revenue Bill then pending before the House and insert the bill which had before been passed and vetoed with the exception of the 27th Section sustaining the Land Distribution, and the clause imposing duties of 20 per cent. on Tea and Coffee. The motion to strike out prevailed, 99 to 67; that to insert the razed bill was also carried, 102 to 98; but the bill was lost on engrossment, 101 to 101; but reconsidered, 106 to 98; and carried, 103 to 102.—Here it was insisted that the Speaker should vote, which he did in the negative, making a tie, so the bill was again lost; but Messrs. STANLY of N. C. and L. W. ANDREWS of Ky. who had before declined to vote, now came to the rescue, and by voting in the affirmative, saved the bill. The engrossment was carried, 106 to 102; and the bill then passed: Yeas 105; Nays 103—as follows:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Allen, Landaff W. Andrews, Sherlock J. Andrews, Appleton, Ayerick, Babcock, Baker, Barnard, Barton, Beeson, Bidlack, Birdseye, Blair, Boardman, Borden, Briggs, Brockway, Charles Brown, Jeremiah Brown, Burnell, Calhoun, Childs, Chittenden, John C. Clark, J. Cooper, Cowen, Cragston, Cushing, G. Davis, R. D. Davis, John Edwards, Everett, Ferris, Fessenden, Fillmore, Gerry, Giddings, Patrick G. Goode, Gordon, Granger, Gustine, Hall, Maisted, Houck, Howard, Hudson, Hunt, Charles J. Ingersoll, J. R. Ingersoll, James Irvin, W. W. Irwin, Keith, John P. Kennedy, Robert McClellan, McKennan, Thomas F. Marshall, Samson Mason, Matthews, Maxwell, Maynard, Moore, Morgan, Morris, Morrow, Newhard, Osborne, Parmenter, Pearce, Plumer, Pope, Powell, PROFFITT, Ramsey, Benjamin Randall, Alexander Randall, Randolph, Read, Ridgway, Riggs, Rodney, William Russell, James M. Russell, Saffronstall, Sanford, Talmage, Truman Smith, Soliers, Stratton, John T. Stuart, Taliaferro, Richard W. Thompson, Tillinghast, Toland, Tomhoun, Trumbull, Van Buren, Van Rensselaer, Wallace, Ward, Edward D. White, Thomas W. Williams, Joseph L. Williams, Yorke, Augustus Young—105.

[Whigs (in Roman) 82; Loco-Focos (in Italics) 20; Tyler men (in SMALL CAPITALS) 3.

Of the Loco-Focos 10 are from this State, 9 from Pennsylvania, and 1 from Massachusetts—not one from any other State!

**NAYS**—Messrs. Adams, Arnold, Arrington, Atherton, Black, Betts, Boyd, Aaron V. Brown, Milton Brown, Burke, William O. Butler, Green W. Caldwell, Patrick C. Caldwell, J. Campbell, William B. Campbell, Thomas C. Caldwell, Carothers, Cary, Casey, Clifford, Clio, mas J. Campbell, M. A. Cooper, Cravens, Cross, Danie, of Conn, Coles, Coldeberry, Doan, Doig, John C. Edwards, Egbert, John G. Floyd, A. L. Foster, Thomas F. Foster, Gumble, Green, Gwin, Gilmer, Groggin, Wm. O. Goode, Grahame, Green, Gwilym, Habersham, Harris, Hastings, Hays, Holmes, Hopkins, Houston, Hubbard, Hunter, Wm. C. Johnson, Cave Johnson, John W. Jones, Andrew Keppely, King, Lane, Lane, Lewis, Littlefield, Abraham McClellan, McKay, McKeon, MILLORY, John T. Mason, Mathiot, Mathews, Medill, Miller, Mitchell, Owsley, Payne, Rayner, Redding, Reynolds, Rheit, Rogers, Roosevelt, Saunders, Shaw, Shepperd, Shields, Wm. Smith, Sprigg, Steenrod, Summers, Sumter, John B. Thompson, Jacob Thompson, Triplett, Turney, Underwood, Warren, Washington, Watterson, Weller, James W. Williams, C. H. Williams, Wise, Wood—103.

Loco Focos, (in Roman,) 65; Whigs, (in Italics,) 35; Tyler men, (in SMALL CAPS,) 3.

Of the thirty-six Whigs in the negative, over twenty are friends of a Protective Tariff, but were governed by an extreme reluctance to surrender the Land Distribution, in seeming subservience to what they deemed an arbitrary and unjust exercise of the Veto Power. Those from Georgia, with two or three from other Southern States, are Free Trade men.

The bill thus introduced and passed the same day, under the operation of the Previous Question, was immediately sent to the Senate, where it was referred to the Committee of Finance, and by that Committee reported with sundry amendments, reducing slightly the Duties on Iron, and a few other articles, which were agreed to, and the bill on the 27th passed by 24 Yeas to 23 Nays—as follows:

*Yeas*—Messrs. Barrow, Bates, Bayard, Bucknam, Choate, Conrad, Crafts, Crittenden, Dayton, Evans, Huntington, Miller, Morehead, Phelps, Porter, Simmons, Smith of Indiana, Sprague, Sturgeon, Tallmadge, White, Williams, Woodbridge, and Wright.

*Whigs (in Roman)* 20—*Locos (in Italic)* 4—Total 24.

*Nays*—Messrs. Allen, Archer, Bagby, Benton, Berrien, Calhoun, Clayton, Cuthbert, Fulton, Graham, Henderson, King, Llan, Mangum, Merriack, Preston, Rives, Sevier, Smith, of Connecticut, Tappan, Walker, Woodbury, and Young.

*Locos (in Roman)* 14—*Whigs (in Italic)* 8—Tylerite (SMALL CAPITALS) 1—Total 23.

[Mr. Williams did not vote in the affirmative until it was known that the bill would fail without. It is understood that Messrs. Clayton, Mangum and probably Merriack would have voted for the bill if necessary to secure its passage. They voted in the negative from aversion to the surrender of the Land Distribution under the coercion of the Veto.]

The bill thus passed was returned to the House on Monday for concurrence in the amendments. It was met there by a motion from Mr. Clifford of Maine that it *do lie on the table*. Rejected: Yeas 120; Nays 65. The Previous Question having already been ordered, the amendments were concurred in without a division, and the bill sent to the President for his signature. It was signed by him on the following day, (Tuesday, Aug. 20th,) and is now a law.—Such is a brief history of the action of Congress and the President, which has resulted in the passage of the New Tariff.

### The New Tariff.

Our readers will find the Rates of Duty established by the New Tariff on the last page of The Laborer for August. In a few items alterations have been made by the action of Congress on the repassage of the bill, and those are given below:

NAMES OF ARTICLES.	DUTIES BY ACT 1832.	HOUSE BILL PASSED.
Cotton bagging.....do.....	24	4
Sugar, brown and clayed...lb.....	24	24
Cordage, untarred.....do.....	24	9
Iron in pigs.....ton.....	10 00	9 00
do bar rolled.....do.....	30 00	25 00
do bar hammered.....do.....	18 00	17 00
Silk Goods—Pongees and plain white do, per lb.....	1 50	1 50
All other.....do.....	2 50	2 50
Watches and Diamonds.....	74	74
Gems, Pearls, &c.....	7	7
Molasses..44 mills per lb. instead of 5 cents per gal.		

The remaining sections of the bill we have summed up as follows:

Section 10, enacts that on all unenumerated articles shall be imposed a duty of 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Section 11. An additional 10 per cent. shall be levied on all goods which shall be imported in vessels not of the United States—when no specific discrimination is made by the bill; and 10 per cent. additional on all goods except those brought from beyond the Cape of Good Hope in fo-

reign vessels—provided no treaty stipulations be infringed thereby.

Section 12. All duties shall be paid in cash—or the goods will be sold after 60 days detention.

Section 13, prescribes the method of selling, and means for the owner to recover the overplus.

Section 14 allows a drawback on foreign sugar refined in and exported from the United States, equal in amount to the duty paid on the foreign sugar; of 5 cents per gallon on spirits distilled from molasses till 1843, when it shall be only 4, and annually reduced 1 cent.

Section 15 enacts that no drawback shall be allowed to goods entitled to debenture, unless exported within three years after their import.

Section 16 provides the mode of valuation of all goods paying *ad valorem* duties, enacting that all costs, charges and commissions except insurance shall be added to the market value.

Section 17 empowers collectors and appraisers to take testimony necessary for valuation.

Section 18 provides for cases of disagreement on appraisal.

Section 19 enacts penalties for attempts to evade the payment of duties.

Section 20 imposes on non-enumerated articles the same duties as those enumerated which they most resemble shall pay.

Section 21 directs the method of appraisal.

Section 22 provides for ports where there are no appraisers.

Section 23 directs the Secretary of the Treasury to make necessary rules for faithful appraisals.

Section 24 directs collectors to follow the Secretary's instructions.

Section 25 provides that the act shall not apply to vessels that shall have left their last port East of the Capes Good Hope and Honolulu, Sept. 1, 1842.

Section 26 provides that the penalties of the law of June 30, 1842, shall be continued.

Section 27 (Land Distribution) omitted.

Sections 28, 29 and 30 (Struck out in Senate.)

Section 31 requires the Secretary annually to ascertain and report what articles have paid a duty of more than 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Section 32 prohibits the importation of indecent prints and books.

Section 33 establishes a ton at 20 hundred weight—at 112 lbs. each.

A new Section is added in the Senate, enacting that while the Distribution of the Public Lands is suspended the 10 per cent. allowed to the Western States shall also be suspended.

The following list comprises all the important articles to be admitted duty free:

1. All articles imported for the use of the United States.  
2. All goods, the product of the United States, exported and reimported, and books and personal and household effects of citizens of the United States dying abroad.

3. Paintings and statuary, the production of American artists residing abroad.

4. Wearing apparel in actual use, and other personal effects, and tools of trade, of persons arriving in the United States.

5. Philosophical apparatus, instruments, books, maps, and charts, statues, statuary, busts and casts, paintings, drawings, engravings, etchings, specimens of sculpture, cabinets of coins, medals, gems and all other collections of antiquities, provided the same be specially imported in good faith for the use (and by the order) of any society incorporated or established for philosophical or literary purposes, or for the use and by the order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the United States.

6. Anatomical preparations, models of machinery, and of other inventions and improvements in the arts; specimens in natural history, mineralogy, and botany; trees, shrubs, plants, bulbs or roots, and garden seeds, not otherwise specified; berries, nuts, and vegetables, used principally in dyeing or composing dyes; all dyewoods in stick; whale and other fish oils of American fisheries, and all other articles the produce of said fisheries; animals imported for breed; fish, fresh caught, imported for daily consumption; fruit, green or ripe, from the West Indies, in bulk; tea and coffee, when imported in American vessels from the places of their growth.

7. Adhesive felt for sheathing vessels, aloes, antimony crude argol, asafetida, aza root, basilia, bark of cork tree unmanufactured; bells of bell metal, and chimies of bells; brass in pigs or bars, and old brass; Brazil wood, crude brimstone and flour of sulphur, bullion, burr stones unwrought, cochineal, coins and gold and silver, copper imported in any shape for the use of the mint, copper in pigs, or bars, and copper ore, old copper, cream of tartar, flints, ground flint, gold bullion, gold spangles, grindstones, gum Arabic, gum Senegal, gum tragacanth, india rubber, oakum, lac dye, leeches, madder, mother of Pearl, nickel, nux vomica, palm leaf manufactured, palm oil, Peruvian bark, platina, ivory, plasters of Paris, raisins and reeds, saltpetre when crude, sambarilla shellac, silver spangles and wings, stones, stones called rotten.

**SPEECH OF MR. STUART, of Va.,  
ON THE TARIFF,  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,**

JULY 8, 1842.

The Bill "to provide Revenue from Imports, and to change and modify existing laws imposing duties on Imports, and for other purposes," being under consideration, in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union,

MR. ALEXANDER H. H. STUART, of Virginia, rose and said,

Mr. Chairman, nothing could be more gratifying to my feelings than to witness the calm and forbearing temper in which this debate has thus far been conducted. Heretofore, the introduction of a Tariff Bill, of any character, into the House of Representatives, has been the signal for the display of the most violent partizan feelings and narrow sectional prejudices: but, upon this occasion, the discussion has been characterized by a spirit of courtesy and liberality, which I am sure the whole country will join me in applauding as highly honorable to the representatives of a free and enlightened people.

In the few remarks which I propose to submit, I shall endeavor to follow the good example of those who have preceded me. I shall speak my own sentiments with all becoming frankness and candor, but I trust I shall not so far forget the obligations of decorum and parliamentary propriety, as to assail rudely the feelings, the motives, or the opinions of those who are opposed to me. Freedom of discussion, and toleration of opinion, are two of the vital principles of our republican institutions, and I will ever be among the last to disturb or destroy either of them.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that the bill now under consideration, when its provisions and purposes are rightly understood, admits of but little debate. If I understand it correctly, it is simply a *revenue bill*. It is not, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, a bill for *protection*: It comes to us under the auspices of the *Committee of Ways and Means*. Its purpose is to raise just so much money as will be necessary to defray the expenses of the Government, administered with all practicable economy; and, as subordinate to this primary consideration, it proposes, *incidentally*, to afford protection to the great agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of the country. The question of *protection per se*, as something *substantive and distinct from revenue*, does not arise under it; and I shall, therefore, not deem it necessary on this occasion to discuss the merits of that policy. In my opinion, that question is not likely soon to arise, for I know no member of either House of Congress who desires any protection to either of the great interests of the country, beyond what will be afforded by a well adjusted *revenue tariff*. But if there be any who go farther, I wish to announce distinctly, in the outset, that I am not one of them. I will not go for raising, by a Tariff, a single dollar more than the wants of the Government, economically administered, require. But in laying that Tariff, I will be at all times willing and desirous, so to discriminate between the articles imported as to foster and protect our *home labor and home productions* against *foreign labor and foreign productions*.

I have said, sir, that this question lies within narrow limits. The principal difficulties in regard to it arise from not having a clear perception of the true issues involved, and from confounding collateral and extraneous matters with them. In order to get at the proper points of enquiry, I propose to separate the undisputed propositions connected with the subject, from those that are controverted. This will simplify the matter, and enable us to pursue our investigations with much more facility. What points, then, are undisputed?

1st. All agree that it is the duty of Government to raise, in *some manner*, money enough to defray its current expenses, and to pay, in suitable instalments, the debts it may owe.

2d. All agree that there are, under the provisions of the Constitution, but three modes of raising revenue, viz. by imposts, by excises, and by direct taxation.

3d. A large majority, if not every member of this House, will agree that the revenue ought not to be raised by a direct tax on land, nor by that system of excises which Mr. Jefferson denounced as an "infernal system, which should never have found a place in our Constitution." The only remaining mode of raising revenue is by a system of *imposts* or duties on foreign merchandise—the system which was devised by the *first Congress* at its *first session*, and which has prevailed without interruption, from that time to the present day.

I may, then, venture to assume it to be the sense of Congress and the nation that the revenue which we need is to be raised by imposing duties or taxes on foreign goods imported into this country.

We have next to ascertain how much money is necessary? Upon this subject we have the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the Committee of Ways and Means, and the opinions of the most enlightened of our statesmen, showing that the current expenditures of the Government for the next three years will be from twenty-two to twenty-four millions per annum; and that, in addition to that amount, three and a half millions will be necessary to pay the interest on the public debt, and to provide a suitable sinking fund for the ultimate payment of the principal. These estimates, and the data on which they are founded, have been furnished to the country in official documents, and in various speeches which have been delivered on this floor; and as no one has pretended to show that they are incorrect, I shall not undertake now to enter into an examination of them, but will assume that they present a fair statement of the amount which the Government will require. And here I will take occasion to say that this estimate falls, by several millions, below the average annual expenditure of Mr. Van Buren's administration, which was \$28,098,965.

Twenty-seven millions being thus shown to be necessary to supply the wants of the Government, the present bill has been carefully framed by the Committee of Ways and Means, after mature consideration of the views of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the Committee of Manufactures, to produce that amount. No gentleman has, during the course of this debate, ventured to say that it will produce more than twenty-seven millions, but many have expressed the belief that it will not yield that much. The friends of the bill cannot, therefore be charged with any purpose of going beyond the point necessary for revenue.

We now come to the great *principle* involved in this bill. It resolves itself into this—shall the *revenue* be levied by a horizontal system of *ad valorem* duties, operating alike upon all articles, or shall there be a just system of discrimination with a view to the protection of our own industry in all its departments?

In this question two distinct points of inquiry are embraced: 1st. Has the Government the constitutional power to make such discrimination? 2d. If the Government does possess that power, is it expedient to exercise it?

If the first question is decided in the negative, there is no necessity for prosecuting the matter farther; for if the *power* is not conferred upon Congress by the Constitution, no considerations of expediency, however urgent, can ever justify its exercise.

The power of discrimination to some extent is conceded by the sternest opponents of the general doctrine. All admit, for example, that gold and silver shall be allowed to pass through our custom-houses free of duty. A large majority of both parties are also in favor of a like exemption of tea and coffee. To these instances they seem to have paid no attention, because they are of a negative character; yet surely they embody the *principle of discrimination* just as much as if they paid higher instead of lower duties than other articles. Whilst, however, gentlemen concede the principle, in these cases, they deny the right to discriminate with a view to protect our home productions.

The general question of the constitutional power of Congress to have regard in laying duties upon imports, to our domestic interests, has been so often and so ably discussed that nothing now can be said upon it, and I shall, therefore, not make the attempt. The arguments for and against the power have been spread over the country, and are accessible to all who wish to examine the subject. But I have recently met with a view of the question, by a man, in abilities, one of the first of the age, in an address to the American people on behalf of a convention held in New-York in 1831, which is so condensed, so forcible, so conclusive, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of submitting an extract from it for the consideration of the Community:—

"By the Constitution Congress has power 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises.' It has power also 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations.'

"The power to lay duties is accompanied by one express qualification or limitation, which is, 'that all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States.' The power to regulate commerce has its limitation also, which is, that no regulation of commerce shall give preference to the ports of one State over those of another; and there is another limitation, which may apply to both clauses, namely, that no export duty shall ever be laid.

"Here then is a grant of power in broad and general terms, but with certain specific limitations, carefully expressed. But neither of these limitations applies, in any manner, to that exercise of the power which is now under consideration. Neither of them, nor any other clause or word in the whole Constitution manifests the slightest intention to restrain the words so as to prohibit Congress from laying duties for protection. The attempt is nothing less than to add a restriction which the Constitution has omitted. Who has authority to add this? If other restrictions had been intended, they would

have been expressed. When the business of limitation was before the convention, what was omitted was as much an exercise of intention as what was expressed. It stated all the restraints on Congress which it intended; and to impose others now would be, not to interpret the Constitution, but to change it; not to construe the existing instrument, but to make another.

"The words of the grant being general, to lay duties and to regulate commerce, their meaning is to be ascertained by reference to the common use and import of language. No unusual signification is to be given to the terms, either to restrain or enlarge their import. Congress, in its discretion, is to lay duties and to regulate trade for all the objects and purposes for which duties are ordinarily laid and trade ordinarily regulated. If such a thing was never before heard of as laying duties and regulating trade with a view to encourage manufactures, then it might be said that the convention did not contemplate such an exercise of the power by Congress. But it was perfectly known to the convention, and to the people of this country, that one leading object with all governments, in laying duties and regulating trade, was, and for a long time had been, the encouragement of manufactures. This was emphatically true of England, whose language the convention spoke, and whose legal and legislative phraseology was theirs also. Every leading state of Europe was, at that moment, regulating its commerce for purposes of this nature. Such a purpose, indeed, had been long sought to be accomplished by some of the States themselves, by their own regulations of trade. Massachusetts had attempted it, New-York had attempted it, Virginia had attempted it, and we believe other States had done the same. How ineffectual all their attempts were, for want of union and a general system, was soon seen and felt by the whole country; but they show to what ends, and to what uses, the power to regulate trade was understood to extend. But not only in other nations, and in the States, before the adoption of the present Constitution, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter, but in the United States since, and in the administration of this very Constitution, regulations of trade have been made, in almost innumerable instances, with no view to revenue, but with a sole and exclusive regard to protection.

"If our understanding of the Constitution be not according to its true meaning, that instrument has been grossly violated from the very beginning. What are all the registry acts, what the bounties on the fisheries, but so many avowed efforts to protect American industry, under the power of regulating trade? On what foundation does the whole system of the coasting trade stand? The American ship-builder and ship-owner has enjoyed, from the first, and we think properly, not only protection in that trade, but the monopoly of it. He shuts out all foreign competition and he does so on the ground that the public good is promoted by giving him this advantage. We think he is right in asking this, and the Government right in granting it. Yet this is not free trade; it is preference—it is *protection*, and protection of a manufacture under the power to regulate trade. The laws giving this protection to the manufacture and the use of ships may be wise, and laws protecting other manufactures may be unwise. But the first cannot be constitutional and the latter not constitutional. If there be power for one, there is power for both. Both are drawn from the same grant, both operate by the same general means, and both regard the same object, the protection, namely, of American labor and capital against foreign competition. If it be said that the navigation act is founded in national policy, and that it is essential to national defence and national independence, we admit it. But we answer, in the first place, that Congress could not exercise a power not granted, merely

because it might be useful or necessary; and, in the second place, we say that the same remark is true of the policy of protecting manufactures. That policy, also, is essential to national independence. Iron, hemp, and clothing for sailors and soldiers are not less indispensable to national defence than ships and seamen. Not only in the general use of language then, does the power of laying duties and regulating trade extend to the protection, by the use of such means, of domestic manufactures, but such has been the constant interpretation of the Constitution itself.

"We think, indeed, that when a general power is given to Congress by the Constitution of the United States, in plain and unambiguous words, their acts are constitutional and valid if they are within the scope of the granted power; and that, in considering the validity of the law, the motives of the legislature can never be investigated. Having granted the power, with such limits expressed as were thought proper, its exercise within those limits is left to the discretion of Congress.

"What is the true character of the opposite doctrine? It is that the constitutionality of a law depends, not on its provisions and enactments, but on the motives of those who passed it. Is not such a notion new? How are we to ascertain the motives of a legislature? By private inquiry; by public examination; by conjecture? The law may be passed on mixed motives; some members voting for revenue, some for protection; or one House may act with one view, and the other House with another. What will be the character of such a law?

"According to this new theory, if the motives be constitutional, then the act is; if the motives be unconstitutional, then the act is unconstitutional also. It follows, therefore, that a law passed by one Congress may be constitutional which, if passed by another, though in the same words, would be unconstitutional. Besides, on this theory a law may be unconstitutional for its omissions as well as its enactments; because, in laying duties, articles may be omitted as well as articles inserted, from a design to favor manufactures."

Here we have a view of the question which seems to me to be unanswerable.

But, Mr. Chairman, I beg the attention of the Committee whilst I proceed to examine into the origin and history of this doctrine of protection of American Labor and Industry. Is it a novel assumption of power by Congress? Is it a new system of policy, which is now sought to be established, in opposition to the ancient practice of the Government? So far from such being the fact, I affirm that the doctrine is coeval with the Constitution itself, and that the policy is sanctioned and sustained by the direct opinions and practice of every President of the United States, and of all the leading statesmen of the country, from the days of George Washington to the present time.

If my time permitted, I might prove to you, by the most authentic histories of our Government, that the necessity of protecting our home industry from foreign aggression contributed more than any other cause to the formation and adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The consideration of that topic would, however, lead me into too wide a field of discussion, and I must therefore content myself with barely adverting to it, and pass on to the history of the action of the Government under the Constitution.

The first Congress assembled in Philadelphia on the 4th of March, 1789, but in consequence of the failure of many members to attend, no business was done for some weeks. Very shortly after the organization of the two Houses, petitions began to

pour in from all quarters, suggesting that our "National Independence was but half obtained," whilst we remained dependent on Great Britain for our supplies of the necessities of life, and praying that Congress would take the proper steps to render the people "independent in fact as well as in name, by adopting measures for the encouragement and protection of American manufactures." These petitions were referred to the Committee of the Whole of the House of Representatives, and the result of their deliberations was a bill for the imposition of duties on foreign merchandize. This bill was promptly passed through both Houses of Congress, and was approved by President Washington, on the 4th day of July, 1789—that day being thus a second time consecrated, by the declaration of Commercial Independence, as it had previously been by a similar declaration of Political Independence! The true character and objects of that act will be sufficiently manifest, when we advert to its preamble, which recites that "whereas it is necessary for the support of Government and the encouragement of domestic manufactures, that duties be laid on foreign merchandize," &c. This preamble distinctly connects the subjects of revenue and protection, and shews that in the judgement of the first Congress, it was competent for the National Legislature to look to protection as well as to revenue, in a system of imposts. And here let us pause for a moment to consider how much weight shall be given to the opinion of that Congress? We must recollect that it was composed of the most illustrious sages and patriots of the revolution! We must remember that probably one half of its members had been members of the Federal Convention which framed the Constitution, or of the State Conventions which adopted it! They were fully acquainted with its provisions and deeply imbued with its spirit! And that body, within a year after the adoption of the Constitution, passed, without even a division, and without the suggestion of a doubt of the constitutional power to do so, a law distinctly recognizing the principle of Protection, and George Washington, who had presided over the deliberations of the convention, and who was then acting under the solemn sanctions of his Presidential oath to support the Constitution, approved it! And yet we are now modestly told that the authors of the Constitution did not understand its meaning, and that the power to protect American Labor is an assumption not warranted by its provisions! I must confess, sir, that I hardly knew how to meet such an assertion, or where to find terms, consistent with parliamentary decorum, to characterize it.

But let us trace the action of the Government on this subject still farther.

On the 8th of January, 1790, President Washington, in his address to Congress, uses this emphatic language:

"The safety and interest of the people require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly for military supplies."

On the 15th of January, 1790, Congress responded to this suggestion of the President, by adopting the following resolution:

"Resolved. That it be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, to propose and report to this House a proper plan or plans, conformably to the recom-

commendation of the President in his speech to both Houses of Congress, for the *encouragement and promotion of such manufactures*, as will tend to render the United States independent of other nations for essential, particularly for military supplies."

In conformity with this resolution, the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Hamilton) made his celebrated report in favor of Protecting American industry. I should be glad, sir, if this invaluable document was in the hands of every citizen of this republic. The grounds upon which he rested the policy are very briefly summed up in the following paragraph, which I commend to the consideration of the Committee:

"The embarrassments which have obstructed the progress of our external trade have led to serious reflections on the necessity of enlarging the sphere of our domestic commerce. The restrictive regulations which, in foreign markets, abridge the vent for the increasing surplus of our agricultural produce, serve to beget an earnest desire that a more extensive demand for that surplus may be created at home; and, the complete success which has rewarded manufacturing enterprise in some valuable branches, conspiring with the promising symptoms which attend some less mature essays in others, justify a hope that the obstacles to the growth of this species of industry are less formidable than they were apprehended to be, and that it may not be difficult to find, in its further extension, a full indemnification for any external disadvantages which are or may be experienced, as well as an accession of resources favorable to national independence and safety."

For some years after this report was made, the American people were subjected to great inconvenience by the refusal of the governments of Europe to enter into commercial treaties with the United States, founded upon principles of justice and reciprocity. On the 14th of February, 1792, President Washington brought this subject to the attention of Congress that it might adopt such measures as the interests of the country seemed to require. This communication was referred to a select Committee, who made a report, which was submitted to the Secretary of State, (Mr. Jefferson,) "with instructions to report to Congress, the nature and extent of the privileges and restrictions of the commercial intercourse of the United States with foreign nations, and the measures which he should think proper to be adopted, for the improvement of the commerce and navigation of the same."

On the 14th December, 1793, Mr. Jefferson made his report, from which I have extracted the following passages, in order that the Committee and the country may see what were his views of the constitutional powers and duties of the Government of the United States. [Am. St. Papers, vol. 1, p. 300-1.]

"But should any nation, contrary to our wishes, suppose it may better find its advantage by continuing its system of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behooves us to protect our citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter prohibitions, duties and regulations also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations, nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them."

"The following principles, being founded in reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and to offer no cause of complaint to any nation:

"1. Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs; first, burdening or excluding those productions, which

they bring here in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next, such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which, at the same time, we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties, lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these States, where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may ensure him the highest profits from his skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the State Governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the resources of encouragement, which are under their control; extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, for which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances, have matured them; and fostering the precious efforts and progress of household manufacture, by some patronage, suited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local information they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attentions. The oppressions on our agriculture, in foreign ports, would thus be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the counsels and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures and population at home."

On the 4th of January, 1794, Mr. Madison brought forward in Congress, his celebrated resolutions, which were known to be the joint production of Mr. Jefferson and himself, and were designed to carry into effect the policy recommended in Mr. Jefferson's report. These resolutions distinctly assumed the power to Protect American Industry, and after a long and able debate, they received the sanction of the House. In the course of this debate, Mr. Madison used the following emphatic language in regard to the protection of manufactures:

"The States that are most advanced in population, and ripe for manufactures, ought to have their particular interests attended to in some degree. While these States retained the power of regulating trade, they had the power to protect and cherish such institutions. By adopting the present constitution, they have thrown the exercise of this power into other hands. They must have done this with the understanding that those interests would not be neglected here."

Without adverting to other recognitions by President Washington of the power and duty of Congress, to protect domestic industry, I will add but a single passage from his last address to Congress, on 7th December, 1796, in which he says:

"Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much importance, not to ensure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

Passing over, the administration of the elder Adams, which is known to have favored the same policy, I beg leave to invite the attention of the Committee to some evidences of the opinions of Mr. Jefferson, the Apostle of Democracy, and the author of the political doctrine, by which the opponents of protection profess to be guided. Hear what the sage of Monticello says, in his second Message to Congress on the 15th of December, 1802!

"To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises; to foster our fisheries as nurseries of navigation, and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted

to our circumstances; to preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practice with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burdens; to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union as the only rock of safety:—these, fellow-citizens, are the *landmarks* by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. By continuing to make *these* the *rule of our action*, we shall endeavor to our countrymen the *true principles of their Constitution*, and promote an union of sentiment and of action equally auspicious to their happiness and safety."

From this extract, it will be perceived that Mr. Jefferson, in enumerating the "landmarks" by which his administration was to be guided, assigns a most prominent position to the duty of *Protecting Manufactures*.

But this is not all. In 1806, the revenue from imposts had increased to such an amount, that Mr. Jefferson had ground to believe that there would be "ere long an accumulation of moneys in the Treasury, beyond the instalments of the public debt, which the Government would be permitted by contract to pay." In other words, it was apparent to Mr. Jefferson, that there was about to be a surplus in the Treasury, above the wants of the Government economically administered. What did he recommend in that contingency? A reduction of duties down to the revenue standard? Let the following extract from his Message of the 2d of December, 1806, answer those questions:

"To what other objects shall these surpluses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of the impost after the entire discharge of the public debt? Shall we suppress the impost and give that advantage to the foreign over domestic manufactures?"

He proceeds to say that upon some articles the impost might be suppressed, but with regard to the mass of them, he expresses the belief that the "patriotism" of the people would "prefer its continuance and application to the great purposes of public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of Federal powers."

Thus it will be perceived that Mr. Jefferson not only *recognised the right to Protect Domestic Manufactures incidentally*, by just discriminations, but that he contended for the *doctrine of protection per se, as a distinct and substantive principle*. And to such an extent did he carry his devotion to it, that when the wants of the Government no longer required the money levied by imposts, he was unwilling to reduce the tax, because it would withdraw the necessary protection from American labor, but sought, by an amendment of the constitution, new sources of expenditure, by which the surplus should be absorbed!

But least it might be supposed that this was a mere temporary policy which Mr. Jefferson proposed to introduce, I will submit one additional passage, extracted from his message of the 8th November, 1808, and then leave it to the disciples of the Jeffersonian school of politics to reconcile their opposition to the system of protection with the solemnly declared opinions of the great author of their political creed! In that Message he says:

"The suspension of foreign commerce, produced by the injustice of the belligerent Powers, and the consequent losses and sacrifices of our citizens, are

subjects of just concern. The situation into which we have thus been forced, has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this conversion is daily increasing, and little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming will under the auspices of cheaper materials and subsistence, the freedom of labor from taxation with us, and of *protecting duties and prohibitions*, become *permanent*."

But will it be said that Mr. Jefferson changed his opinions on this subject? Where is the evidence of any such change? I maintain that none can be produced. On the contrary, we have the most conclusive proof, in his letter to Benjamin Austin, in 1816, that his opinions had become more and more confirmed in favor of the doctrines of protection. Mr. Jefferson had, in 1785, in his notes on Virginia, expressed some opinions adverse to the policy of manufactures in this country. In 1816, when the subject of a *Protecting Tariff* was about to come before Congress, his opinions were much relied on by the opponents of that measure; and Mr. Austin addressed a letter to him informing him of the fact, and asking an expression of his sentiments. The following are extracts from Mr. Jefferson's reply, dated 9th January, 1816:

"You tell me I am quoted by those who wish to continue our dependence on England for manufactures. There was a time when I might have been so quoted with more candor. But within the thirty years which have since elapsed, how are circumstances changed? We were then in peace: our independent place among nations was acknowledged. A commerce which offered the raw material in exchange for the same material, after receiving the last touch of industry, was worthy of welcome to all nations. It was expected that those, especially to whom manufacturing industry was important, would cherish the friendship of such customers, by every favor, and particularly cultivate their peace by every act of justice and friendship. Under this prospect the question seemed legitimate, whether, with such an immensity of unimproved land, courting the hand of husbandry, the industry of agriculture, or that of manufactures, would add most to the national wealth." \*

"This was the state of things in 1785, when the Notes on Virginia were first published; when the ocean being open to all nations, and their common right in it acknowledged and exercised under regulations, sanctioned by the assent and usage of all, it was thought that the doubt might claim some consideration. We have since experienced, what we did not then believe, that there exists both profrigidity and power enough to exclude us from the field of interchange with other nations—THAT TO BE INDEPENDENT FOR THE COMFORTS OF LIFE WE MUST FABRICATE THEM OURSELVES. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist. The former question is suppressed, or rather assumes a new form—the *grand inquiry now is, shall we make our own comforts, or go without them at the will of a foreign nation*? He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufacture, must be for reducing us either to dependence on that foreign nation, or to be clothed in skins, and to live like wild beasts in dens and caverns. I am proud to say I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that *manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort*; and if these who quote me as of a different opinion, will keep pace with me in *purchasing nothing foreign*, where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, *without any regard to difference of price*, it will not be our fault if we do not have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest that



*weapon of distress* from the hand which has so long wantonly violated it."

Who now will venture to doubt that Mr. Jefferson was an advocate of the doctrine of protection, to the fullest extent!

I have thought it incumbent on me as a Virginian, to give this full exposition of the true opinions of Mr. Jefferson, because I have reason to know that they have been much misunderstood and misrepresented, even in his own State.

The sentiments of Mr. Madison, the father of the Constitution and its wisest expounder, have been so frequently expressed in favor of the principle of protection, and are so well known to the country, that I do not think it necessary to furnish any extracts from his messages recommending the subject to the favorable consideration of Congress. In his latter years, when he had retired from the political arena, and was free from all the distracting interests of public life, he had occasion to review the whole subject, and he embodied his matured opinions in two letters, addressed to Mr. Jos. C. Cabell of Virginia, one dated 18th September, 1828, and the other 30th October, 1828, which contain probably the most clear and conclusive argument in favor of the power of Congress over the subject that has ever been submitted to the public.

Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams adopted both theoretically and practically the same construction of the Constitution, and recommended and sanctioned legislative acts to give effect to the principle of Protection in the Tariffs of 1816, 1824, and 1828. These sentiments, thus avowed and urged upon Congress by all the incumbents of the Executive chair, have been promptly responded to, in every case, by the legislative department of the Government; and the judicial sanction has also been afforded, in every form in which the question has been presented to the tribunals of the country for adjudication.

Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Lowndes, General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren, and almost every distinguished politician of every party have recorded their votes in favor of the principle, and in 1816, it found upon the floor of Congress no champion more able, more ardent, more devoted, than Mr. Calhoun, as will plainly appear from the following extracts from his speech in 1816:

"Neither agriculture, manufactures, nor commerce, (said Mr. CALHOUN,) taken separately, are the cause of wealth; it flows from them combined, and cannot exist without each. The wealth of any single nation or individual, it is true, may not immediately be derived from the three, but it always pre-supposes the existence of the three sources, though derived immediately from one or two of them only. Taken in its most enlarged sense, without commerce, industry would have no stimulus; without manufactures, it would be without the means of production; and without agriculture, neither of the others could exist; when separated entirely, and permanently, they must perish. War, in this country, produces, to a great extent, that separation; and hence the great embarrassment that follows in its train. The failure of the wealth and resources of the nation necessarily involves the ruin of its finances, and its currency. It is admitted, by the most strenuous advocates on the other side, that no country ought to be dependent on another for its means of defence; that, at least, our musket and bayonet, our cannon and ball, ought to be of domestic manufacture. But what is more necessary to the defence of a country than its currency and

finance? Circumscribed as our country is, can these stand the shock of war! Behold the effect of the late war on them! When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they soon will, under the fostering care of Government, we will no longer experience those evils. *The farmer will find a ready market for his surplus produce, and, what is of almost equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants.* His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class of the community."

Having described the effect of war upon our industry and currency, its obstruction to the exportation of our bulky articles, while a demand would continue for foreign articles, to be supplied through the policy of the enemy or unlawful traffic—resulting in a drain of our specie to pay the balance perpetually accumulating against us, he proceeded to say:

"To this distressing state of things there are two remedies, and only two: one in our power immediately, the other requiring much time and exertion; but both constituting, in his opinion, the essential policy of this country. He meant the *navy and domestic manufactures*. By the former we would open a way to our markets; by the latter we bring them from beyond the ocean, and naturalize them in our own soil."

Having spoken of the effect of the war in giving existence to manufactures, and in bringing them to some degree of maturity, he said:

"But it will no doubt be said, if they are so far established, and if the situation of the country is favorable to their growth, where is the necessity of affording them protection? *It is to put them beyond the reach of contingency.*"

There is but one other authority to which I will refer as sustaining the constitutionality of the protective principle, and I will then pass to the consideration of another branch of the subject. I allude to the Message of President Jackson, to Congress, on the 7th December, 1830. In that paper the whole argument is condensed into the narrowest possible limits, and presented with a force that cannot be resisted—he says:

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. The right to adjust these duties, with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, is so completely incidental to that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government, without limitation or reservation, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and, consequently, if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This, surely, cannot be the case. This indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress. In this conclusion I am confirmed, as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who have, each, repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people."

With this review of the opinions of the Fathers of the Republic, and of the reasons upon which

they are founded, I leave it for the Committee and the country to decide whether I am departing from the true principles of the Constitution, in giving my support to a measure intended *primarily* to raise revenue for the Government, and *incidentally* to afford protection to American industry.

I will proceed, now, Mr. Chairman, to meet some of the more prominent objections to the exercise of the protective power, drawn from considerations of expediency.

Many gentlemen have treated this subject as if it were a mere sectional question; a struggle between the North and South. For my part, I look upon it in a very different aspect. I regard it as a *national* question—an *American* question—one which belongs to the *whole* country. It is true, that there may be partial and temporary inequalities resulting from the operation of laws like that now before us, as there will be from all human laws. But they will be but temporary in their duration. The country will soon accommodate itself to the new condition of affairs, and the general benefits will greatly outweigh the partial evils. In my opinion, it will be found, if we take a comprehensive and statesmanlike view of our whole confederacy, that there is in truth no necessary conflict of interest between the North and the South, or the East and the West. The very diversities of soil—of climate—of population—and of production, which at the first view might be supposed to create antagonist interests, are, when rightly considered, the most fruitful sources of strength, and union, and harmony. Providence seems to have wisely ordained, that as we are separated by the broad Atlantic from the eastern hemisphere, we should have all the elements of national greatness, and wealth, and power within our own borders. We have a climate and a soil adapted to every constitution—to every production—and to every occupation. We have all the elements of national prosperity, vegetable and mineral, in the greatest abundance; and all that is necessary for their full development, is a liberal and enlightened system of legislation. Who can unroll the map of this great confederacy, and cast his eye over its extended surface, without feeling emotions of pleasure and of pride, mingled with sentiments of gratitude to the great Disposer of events, for the magnificent inheritance which he has been pleased to bestow upon us! Let him then contemplate, for a moment, the separate and distinctive characteristics impressed upon each geographical division, by the hand of the Creator himself, and how will these sentiments be strengthened and invigorated! Then let him reflect upon the mutual relations and dependence of each division upon the other, and of the capacity of each to minister to the wants of the others, and how profoundly must he be penetrated with a sense of the wisdom, and the beneficence, of Him "whose hands prepared the dry land!"

If we look to the extreme south, we find a broad belt of territory, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Rocky Mountains, which, whilst it yields its rich tributes of sugar and other productions of a tropical climate, to supply the wants of more northern regions, furnishes to them in return, a market for their cotton, and breadstuffs, and live stock, and manufactures of every description.

Advancing a step northward, the broad fields of the cotton region are spread before our eyes. Here we see the planter busily employed supplying

the wants of the sugar country, and the grain growing, and grazing, and manufacturing districts, by producing the raw material, which when worked up into the various fabrics, is to furnish them the means of comfort and luxury. In return, he receives from those districts his sugar, his provisions of all descriptions, and the manufactures which are essential to his enjoyment.

Progressing yet another step toward the North, we behold the unlimited resources of the middle country and great West, the grain growing and grazing region, whose flocks and herds spread over a thousand hills, and whose fields, surpassing Egypt in fertility, can produce an amount of breadstuffs and of the other necessities of life, which knows no limit but the absence of all further demand. But the farmers and the graziers must be furnished with their sugar, their molasses, their cotton, and their manufactures and merchandise—and where can they look so naturally for their supplies as to those parts of the country which consume their wheat and corn, and pork and beef?

When we turn our eyes to the extreme North, we find a country with a less genial climate, and a soil whose comparative sterility discourages the labor of the husbandman. But even this less favored region possesses its peculiar advantages.—It is blessed with a population hardy, industrious, intelligent, and adventurous. Its wealth consists in the *labor* of its citizens: and hence they are found to be devoted to manufactures, to commerce, and to the sea; and whilst they derive their supplies mainly from the mere Southern divisions of the Union, they repay them with the products of their manufactures and their fisheries, and by merchandise imported from foreign markets.

These diversities of climate, and soil, and population, necessarily produce diversities of production and occupation amongst the inhabitants of the various districts. Through them the Supreme Ruler has ordained that there shall be a *national division of labor*! The laws of nature forbid that the great staples of one district should be produced in another. Thus, there is no danger of rivalry springing up between them—on the contrary, the wants of one are supplied out of the abundance of the others. A mutual interchange of superfluities naturally takes place, and thus a commercial intercourse is generated, beneficial to all; and as if it had been the design of Heaven to facilitate this profitable exchange of commodities, we see the Father of Rivers commencing his course near the Northern boundary of the Union, flowing thence nearly due South, through the heart of all the grand divisions to the Gulf of Mexico, bisecting this vast Continent, and furnishing a channel of commercial intercourse between the various districts, unequaled upon the face of the globe, in extent and excellence, and binding them all together by ties of interest, as broad, as deep, and as strong, as the current with which his mighty volume of waters rolls onward to the ocean!

When we undertake to legislate for a country like this, we should look at it as a *whole*, and not confine our views to mere local or sectional interests. We should indulge a catholic spirit—a spirit of enlarged patriotism, which can embrace in its grasp the whole Confederacy, from the St. Lawrence to the Sabine. We should look at the great interests of the nation, not as something sep-

arate and distinct from each other, but as constituting parts of a grand system—intimately connected together—wisely fitted to each other—and when properly brought into action, working harmoniously together, and mutually giving and receiving nutriment and support.

When I have suffered my mind to be lost in the contemplation of the wide extent of our Confederacy, with its members reaching from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains—with its rivers and lakes, and canals and railroads, and other channels of internal communication, penetrating into every part of it, I have almost imagined it to be some vast animal organization, whose life-blood, supplied by agriculture and manufactures, is thrown out from the great centre of the system in New-York, and transmitted through the various arteries of commercial intercourse, diffusing health, and vigor, and vitality, to its remotest extremities! Let us then hear no more, Mr. Chairman, of local interests upon this subject; let us remember that the prosperity of the nation is made up of the prosperity of its parts. Let us recollect that the cotton grower is interested in the manufactures of the North, and that the manufacturer of the North is interested in the growth of cotton in the South; and that the prosperity of both is, in turn, intimately connected with the welfare of the grain growing and sugar districts. For of what use is it to either district to have a large surplus of its products, if the other districts have nothing to

give in exchange for it? Of what avail is it to have merchandize, if there is no market for it?

But if gentlemen, discarding these enlarged and American views of the subject, will insist upon treating this question as a sectional one, however unwilling I may be so to regard it, I shall not shrink from the discussion of it in that aspect. I must be pardoned, however, if, before I enter upon the argument, I require that the proper parties to the controversy shall be presented to the country. I cannot consent that this shall be treated as a question between Massachusetts and South Carolina—nor between New England and the extreme South—nor yet between the manufacturers and the cotton growers. I insist that if there is to be a sectional division, the middle country and the west—the grain growing and grazing and tobacco districts, shall have their appropriate position assigned to them. I have the honor to represent a district situated in the heart of Virginia, which has a deep interest in this question, and I claim that it shall be heard by its Representative, before judgement is pronounced.

What then is the natural position of my district in regard to this question? This inquiry will be best answered by ascertaining the amount and character of its productions, and I have accordingly prepared from the official returns the following tabular statement of the principal staples which are cultivated by my constituents:

*Statistical Table exhibiting some of the Products of the 17th Congressional District of Virginia.*

Names of Counties.	Wheat.	Corn.	Rye.	Oats.	Tobacco	Horses and Mules.	Neat Cattle.	Sheep.	Hogs.	Cast Iron.	Bar Iron.
Augusta County.....	324,332	324,408	82,227	244,889	.....	9,910	21,470	19,060	32,445	1,000	151
Rockbridge.....	263,756	504,646	69,566	249,013	.....	228,755	13,452	19,221	25,321	1,217	410
Botetourt.....	197,282	298,707	21,971	185,016	707,885	3,711	9,331	13,254	20,456	1,441	125
Bedford.....	140,506	181,534	18,336	98,246	559,273	2,168	5,337	6,087	10,681	.....	.....
Montgomery.....	106,256	208,385	21,093	144,365	241,275	2,869	9,635	13,439	16,834	.....	.....
Floyd.....	23,889	72,969	15,435	77,073	17,579	849	2,686	3,647	4,578	.....	.....
Alleghany.....	25,449	70,328	9,142	58,860	42,500	1,531	6,555	8,418	12,555	700	250
Hall of Pulaski.....	23,049	72,018	8,470	40,085	.....	987	3,460	4,826	5,876	.....	.....
Total.....	1,104,521	1,793,895	249,440	1,097,552	1,902,267	27,456	71,635	99,152	129,749	4,356	936

From this table it clearly appears, that though my constituents cultivate tobacco to some extent, their great staples are wheat, rye, Indian corn, oats, hogs, neat cattle, sheep, horses and mules. These are the principal articles which they raise for market. They are therefore interested in obtaining for these articles the highest possible price. How is this to be effected? It is a well settled principle that it is the relation between the supply and the demand which regulates the price of every article. If the demand be large, and the supply small, the price will be high; and on the other hand, if the demand be small, and the supply large, the price will be low. No one will venture to dispute these propositions. Let us now give them a practical application. My constituents are interested in having the demand for their commodities as great as possible—or to state the proposition in another form, they are interested in having as many consumers and as few producers of their staples as possible. How is this effected? Obviously, by inducing the people of the North, who are engaged in the same occupation, to turn their attention to other branches of business, such as manufactures, commerce and navigation; for thereby we are if their competition as producers as customers, to

buy and consume our productions. This simple view of the case shows very clearly where our interest lies.

Now let us look for a moment at the interest of the cotton planting States, and see how far it coincides with that of Western Virginia. From the statistical tables furnished to us from the Department of State, I find that my district alone produces considerably more wheat than the whole State of South Carolina, and within a fraction of as much as the four States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas taken together.—The following table shows the whole amount produced in each of those States:

South Carolina.....	968,000 bush. Wheat.
Alabama.....	823,952 do.
Mississippi.....	196,626 do.
Louisiana.....	60 do.
Arkansas.....	105,873 do.

Whole am't of 4 last named 1,130,616

These States, it is apparent, are obliged to buy their supplies of breadstuffs; and we know that they are also dependent on the Western and Middle States for their beef and pork, and horses and mules, and various other articles, which cannot well be raised in the Southern country. As the

cotton planter is compelled to purchase these articles, he is of course interested to get them *as low as possible*. He, therefore, will wish to see as *large* a supply and as *small* a demand for them as possible—or, in other words, it is his interest to have as *many* producers and as *few* consumers as he can. He will naturally wish, therefore, to see the manufactories broken down, and the population of the North devoted to agricultural pursuits, so as to come into competition with us, and bring down the price of the products of our farms.—Suppose, for a moment, that the eight hundred thousand people now engaged in the manufactories were suddenly to cease their operations and to become farmers, what would be the consequence? Would it not cause a complete prostration of the farming interests? The effects on prices would be most disastrous in two ways—for the farmers would have not only to meet the competition of these 800,000 producers, but they would lose them as consumers. But how would this operate on the cotton interest? It would have exactly the opposite effect. It would enable the planter to buy his supplies at the lowest possible rate. Thus it is apparent that, if we look at this matter as a sectional question, without regard to more expanded and statesmanlike considerations, the interest of the cotton planter on the one hand, and of the farmer and grazier on the other, are directly opposed—the one being the seller and the other the buyer of particular commodities.

If then, Mr. Chairman, this subject of the Tariff is to be treated as a question between the North and the South, it is plain that the interests of my constituents are much more strongly allied to those of the *North* than the *South*. The same remark is applicable, in its fullest extent, to every other district of *Western Virginia*, and to many, if not to all parts of the *Eastern* division of the State. It will not, therefore, be a matter of surprise to any one, if, in case the question assumes that aspect, I am found co-operating with the Representatives of other grain-growing and grazing districts, in endeavoring to foster the interests of the farmer, by preserving and enlarging the home market.

There are many considerations in support of the principles of this bill which I had proposed to submit to the Committee, if I had obtained the floor in an earlier stage of the debate. But as other gentlemen have anticipated me in regard to them, I shall forbear from repeating them, and proceed to examine some of the arguments which have been urged by gentlemen on the opposite side of the question.

Among other things, we are told that a Tariff will tend to raise the price of merchandize, and thereby impose a burthen on the farmers and others who consume it. This is, to some extent true, but do not the farmers receive an equivalent for this burthen, in the blessings of a Government which protects them in the full enjoyment of the rights of person and property, and in the increased price of the productions of their labor? What is the proportion between the outlay of the farmer for articles which are subject to duty, and the whole amount of the sales of his crop? Suppose it to be *one-half*; if he pays ten per cent. additional price for his goods, and receives from the improved home market but five per cent. increase on the price of what he has to sell, is it not plain that he is fully compensated? But this is not the

only advantage to the farmer. He is benefitted not only in his *income*, but his *capital* is also greatly augmented in value. Let me illustrate this idea by an example. A farmer raises on his land 1,000 bushels of wheat, which in the present condition of the country is worth 90 cents per bushel, or \$900 in the aggregate. Let us then suppose that, by the passage of the Tariff bill and the consequent improvement in the home market, the value of wheat is increased to ten cents per bushel, what are the benefits which will accrue to the farmer? In the first place he receives the ten cents per bushel which is equal to an addition of \$100 to his *income*, and in the next place the value of his *land*, which is his *capital*, is greatly enhanced. The amount of this enhancement may be estimated by treating the \$100 as the additional annual profit arising from it; and as \$100 is the amount which a capital of \$1,666 66 would yield at six per cent. we will not be far out of the way if we assume that sum to be the measure of the increased value of the land. If the owner wished to sell or to lease it, would he not require a much larger price or rent, if its annual proceeds were worth \$1,000, than if they were worth but \$900?

But there is another consideration connected with this branch of the subject which must not be overlooked. The duties on merchandize fall principally on articles which *are not indispensable*; and are paid by the wealthier classes. The man who wears fine broad cloths, and dresses his wife and daughters in silks and velvets, and walks on rich Turkey or Brussels carpets, and drinks his costly wines, pays hundreds of dollars, whilst the farmer in the country who owns property of equal value, does not choose to indulge in such extravagant but tastes, pays comparatively nothing. This is a matter which every man can regulate for himself, and if he thinks proper to purchase the articles which are subject to taxation, he incurs the tax *voluntarily*, and has no one to blame but himself.

But it is said that many of the articles subject to duty *are indispensable* to the comfort of a family. This is true. But does any gentleman pretend that the Government can be supported without money? We must raise revenue from some quarter, and the true question is, not one of *taxation* or *no taxation*, but whether we will have the revenue collected *indirectly* by duties on foreign goods, or by *direct taxes and excises* on our lands and workshops?

But let us examine the operation of the duty upon some few articles, which are indispensable, and see how wisely the system is adjusted to confer a benefit on the farmer, by way of compensation for the burthen which it imposes. The first that I will mention is the duty on foreign wool and woolens. These are indispensable articles, and the tax on them is a burthen to the farmer. But does not this tax, at the same time, have the effect of increasing the value of the wool which he shears from his own flocks, and is he not thereby, in many instances, more than compensated? But it is thought to be very hard that iron and salt, which enter into the consumption of the poorer classes, should be subject to duty. Here, again, those who make the objection, overlook the fact that the iron works and the salt furnaces bring large sums of money into the country, and supply extensive markets to the farmers, which frequently

repay them an hundred fold for the very small increase in the price of their salt and iron.

Let us look at the provisions of the present bill, and see what additional burthens they impose upon a farmer, who, annually consumes 100 pounds of iron and six bushels of salt. The duty upon bar iron, prior to the 1st of January last, was \$21 per ton, or about ninety-four cents per 100 lbs., and the duty on salt about 4½ cents per bushel. Under the present bill, the duty upon bar iron is \$27 50 per ton, or about \$1 22 per 100 lbs., and the duty upon salt is eight cents per bushel; so that, in the worst aspect you can view it, the increased tax which the farmer pays on his 100 lbs. of iron is 28 cents, and on his six bushels of salt 21 cents, making the aggregate of 49 cents per annum! And to compensate for this, he has the advantage of the withdrawal of the labor of thousands of operatives from raising the very articles which come into competition with his own, and of the market which they will furnish for his produce.

But I deny that the proposition is universally true, that the price of articles is necessarily enhanced, by laying an increased duty on them.—The effect of the increased duty is to enhance the price for a time, but it eventually stimulates our own citizens to engage in the manufacture of the protected articles; and experience, which is better than all reasoning, has shown that in almost every instance, an *increased duty* has, in the end, been followed by a *diminished price*. Let us take, by way of illustration, the articles of coarse cotton cloths and nails, omitting many others which have been already referred to in this debate. About the close of the last war with England, the most indifferent imported cottons were worth from 17 to 20 cents per yard. The Tariff of 1816 imposed a heavy *protecting* duty on them, which has been continued to the present time, and which induced our citizens to enter into the manufacture, and now a better article can be had for from 6 to 8 cents per yard.

But the most conclusive evidence of the fallacy of the notion, that every duty upon an article of importation produces an increase of its price, equal to the additional duty, is found in the article of nails. Nails were, until very recently, subject to a duty of five cents per pound, and of course, if the doctrine, which I have stated, was correct, we should expect to find the price of nails equal to the cost in the foreign market—the cost of freight and insurance—the profit of the importer, and the amount of the duty; but to the utter confusion of the supporters of that doctrine, the prices current exhibit the fact, that whilst the duty continued, nails could be bought for 4½ cents per pound, or less than the amount of the duty! The fallacy of the reasoning of those who contend that an additional duty necessarily produces an increased price, consists in an utter disregard of the most important fact, that a protective duty, instead of *creating a monopoly* in favor of the *home manufacturer*, tends to *destroy the foreign monopoly* by *stimulating domestic competition*!

But I am admonished by the rapid flight of time, not to dwell too long upon this topic. I will take this occasion, however, to state in a very few words, my idea of the general principles which should govern us in the arrangement of our system of imposts. In my opinion, our duties should be laid with a view to *revenue* and to *incidental protection*, but not to *prohibition*.

We should carefully examine into the exact condition and wants of every interest, and we should extend to all, as far as we can, the fostering aid of a parental government. But we should have no *pet interests*. Equal protection should be given to all. How is this equality to be attained? Is it by an uniform *ad valorem* duty in all cases? Certainly not, for that would produce the very *inequality* which you are seeking to avoid. One manufacture may have arrived at a high degree of perfection, and may be able to enter into competition with the fabrics of other nations, *without any aid from legislation*, whilst another, being in its infancy, may require the most careful protection. A duty of *ten* per cent. *ad valorem* would exclude foreign cottons from your markets, whilst a duty of *twenty* per cent. would not afford adequate protection to your woolens. It is the province of the statesman to obtain precise information in regard to all these interests, and to adapt his legislation to the varying circumstances and condition of the country. If he should find that Great Britain, by her superior machinery, greater skill, larger capital and cheaper labor, has an advantage over our manufacturers of 30 per cent. in woolens, of 20 per cent. in iron, and of 10 per cent. in cottons, is it not obvious that an uniform *ad valorem* duty on these articles would have a most unequal operation?

In such a case it would seem to me, that equality and justice would require that the Protection should be proportioned to the wants of the various branches of manufacture, and that the duties on the articles named should be laid at 30, 20, and 10 per cent. respectively, instead of being uniform. Then competition would ensue—the ingenuity of both nations would be taxed to find out new and cheaper modes of manufacture, and in a few years, the price of the article would be brought down to the lowest point at which it could be afforded.

But suppose that, instead of thus graduating your duties, you were to adopt the principle of my Southern friends, and impose a uniform duty of 20 per cent., you would exclude the foreign cottons altogether, and thus *give the home manufacturer a monopoly*. You would place the iron manufacturer upon a fair ground of competition with the foreign producer; and you would afford no Protection to the woolen manufacturer, who would be compelled to discontinue the business, and leave it to be monopolized by Great Britain! And thus, instead of *destroying one monopoly*, you would *establish two*!

I will now leave this branch of the subject, and proceed to consider the great argument against a Tariff, which has been urged through all time, and has been put forth in every modification, by various gentlemen in this debate. I allude to the allegation, that every duty laid upon an imported article operates as a *tax upon the consumer* for the *benefit of the domestic manufacturer*.

I have already had occasion to show that this proposition rests, to some extent, upon an unsound basis, by exhibiting facts to prove, in the first place, that it is not true, in all cases, that an increased duty causes an increased price; and secondly, that if it does, such increase is not equal to the enhancement of duty. But there are other views of the subject, to which I invite the atten-

tion of the Committee. If it be true, that every *duty or tax* which is imposed upon an article of merchandize, either in its raw state or in its progress through the various stages of manufacture, or in the form of an impost duty, constitutes an *addition* to its price, which must be paid by the person who buys and consumes it, does it not follow, by parity of reasoning, that every *bounty* granted upon an article of merchandize, at any time up to the period of its consumption, must tend to *diminish*, to that extent, the price to be paid by the consumer? Or, to state the proposition in a more condensed form, if every *tax* on an article is a *burthen* to the consumer, is not the correlative proposition equally true, that every *bounty* upon an article is a *benefit* to the consumer? No gentleman will pretend to deny that the second branch of the proposition is an inevitable deduction from the first—but to what consequences does this lead us? It proves that all the bounties which England gives upon her exported glass and other articles, which are the subjects of bounty under her laws, are not *benefits* conferred on her *glass manufactures, &c.*, but *mere gratuities to the American consumers!* It proves, also, that our whole system of drawbacks and fishing bounties is radically wrong, and instead of benefiting *our own citizens*, whose interests they were intended to promote, amount in effect to *donations to strangers!* Yet every intelligent man knows that such results do not ensue, and hence we are authorized to infer that the theory of the gentlemen must be unsound.

But I propose to subject this theory to another simple practical test. Its advocates say that the consumer pays all the taxes imposed upon an article of merchandize, because the tax becomes incorporated into the price of the article, and constitutes part and parcel of it; and, consequently, he who buys the article and consumes it, pays the tax as well as the cost of production, and the other elements which, in the aggregate, make up the price. If this be true, I presume it will be conceded that it is a matter of indifference *when* the tax is laid, *where* it is laid, or *how* it is laid. It may be laid upon the *raw material* or upon the *fabric*. It may be laid as an *excise duty*, or an *export duty*, in England; or it may be laid as an *impost duty* in one of our ports; provided the *amount* is the same, it makes no difference to the consumer; he has to pay it at any rate, and it is a matter of no concern to him who gets the benefit of it. Now, if this proposition be true in regard to goods *imported* into this country, there can be no good reason why it should not be equally true in regard to articles *exported* from it. The principle is the same, and the inversion of the course of trade cannot affect it. I then submit it to the advocates of that doctrine to inform this Committee what is to prevent this Government, by a very slight change in its fundamental law and commercial policy, from levying all its expenses upon citizens of foreign countries. Suppose that, by an amendment of our Constitution, we should authorize Congress to lay *export duties*, and that in pursuance of that authority our Government should impose *export duties* upon those articles which Europe can obtain no where else, such as cotton, tobacco and flour, taking care not to lay them so high as to be prohibitory; according to the doctrine of Southern gentlemen, these duties would

all fall upon the consumers of the articles in Europe, and thus we could saddle the expenses of our Government upon foreign nations, and relieve our own people from taxation altogether! The producers of cotton and tobacco and flour surely could not object to such a tax! They would not have a dollar of it to pay, for, according to their own doctrine, it would only tend to enhance the price in the foreign market, and the consumer would have it all to pay! But suppose such a measure were gravely submitted for the consideration of Congress, do you think Southern gentlemen would agree to it? This would bring their faith in their theories to a practical test; and I think I hazard but little in saying they would reject the proposition with scorn. Yes, sir, highly as they prize the blessings of this Union, they would sooner see it Sundered forever than submit to such an imposition!

But the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Pickens) has taken occasion, in the course of his remarks, to repudiate, or rather to qualify this favorite doctrine of his friends. He now admits that the *whole* duty is *not paid* by the consumer, but contends that it is *equally divided* between the producer and consumer. Is the proposition true in this modified form? If it is, we have only to adapt our legislation to it, and by a judicious arrangement of our revenue system we can collect *one half* of the Expenses of Government from foreigners by *export duties*, and the *other half* by *import*, and not a dollar need be drawn from the pockets of our own people!

But I cannot leave this point without invoking the attention of those gentlemen who have expressed a preference for a system of direct taxation over the impost system, to the important concession in favor of the latter which is contained in the proposition of the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Pickens. Whilst every one must admit that *direct taxation* falls *exclusively* on our *own citizens*, he admits that one half of all the taxes levied *indirectly* by a *system of imposts* is paid by *foreigners!* When these gentlemen bring forward their project for direct taxation as a substitute for the impost system, the only question, according to the gentleman from South Carolina, for the people to decide will be, whether they prefer to bear the *whole* or the *half* of the taxation necessary for the support of Government!

In my judgement, Mr. Chairman, there can be no *fixed rule* for estimating the relative proportion of the duty which is paid by the producer and the consumer. It depends upon, and is controlled by, a variety of circumstances which are fluctuating in their character. The relation between the *supply* and *demand* exercises a most important influence over it. If there be a *small demand* and a *large supply*, the market will be glutted, and the *producer* must reduce his price so as to lose the amount of the increased duty. But if the *supply* be *small* and the *demand* *great*, then the *producer* may exact a higher price, so as to cover the increased duty. The truth of these propositions is very clearly illustrated by a reference to our *coffee* trade. At the Extra Session of the present Congress, a bill passed the House of Representatives imposing a duty of two cents per pound upon coffee, and when the news reached Rio Janeiro the price of coffee immediately declined two cents per pound. The reason of this was that there was a

a large supply on hand, and the holders were obliged to take what they could get for it, and submit to the loss of the amount of the anticipated duty. But suppose, on the other hand, there had been a small supply, is it not obvious that the holders of coffee might have exacted two cents in addition to the former price, so as to meet the new duty? It may not be amiss, whilst I am on this point, to advert to another fact connected with the coffee trade. Some years ago Congress removed the duty upon coffee altogether, and what was the result? The increased demand thereby created kept up the price to the old standard, and our citizens were deprived of the benefit of the tax without receiving any equivalent advantage.—The withdrawal of this tax was therefore a bounty to the producer. If, on the other hand, the tax had been imposed at the Extra Session, it would have fallen, as the facts which I have mentioned clearly prove, entirely on the producer, for the decline in the foreign value was exactly equal to the anticipated duty, and we should have received the tax and paid no more for our coffee.

But we are told by the opponents of this bill that the system of imposts operates *unequally*, and confers *exclusive benefits* upon some portions of the Union at the expense of others. This is a grave charge, and one which merits profound investigation; for I hold it to be the duty of the Government to look with an impartial eye to the interests of the whole country. I have, therefore, felt called on to bestow much care in the examination of the practical operation of our whole revenue system, and of our commercial relations, upon all the different sections and interests of the Union. The result of that investigation is a thorough conviction that a variety of circumstances have conspired to give to the cotton growing States most important advantages over other divisions of the confederacy. Their Representatives are by no means insensible of this fact, as is evident from the tenacity with which they adhere to them. And if we sift the subject to the bottom, it will be found that, whilst South Carolina is so eloquent, through her Representatives on this floor, in denouncing *exclusive advantages* and *partial benefits*, she is herself in the full fruition of them! and however unconscious her champions may be of the fact, I apprehend that their zeal in opposition to this bill is not a little stimulated by the apprehension that it may have an unfavorable influence on her *exclusive privileges*, and diminish the *peculiar protection* which is now offered to her interests. Strange as the proposition may seem to Southern gentlemen, I maintain that no Tariff bill which has ever passed has conferred an amount of *protection* and of *partial benefit* on the North, equal to that which, under our present commercial system, is enjoyed by the South; and I will proceed at once to prove it.

In pursuing the investigation of this topic, it is necessary to have a distinct understanding of the meaning which is to be attached to the term *Protection*. I mean by it, not merely the encouragement and aid which any branch of industry receives from *our own laws* and *our own* commercial regulations, but also the advantages which it derives from *foreign* legislation and *foreign* policy. A benefit may be conferred, or an injury inflicted, upon any of our great interests, just as effectually by an act of the British Parliament, or

by an order in Council, as by a law of Congress. In order, then, to have a correct idea of the true condition of any of our great interests, we must examine *all* their relations. We must look *abroad* as well as at *home*; for we would have a very imperfect knowledge of the actual state of affairs if we confined our views to *our own* legislation, without regard to that of *other nations*.

What, then, is the present policy of Great Britain in regard to the various interests of our Confederacy, and what are the effects of that policy on them? It requires but a very superficial examination to show that, in regard to most of them, her interests and her policy are directly opposed to ours. The principal interests of Great Britain are her commercial and navigating, manufacturing, agricultural, and colonial interests, and her system of policy is carefully adapted to the promotion and encouragement of all of them, by imposing onerous duties, restrictions, and prohibitions intended to prevent the competition of similar interests of other countries with those of her own subjects. It is not my purpose, Mr. Chairman, to enter into a discussion of the wisdom or justice of that policy. All that I propose is, to examine briefly the *effects* of it upon the different sections of our Confederacy.

Our commercial, navigating, and manufacturing interests belong generally to the *North and East*; and hence the restrictive measures of Great Britain, which are designed to promote her commercial, navigating, and manufacturing interests, fall principally upon our *Northern* and *Eastern* States.

The great agricultural districts of the United States lie in the Middle and Western States, and hence the burthens of the English Corn Laws, and other measures, intended to sustain her own agriculture, are felt most severely by the people of the Middle and Western States.

The sugar interest of the United States is limited to the single State of Louisiana, and, as a necessary consequence, that State is more injuriously affected than any other by the duties and restrictions which Great Britain has established for the protection of the sugars of her own colonies.

It thus appears plainly, that in regard to all these branches of our national industry, England has interests which are adverse to ours, and that those interests have induced her to adopt a system of policy which is in a high degree injurious to the prosperity of the United States.

But there is one great staple of our country which, for the present at least, stands in a different relation to the interests of England, and hence we perceive that her policy in regard to it is exactly the reverse of what I have shown it to be in reference to all others. I refer to the article of cotton. That does not come at present into competition with any English interest. Great Britain has not yet perfected the establishment of a cotton interest of her own in India, and she is not ready therefore to bring her restrictive system to bear upon ours. It is obvious, however, from all the signs of the times, that this exception from her general policy, which she makes in favor of cotton, will be of short duration; for I perceive from a table which has been published in most of the newspapers, that the amount of East India cotton imported into England in the first sixteen weeks of the year 1841, was 46,289 bales, and for the

corresponding period of the present year the amount was 92,688 bales, being an increase of more than 160 per cent., whilst the increase upon the importations from America was but 15 per cent. For the present, however, our cotton is essential to the prosperity of her manufactures, and hence she makes a virtue of necessity, and receives it subject to a very small duty.

Having thus taken this review of the British policy, I ask what is the effect of it upon the various interests of our nation? Is it not to oppress the industry of the Northern, Middle, Western and extreme Southern States, with heavy burdens, and to confer peculiar benefits upon the cotton growing States? Does not the cotton interest, under the existing commercial regulations, between this country and England, possess exclusive privileges? Does not the product of that region find a hearty welcome in the British ports, whilst those of every other part of the Union are met with restrictions, exactions, and prohibitions? If this be not an *exclusive privilege*, will gentlemen tell me what constitutes one? Is it not a preference given to the productions of one part of our country over those of all others? And are we tamely to acquiesce in this policy of a foreign nation? Suppose that such an unjust advantage had been secured to one part of the Union over the others, by a treaty stipulation, or by our own legislation, would the country submit to it? No, sir! A flame of indignation would pervade the nation from one end to the other! The whole land would resound with denunciations of the injustice and iniquity of such partial legislation, and "*repeal or revolution*" would be the battle cry of an incensed people!

And yet, because this result is produced by a *foreign government*, to *promote its own interests*, we are told in effect, that it is our duty to submit to the unequal operation of the laws of England! What, sir, is the argument of the South to induce the other sections of the Union to bow their necks to the yoke? When stripped of all its specious disguises, it amounts to nothing more nor less than this: "If our Government should impose duties on English merchandize, England will no longer buy our cotton! We must therefore insist that the Northern, and Middle, and Western States shall give up their manufactures, cease to make their own supplies, and consent to buy them from England, that England may be the more able to give us a good price for our cotton!"

Thus it is attempted to make all the agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, navigating and fishing interests, subservient to the cotton interest!

There is a great principle of national independence which lies behind this question, which it behooves us to consider well, before we act. If any foreign nation has a right to make discriminations in favor of the productions of one part of our country, with a view to promote her own domestic interests, may she not make discriminations for the purpose of striking down the interests of another part; and if we are not at liberty to adopt a countervailing system, may she not thereby obtain complete control over our *domestic policy*? If she can discriminate for one purpose, may she not do so for *any and all purposes*? If she can do so to *favor* one State, she can do so to *injure* another. Suppose, then, that England, from motives of resentment toward New-York, because of

the interference of her citizens in the Canadian disturbances, were to make a discrimination in her commercial policy against the trade from New-York, would this nation submit to it? Or suppose that England were to hold this language to Mississippi: "You have repudiated your State debts, and until you make provision for their payment, we shall levy a discriminating duty on all cotton grown in Mississippi, to raise a fund to pay the interest to your creditors!" Would not every son of that gallant State be ready to shed the last drop of his blood, before he would submit to such an assumption of power by England? Would she not at once invoke the aid of the national arm to redress the injury done to her citizens by such an odious regulation? Yet, I ask gentlemen, if the policy of Great Britain does not *now* create a discrimination against the products of three-fourths of the States, in favor of the other fourth, just as effectually as if her laws had been framed to produce the result? It matters not what the *motive* may be, the *effects* are the same, and our duty to guard against those effects is not the less imperative, because they may not have proceeded from an unfriendly feeling.

But there is one other form in which I wish to present this subject to my friends from the South. Every gentleman upon this floor has, no doubt, had occasion to advert to the course of the English Government for many years past, in regard to the subject of slavery and the slave-trade; and there are but few who have not been filled with disgust at the hypocrisy and insincerity by which it has been marked. We all know that England introduced slavery into the United States, and that her refusal to aid in suppressing it was one of the wrongs which impelled this country to a declaration of independence. She wanted the slaves here for the interests of her commerce and manufactures. She wanted them to produce the raw material, and to supply a market for her fabrics. She also encouraged the introduction of slaves into South America, and actually entered into a contract by which she obtained the monopoly of the slave trade to Brazil. This also was done to promote her commercial interests. Recently, however, she has conceived the idea of building up a cotton interest of her own in India, and hence she is smitten with a sudden feeling of humanity, and a holy horror of the slave trade, and her cruisers are spread over the African seas to suppress the cruel traffic in human beings, which for years she had monopolized! The object is plain enough.—She no longer has an interest in promoting the growth of cotton in Brazil, and hence she feels no desire to supply the labor that is to produce it.—But this is not all. She is looking ultimately to the Indies for her cotton, and when the culture is firmly established there, her policy will then be directed against the cotton of America, which is the product of slave labor: And I venture to predict, that the first moment she feels she can do so with safety, she will be seized with another *spasm* of simulated philanthropy, and exclude from her ports the cotton of the South, on the ground that she cannot, even indirectly, sustain the institution of slavery by dealing in the productions which uphold it! Are Southern gentlemen now prepared to establish a precedent, which shall justify such an impertinent interference with their domestic institutions by a foreign nation? Are gentlemen



prepared to admit the right of England to prescribe indirectly, as one of the terms of our commercial intercourse, that the Southern slaves shall be liberated? If they are, then are they justified in maintaining the doctrine that we are not at liberty to meet, by counter legislation, the unjust discrimination which the policy of England has made between the different sections of our Union. All the consequences which I have adverted to, plainly follow from the doctrine of acquiescence in foreign legislation. What I desire above all things, is to meet these attempts of England at the threshold, and to assert the power of *our own* Government to regulate *our own* affairs, and to protect the industry of *our own* people. I, for one, am for adopting an enlarged system of policy, which shall break down all *exclusive privileges*, whether secured by *our own* or *foreign* laws, and extend to all parts of the country equal protection and encouragement.

I hope, now, Mr. Chairman, that we shall hear no more from Southern gentlemen of *exclusive privileges*, since it is obvious that the whole tendency of their votes here, is to *sustain* the exclusive advantages which they now enjoy under the partial legislation of England!

But, Mr. Chairman, we are told by the eloquent gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. PICKENS,) that the system of retaliation and restriction is opposed to the spirit of the age, and unworthy of an enlightened people. He has represented the GENIUS of COMMERCE as a beautiful maiden, freed from all the restraints of an antiquated governess, panting for the largest liberty, and ready to unfold her bright pinions to the winds of heaven, and fly to the uttermost parts of the earth! He has then poured forth torrents of denunciation upon those who would load her graceful limbs with cruel fetters! Sir, I will continue the beautiful simile of the gentleman, and say to him, far be it from my purpose to fasten iron chains upon the fair creature of his fancy! I propose not to enslave her, but merely to impose on her that restraint, and to afford her that *protection*, which is necessary to save her from the dangers with which her pathway is beset!

We have heard a great deal, Mr. Chairman, in the course of this discussion, about "FREE TRADE." Sir, what is it? A mere phantom! an idle dream of visionary theorists! Is it attainable? Is it practicable? Will any other nation adopt it? Has any other nation ever adopted it? No! Why talk about it, then? The doctrine is predicated upon a notion of what men and nations *ought* to be, instead of *what they are*! Like the wild conceit of the perfectibility of man, it seizes upon the minds of its votaries, and causes them to lose sight of the existing state of things in the contemplation of some dim visions of futurity. Sir, *speculative philosophy* is one thing—*practical legislation* is another. We were sent here to legislate for this nation as it is. We must look at the actual state of things at home and abroad.—We must look to the vices and follies of mankind, as well as to their virtues, and we must shape our legislation so as to attain, not the greatest possible good, but the greatest practicable good. Have other nations manifested a desire to meet us upon the basis of free trade? Let the table of comparative Tariffs on your desk answer the question! What is the aggregate of your importations into

this country? and what is the amount of duties which you collect upon them?

The whole importation of 1841 was \$127,945,000  
The whole amount of duties, was... 14,487,000  
Being at the rate of 11½ per cent.

What, on the other hand, is the whole amount of your products exported to other countries, and what is the amount of duties which they collect upon them? Upon this point we have not precise information, but I have an estimate which has been prepared with great care by a highly skilful gentleman, who has collected abroad a large body of commercial facts for the Government. I have reason to believe that it is not far from the truth. According to that—

The whole amount of exportations in 1841, was..... \$31,000,000

The amount of duties levied on them was..... 113,500,000  
Being at the rate of 124 per cent.

But let us now come to some of the articles raised in my own district.

The average value of tobacco exported in 1839, 1840, was \$9,225,145.

Upon this was levied a tax, in Europe, of \$32,-463,540, being a tax of near 300 per cent. upon the value of the article in this country!

The following table will show, in detail, the amount of the duties in the principal nations of Europe, on some of the most important articles of exportation from our country in 1840:

Great Britain—	Flour, \$3 12½ per barrel	
	Wheat, \$5 20 per quarter or 95 cts per bushel.	
	Unmanufactured tobacco, 72 cts per pound.	
	Manufactured tobacco, \$2 16 per pound.	
France—	Flour, \$10 83 per 220 pounds.	
	Wheat, 4 63 per 22 gallons.	
	Unmanufactured tobacco, Prohibited on private act.	
		Government Monopoly.
Russia—	Flour, \$3 37 per 6 bushels.	
	Wheat, same rate.	
	Unmanufactured tobacco, \$7 50 per 36 pounds.	
	Manufactured tobacco, \$3 75 per 36 pounds.	

And yet in the face of these most ruinous restrictions and exactions, we are invited to throw open our ports to the merchandize of those whose ingenuity is tasked to the utmost to devise new modes of extortion from us!

We are told that a change is about to take place in the policy of England, and that she will soon adopt the principles of Free Trade, and it behooves us to meet her in the proper spirit. For my part, sir, before I would be willing to change the policy of this Government to meet the views of England, I would require rather more substantial evidences of her intentions than mere empty professions. Her system of Free Trade is well defined in the following extract from the speech of one of her statesmen, Mr. Robertson, in a recent debate in the House of Commons, in which he said:

"It was idle for us to endeavor to persuade other nations to join with us in adopting the principles of what was called Free Trade. Other nations knew as well as the noble Lord opposite, and those who acted with him, that what we meant by Free Trade was nothing more nor less than, by means of the great advantages we enjoyed, to get a monopoly of all their markets for our manufactures, and to prevent them, one and all, from ever becoming manufacturing nations."

That is exactly her policy. She knows she has more capital, better machinery, cheaper labor, greater mechanical skill, and a more extensive

marine than any other nation on earth; and that, owing to these circumstances, no other nation can come into fair competition with her; and hence she endeavors to delude them by the senseless cry of Free Trade.

I have been surprised, Mr. Chairman, that there has been, during the whole course of this debate, an apparent acquiescence upon the part of all who have adverted to the subject, in the idea that, if all nations would adopt the principles of *Free Trade*, it would be their true policy. Sir, I deny the doctrine, out and out; and I wish, as far as my feeble blow will avail, to strike the ax directly to the root of the tree. I maintain that what is called *Free Trade*—that is, trade unrestrained by commercial regulations, or imposts, or taxes of any kind, would be the most *unequal* trade that could possibly exist, and would lead to the establishment of the most absolute dominion of some nations, and the most slavish subjection of others. In order to give *equal* advantages under such a system, you must adopt the principles of *NATIONAL AGRARIANISM*—you must make all nations equal in all respects—you must endow them with the same intelligence, the same industry, and the same mechanical skill—you must give them equal capital, equal machinery, equal water power; and equal amounts of all the elements of national wealth. They must be equally refined and civilized, and have equal facilities for the transportation of their commodities to and from their markets. The slightest disparity in any of these respects, or in geographical position, or in any of a thousand other incidents which might be named, would destroy the balance of the system, and inequality in wealth and power would immediately ensue. How could a nation having no machinery compete with one like Great Britain, whose steam power is probably ten times as great as the combined animal power of her whole population?—How could there be equality between an inland nation without a barque to bear her flag, and the “*Ocean Queen*,” whose canvass whitens every sea? How can there ever be fair competition—*freedom of trade* between Power and Weakness—between Wealth and Poverty—between Knowledge and Ignorance—between Industry and Idleness? Sir, the notion is preposterous. You might as well oppose the helplessness of childhood to the matured power of manhood, as to place the infant manufactures of the United States in competition with those of England! Adopt the system of *Free Trade* and the dream of Pharaoh will be reversed—the fat kine will devour the lean—the more powerful nations will swallow up the trade of the weaker. The people who have the advantages of local position, of industry and intelligence, will soon assert their natural superiority, become rich and prosperous at the expense of the less favored and the less sagacious. We have, in our own continent, a specimen of *Free Trade* and its deformities. Between the United States and the Indian tribes the most perfect freedom of trade exists, unrestrained and untrammelled by restrictions or duties; and what has been the result? Has there been that mutuality of benefit which advocates of *Free Trade* promise to all grown up to its principles? Have the Indians become rich and prosperous under the benign influence of commerce freed from all the shackles of antiquated and exploded prejudices?

or has the whole intercourse between the parties to it been a system of fraud, extortion and plunder on the one side, and oppression, ruin and annihilation on the other?

There is yet another example of *Free Trade* upon the continent to which I will barely advert upon this occasion. I refer to the trade between the various States of this Union, which under the provisions of our Constitution must, through all time, remain free. Many of the Southern politicians have imagined, from time to time, that the Northern States have, from some cause, obtained an undue advantage over them in the commerce of the country, and they have occasionally held conventions and suggested various restrictive measures, to restore to themselves their due proportion. All these means have failed, and they have persuaded themselves, that the injury results, in a great measure, from the restrictions imposed by the General Government on our foreign commerce. Without pretending to solve this important problem, I will take the liberty of suggesting the inquiry whether the effect which they deplore may not flow from a cause very different from the one assigned, and whether, in point of fact, it may not be the *perfect freedom of trade* between the States of this Union, and *not the restrictions upon foreign commerce*, which has enabled the North to use her natural advantages in such a way as to gain the ascendancy over the South! There is one fact which I will refer to, in this connection, which may be entitled to consideration. Before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, when each State regulated its own commerce, there was no such concentration of trade, at one or two points, as we now find. Even Virginia then carried on a large direct trade, and we are told by tradition that Yorktown, a village which, but for its proud historic associations with the close of our Revolutionary struggle, would hardly find a place upon the map of the Ancient Dominion, was once the port through which Philadelphia received the larger portion of her supplies of foreign merchandise!

I have now, Mr. Chairman, finished what I proposed to say upon the general merits of the bill. But I cannot take my seat without adding a few words in regard to the deep interest which the State of Virginia has in the success of the measure now under consideration. It is my deliberate conviction, that she will derive more benefit from it than any other State of the Union, for there is no other State which has such a variety of interests to be promoted. Many States possess advantages over her in some respects, but where will you find one which *combines so many* of the elements of wealth, of greatness, and of power? She is situated in the very heart of the Confederacy. She has a sea coast, including the bay, unrivaled in extent; and her Western border is, for hundreds of miles, washed by the waters of the Ohio. Her shores are deeply indented with bays, and inlets, and creeks, affording every facility for navigation. The Ohio, the Potomac, the James, and half a score of other navigable rivers, have their sources in her mountains, and radiating as from a common centre, wind their way for hundreds of miles through her territory, imparting fertility to her soil, and supplying, at the same time, the power to drive the most extensive machinery, and the best possible channel for transporting the manufactured

fabrics to market. Her soil is adapted to the growth of almost every vegetable production known to our country. Wheat, rye, Indian corn, oats, tobacco, hemp, flax, potatoes, and every species of grass and fruit known to temperate climates, attain the highest degree of perfection within her borders. Her mineral wealth is no less diversified than abundant. She possesses gold, and silver, and copper, and iron, and lead, and salt, and gypsum, and coal, to an extent that would seem almost incredible to one who had not taken some pains to acquire particular information on the subject. Her forests abound in the best lumber, and her mountains afford pastures for sheep, which will enable her almost without an effort to supplant Vermont in the wool trade; for whilst, in the frozen regions of the North, the flocks must be fed half the year, in our more genial climate, they can generally find the means of subsistence for themselves in the luxuriant growth of the mountains. In regard to water power, too, she has peculiar advantages, not only in its extent and general diffusion over her territory, but from the fact that machinery is so little liable to be interrupted in the winter by ice. The same remark is applicable to her canals and navigable streams, which are frequently not closed at all during the winter, and never for more than a few weeks. If any gentleman wishes to see a specimen of the natural advantages of Virginia, let him visit her metropolis. Where will he find such a combination of all the natural advantages for a great manufacturing city as Richmond presents? Inexhaustible supplies of coal and iron are found in the immediate neighborhood of the city. The James River Canal, which already penetrates 150 miles into the interior of the country, and is destined at no distant day to form the most convenient line of connection between the sea board and the Ohio, affords not only the means of access to the inland markets, but supplies an almost unlimited extent of water power, to impel the machinery necessary for every species of manufacture. Various lines of railroads extending in every direction, invite the trader of the surrounding country, by furnishing the most convenient and speedy means of effecting the exchanges of the products of agriculture, for the fabrics of the merchant and the manufacturer.— Her central position and proximity to the Southern and S. Western country, where cotton is produced, and a large market for manufactures is found, must give her decided advantages over the manufacturing towns of the North, which are obliged to encounter the expense of the double transportation of the raw material to the North to be manufactured, and of the fabric to the South to be consumed. Her manufacturers will also enjoy another important advantage, from the fact that they will be enabled to throw their fabrics into the market without delay, and thus their capital will always be actively employed, instead of being idle during the long periods of the transit of the raw material from the South to the North and back again. Give Virginia, then, the benefit of this bill, and you will soon see factories springing up on all her water courses; you will see her coal fields explored; her rich mines opened up; her commerce revived; her agriculture invigorated; her capital increased, not merely by the gradual accessions of her own industry, but by the influx from abroad, which her superior natural resources

will invite. Give her, I repeat, the benefit of this bill, and you will diffuse prosperity through all her borders; her citizens will no longer be compelled to leave the home of their childhood in search of a precarious subsistence in the far West; the tide of emigration will cease, and the proud Old Dominion will again, at no distant day, assume her appropriate position in the front rank of the members of our glorious Confederacy.

#### Anniversary of The Home League.

The friends of American Industry throughout the Union are apprised that during the last Annual Exhibition of the American Institute in this city an Association was here formed by a Convention of citizens from all parts of the Country, denominated "**THE HOME LEAGUE for the protection of American Labor and the promotion of reciprocal Commerce.**" It was composed of representatives from the Agricultural, Manufacturing, Commercial and Industrial interests generally, without reference to any sectional or party bias. Its principles and objects are now known. A widespread influence and the formation of more than a hundred auxiliary leagues, cooperating in the diffusion of useful information and the advancement of our domestic concerns, are sufficient proofs of its utility and well-timed establishment.

It is now the duty of the Central Committee, appointed by and in behalf of the Primary League, to announce to its associate branches and to the public generally, that the first annual meeting for the choice of Officers and the transaction of business appertaining to the Association will be held at the Lyceum of Natural History, 563 Broadway, in this city on the 13th day of October next, at 11 o'clock, A. M. when a general attendance of its members and those who wish to become such will take place, without farther notice.

An address to the People of the United States, setting forth the general views of this Association, has already been circulated throughout the Country, and has met with marked approbation. From an Institution scarcely yet a year in existence, it cannot be expected that any boast will be made of what it has done, and still less of what it is likely to achieve. No banners are displayed to aid party strife or to excite popular commotion; but converts from all parties and associations in all sections of the Country have joined its ranks with a proper spirit of independence, to establish, peacefully and permanently, an union of interests distinctly AMERICAN, in opposition to those anti-national and unpatriotic dogmas which have lately been undermining our character and prosperity as an independent and sovereign People.

In the two conventions, which have been held furtherance of its objects, a harmony of action consistency of conduct were manifested, not only proved The Home League to be servility to local and party prejudices, but the diffusion of a mass of useful and timely

tion, and the fearless expression of sound and patriotic views, an interest has been every where awakened in its favor, so that now its warmest advocates are among those who first questioned its utility, and derided the possibility of its independence. The statistical facts collected in the course of its numerous meetings in this city, aided by publications giving the result of their discussions to the people at large, have essentially aided in the formation of a Tariff as indispensable for Revenue and the basis of a sound Currency as for Protection to Domestic Industry. The baneful and deceptive doctrines of Free Trade which an insidious foreign rival was commending to our adoption, without deigning to practice them herself, have here been successfully combatted, and it is now no longer a heresy to protect our Home concerns or to foster a Commerce that is truly reciprocal.

To carry on the great objects for which such an Association was formed, and is so manifestly qualified to promote, the Central Committee feel themselves privileged to urge upon their fellow-citizens of all parties and in all the States throughout the Union to continue the efforts already commenced, and to form State and County Leagues to aid in completing the good work thus auspiciously commenced. Much yet remains to be accomplished, which the narrow aims of party discipline would neglect or subvert to its own selfish purposes. A special vigilance is necessary to watch these who are the chosen guardians of the public weal, to see that our Legislators accomplish the work for which they were appointed, and should their patriotic efforts to relieve our present embarrassments be defeated, to hold ourselves in readiness to call public meetings for the protection of our Home Interests, at all hazards, to sustain those and those only who constitutionally enact laws for the relief of our suffering Country, and to prevent our birth-right from being bargained away for the offals of Foreign Free Trade—these are some of the duties and privileges that belong to The Home League, and which it will faithfully perform.

It is one of the cardinal principles of our Association that the Government and People of this Country owe it to themselves to protect American Industry and Enterprise, wherever and however developed. With advantages greater than any other nation possesses, the United States have rightfully assumed a higher stand, and are bound to maintain a loftier and freer character in a moral and political point of view than any other community. Our laboring classes especially set out to be better educated, better clothed and better fed than the oppressed operatives of foreign countries.

It is to maintain this ascendancy at this moment is a great task. Low labor and low prices prevail everywhere. The Old World seems going generally to a state of liquidation, and these are the signs of an article we produce or manufacture

which cannot or may not be produced in some foreign country at a less price than we can produce it here. Our Carrying Trade too, and our Fisheries, and in short all the labor of our hands, are interfered with when placed in competition with the depressed labor of Europe, or that of its lower reduced Colonies.

Now, unless our working men are ready to abandon the benefits of Education, the comforts of decent Apparel, and the wholesome Living to which they have been accustomed, we must guard against foreign competition by securing a preference to the Labor of our own citizens, whether native or naturalized, and to our legitimate Home Interests. We have no other alternative, for the benefit of the Laborer or Capitalist; for it cannot be doubted that it is for the interest of the Capitalist to pay a higher rate of wages to the free American who supports himself independently, rather than to give lower rates to such degraded and pauper dependents as are maintained by poor laws in foreign countries. Nor will the delusive doctrines of Free Trade help us. That demands the exchange of Labor for Labor—an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, whatever be their character. It is only by a judicious Protection to our own Skill and Industry that our Working Classes can be secured in their privileges.—The half-starved, half-clothed and ignorant foreign serf can and must work cheaper than we do, and of course the purchasers of his labor will, in an open market, have an advantage. It is worse than idle to be blind to this conclusion. The rates of Labor form the standard of value whereby to estimate the moral and mental improvements of a Nation in comparison with others. Skill, talent, industry, order and enterprise create capital. Good Government protects these; and just in the same way that a superior workman obtains higher wages than a poor one, so does a Nation possessed of the above advantages take the lead of other Nations, and as long as it can maintain a high rate of wages by the above means, it will be preeminently prosperous.

But the representative of this value of Labor being Money, it should be measured by a uniform standard, and not by a fluctuating currency, which, it is said, is the cause of the present distress. Now, what is the existing state of our money value as the representative of other values? We have no National Bank. The business of the Government is done upon a Specie basis. The Currency of those States which have any paper issues is nearly equal to Specie. If the wages of Labor therefore decline, it will not be owing to Banking in any way. For the future, if we behold our Laborers without employ, Trade paralyzed, and the wages of all our Working Classes going down, we must impute these evils to some other cause than that arising from a Paper Currency. A real want of work at home in consequence of employing operatives abroad to work

for us, paid by our Specie or the products of sectional and not general Labor, is the true cause. Look where we may, we witness this result. The dismantled state of our American Shipping, the monopoly by foreigners of what little carrying-trade there is, the suspension of our manufacturing enterprise to give employment to needy operatives abroad, the restricted trade and non-intercourse between all parts of our once flourishing Country, the plethora attributed to over-production and diminished consumption in our Agricultural and Mechanical pursuits—the downward tendency of all values save that of money, whereby Capitalists alone are benefited and they but transiently, the exposure of the destitute to crime and suffering—the destruction of principle so prone to follow that of property,—these are actual miseries, which for the want of a Protective System, the American Laboring classes are doomed to see and feel.

But the Committee fully believe that the Country is not compelled to submit long to this degraded condition. There is no need that our young and puissant nation should be over-laid or over-reached in, the throes of distress which now convulse the starving Millions in the Old World; nor however deeply we may commiserate their sufferings, is it necessary that we should throw ourselves into their wretched condition. That policy which seeks to level the wages of Free American Labor to a Servile or Pauper Standard, cannot be tolerated by our Industrious and better Educated citizens. The high character assumed by us is capable of being sustained. The bounties of Providence now everywhere smile upon our fields.—Skill, Enterprize, the Will and Strength to work, the advantages of Education and Freedom which, with proper encouragement, are odds in our favor against the World, a cheap Soil and every variety of Climate, secure to us success if we only have the wisdom to embrace it. Some concessions and alterations may have to be made by us to the changing state of circumstances, but it is by a protection and fostering care over our Home interests that we shall be enabled surely and permanently to regain our prosperity. A National Commerce among ourselves must be encouraged. A motive-power from our own government must come in the shape of a Protective Tariff, equal in its countervailing power to all the emergencies we may be thrown into by foreign interference—a Tariff securing Home Industry and Home Competition, not for the benefit of the few monopolists nor of the Government merely, but for the whole Country, rewarding Labor, remunerating Capital and equalizing Prices. This, as we believe, is the necessary result of the system we advocate, the League and the only League we are bound to.

The statistical reports emanating from our last Convention have already done much to convince the public of the ability of our countrymen, with

proper protection, to sustain themselves as a free Manufacturing, Agricultural and Commercial People. We now invite the various branches of our Association to continue to furnish such reports and to correct any errors which may have appeared in those already published. Let the unemployed operatives meet in their respective districts to consult together, and devise the means to give a new impulse to the hand of labor; let them appoint Delegates to express their wishes and views at the Convention, and co-operate with us to restore to the country its former prosperity. Let the Farmers of the interior look at the state of the Republic, and having a regard to the whole country, let them meet us through their Delegates, to represent their feelings in behalf of American Industry, and of those classes who furnish a market for the productions of the soil and prevent them from being dependent on foreign workshops for fabrics of the first necessity. A due preparation of measures to be acted upon at our next meeting, will essentially facilitate the execution of what will there have to be adopted, and as every interest in the Country is deeply connected with the Protection of Labor and the prosecution of reciprocal Commerce, we trust our citizens generally will unite in our patriotic labors.

The Committee in conclusion will only repeat that in whatever section of the Country these sentiments may be promulgated, whatever party or whatever trade may espouse them, it is hoped implicit faith may be placed in their sincerity, and if delegates are appointed to meet us, that they will bring with them a determination and the means to carry out our views. We again assert what was contained in our former address, that "to promote Domestic Interests the Home League was established, without reference to party distinctions, and to impress upon our public representatives the propriety of guarding and promoting those interests, our efforts will be directed. The occasion is propitious and the necessity urgent, and we call upon all those who love their own Country above all others, who prefer Domestic to Foreign interests, to unite their exertions to ours, until the concentrated efforts of the friends of American interests shall be crowned with complete success, and a policy truly American and National be found to prevail in every department of our Government.

JOSEPH BLUNT, N. Y.  
C. C. HAVEN, N. Y.  
ADONIRAM CHANDLER, N. Y.  
R. H. PRYNN, N. Y.  
HENRY JORDEN, N. Y.  
CHARLES S. MORGAN, Va.  
MELVIN JOPELAND, C. Ma.  
BENJAMIN REEVES, Pa.  
WM. B. KINNEY, N. J.  
GEO. B. HOLMES, R. I.  
T. B. WAKEMAN, N. Y.  
L. D. CHAFFIN, N. Y.  
WM. G. LAMBERT, N. Y.

Central Committee

## SPEECH OF MR. HUDSON,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

## ON THE TARIFF BILLS.

Delivered in the Committee of the Whole.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, July 8, 1812.

The Tariff Bills being under consideration—

Mr. HUDSON addressed the Committee as follows:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: From what I have seen of the spirit and temper of the Committee, and from what I know of the views and feelings of gentlemen on this floor, I am inclined to believe that there is not a radical difference of opinion between us. I am satisfied that if gentlemen could forget their preconceived opinions, and would sit down and candidly compare notes, they would find themselves much nearer together than they imagine. Every man will allow that the Treasury is empty: every man will admit that we need revenue; and, whatever may be his party bias or speculative opinions, every man will acknowledge that our revenue must come mainly, if not wholly, from imposts. Nearly every member on this floor will admit that, in imposing duties, there should be discrimination for revenue, and in some degree for protection. Every man, in imposing duties, would have some reference to the policy of the nations with which we are connected by commercial intercourse.

I doubt whether there is a gentleman present who will dissent from these views. Will any member on this floor rise in his place and say that, in the imposition of duties, he would have no regard to the interests of the people? Will any one maintain that the "general welfare," the very object for which the Government was instituted should be overlooked or disregarded, in raising the means to support the Government? If any one entertains these opinions, and is willing to carry them out, let him speak: let him declare, in the presence of this House and of the nation, that he will not discriminate between luxuries and necessities, and that he has no disposition to protect the laborers of this free Republic against the pauper labor of the old world.

Mr. Chairman, if we approach this subject like business men, our first inquiry will be, *what are the wants of the Government?* The Secretary of the Treasury estimates the wants of the Government for three years to come at \$32,000,000 annually. The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and of Manufactures assure us that it would not be safe to estimate the necessary amount of nett revenue at less than \$27,000,000 or \$28,000,000 for several years to come. In these estimates are included several millions which will be required to redeem Treasury notes outstanding, and to pay the interest, and redeem the principal of the loan required to pay the debts of the late administration, and to supply the deficiency created in the Treasury by the reductions which have taken place during the last year, by the operations of the compromise act.

The Secretary estimates the importation at \$107,000,000, from which he deducts \$13,000,000 for the free articles, leaving about \$94,000,000 of imports, on which to raise the necessary revenue. Without intending to go into this part of the subject, which has been fully exhibited by the Chair-

man of the Committee of Ways and Means, it is sufficient to say that, taking the Secretary's own estimate, to raise \$32,000,000 on an importation of \$94,000,000 would require an ad valorem duty of about 35 per cent.

Now, sir, how shall the necessary amount be raised? Every gentleman will admit the propriety of a free list. It would be folly to impose a duty upon specie, the importation of which amounts, in some years, to \$15,000,000. Equally unwise would it be to impose a duty on articles imported for the use of the United States, or for literary institutions and societies. The other free articles are generally those of absolute necessity, as drugs and medicines, or the raw materials necessary to our manufactures. Such a list has always existed; from the adoption of the Constitution it has been the policy of the Government to admit such articles free of duty; nor am I aware that any gentleman who has examined the subject is disposed to annihilate this free list.

What duties, then, shall be imposed upon the \$94,000,000 of dutiable articles? We have already seen that the duty, if it were levied upon every article, must be 35 per cent. But will every article bear this duty? Or would a sound policy dictate such an imposition? No; the same reasons which would dictate a free list, would require that a moderate rate of duty be imposed upon some articles. One class of articles is of such a character that they could be easily smuggled, and a high duty would lead to frauds upon the revenue; another class is consumed principally by the poor, who are but illly able to bear the burden of any additional taxation. One article comes in competition with a domestic production, and another does not; one article is obtained from a country whose ports are open to our productions, while another comes from a country from whose ports our products are excluded. These considerations would dictate a different rate of duty. A horizontal duty is as absurd in political economy, as an exact equality or uniformity in nature. No man can, I am persuaded, after reflecting for a single moment, maintain that every article, under all the variety of circumstances, should pay the same rate per cent.

We are required, then, by the dictates of propriety, of sound policy, of common sense, to discriminate in the imposition of duties; and if some articles are brought below the average rate, others must be carried above. But on what principles shall we discriminate? Before I answer this question, I wish to inquire, *why raise a revenue at all?* If it be said that it is necessary to support the Government, I say, then carry out the same principles in levying duties as those on which the Government is founded. As the Government was established "to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare," we should have regard to those objects in the imposition of duties. Protect your industry against the pauper labor of the old world; seek the welfare of your own country, and not the prosperity of other nations, from whose ports some of your own products are excluded.

But we are told that a low rate of duty will produce more revenue. Without stopping here to show the fallacy of this position, I will simply remark, that this could be done only by increasing importations. And is this desirable? Have not

excessive importations been one principal cause of our present pecuniary embarrassment? The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. PICKENS) the other day gave us a doleful account of the prostrate condition of the country—commerce and agriculture nearly destroyed—business, in all its departments, embarrassed—individual credit gone—States bankrupt, and the United States bonds hawked in the market. And does that gentleman suppose that individual or State credit would be improved, or foreign indebtedness be wiped out, by increased importation of foreign luxuries? Will new and increased debts relieve our pecuniary embarrassments? Common prudence would suggest to us to curtail our expenditures—to diminish importations. One argument in support of a Tariff is, that it will tend to diminish importations, and so check that pride and extravagance which now stalk forth at noonday.

But, sir, we are told that the proposed rates of duty are unreasonably high. Has any gentleman shown, or even attempted to show, that the proposed rates will give more revenue than is required, or more than was expended by the last administration? Such an attempt has not been made. Still gentlemen tell us that the duties in the bills before us are *enormous*. Enormous! They are not as high as they were under the administration of General Jackson; they are, on the principal articles, no higher than they were during the administration of Mr. Van Buren. Let us look at a few articles under his reign:

By the acts of 1832 and 1833 woolens paid a duty of 50 per cent. *ad valorem*; and though the duties on sugar, iron in its various forms, and cottons, were mostly specific, they would not, on an average, vary materially from the same rate of 50 per cent. Under the operation of the compromise act, the reduction would bring duties on articles paying 50 per cent. down as follows:

From December 31, 1833, to Dec. 31, 1835, to	47 per cent.
From " 1835, to " 1837, to	44 do
From " 1837, to " 1839, to	41 do
From " 1839, to " 1841, to	38 do
From " 1841, to June 30, 1842, to	29 do
And after June 30, 1842, to	20 do

On all articles paying a duty of 50 per cent. the compromise act would take off 30 per cent. But of this large reduction, only 12-30 thereof came off prior to the first of January last—leaving 18-30 of the whole reduction to fall upon the last six months.

The four articles just mentioned, (*viz*: woolens cottons, sugar, and iron in all its forms and varieties,) during the administration of Mr. Van Buren, paid on an average 41 per cent. at least—a rate of duty as high as is proposed in the bill of my colleague; and from these four articles he received nearly two-thirds of his entire revenue from customs. I have taken the amount of these articles during his four years, and estimated the revenue derived from that source, and will present the result to the House.

	Amount.	Per Ct.	Revenue.
Average of Woolens for 4 years,	\$5,433,414	41	\$2,227,599
Do Cottons "	9,731,728	"	3,996,108
Do Sugar "	7,572,370	"	3,104,671
Do Iron "	9,778,914	"	4,018,354
			\$15,341,832

Here we have an average annual revenue of \$13,341,832, during Mr. Van Buren's administration, arising from four articles, while the annual nett revenue from customs, during the same pe-

riod, amounted on an average to only \$19,623,000. It is true that the \$13,341,000 was the gross revenue, and that from this sum should be deducted the expense of collection, and a drawback upon railroad iron and refined sugar. But, after all, more than half of the nett revenue arose from these four articles—articles which, by the compromise act, have come down to 20 per cent., if we have any duties at all. As gentlemen seem desirous of creating an impression that the duties in the bills before us are extravagantly high, I will select a few leading articles, and show the duties which have existed under the Tariffs of 1828, 1832, and the bill of the Committee on Manufactures.

ARTICLES.	TARIFFS OF		
	1828.	1832.	1842.
Wool .....	40 per cent.	40 per cent.	26 per cent.
Woolens .....	and 4 cents per pound	and 4 cents per pound	and 4 cents per pound
Woolens .....	40 per cent.	40 per cent.	40 per cent.
Wilton and Brussels' Carpeting .....	70 cents square yard	65 cents square yard	50 cents square yard
Turkey Carpeting .....	70 cents square yard	35 cents square yard	30 cents square yard
Hearth Rugs .....	45 per cent.	50 per cent.	40 per cent.
Woolen yarn .....	35 per cent.	50 per cent.	30 per cent.
Silk and satin shoes .....	and 4 cents per pound	and 4 cents per pound	and 4 cents per pound
Silk and satin shoes for children .....	30 cents per pair	30 cents per pair	25 cents per pair
Floor cloth, stamped or painted .....	15 cents per pair	15 cents per pair	12 cents per pair
Iron, bars and bolts .....	50 cents square yard	43 cents square yard	35 cents square yard
Iron, rolled .....	\$20 per ton	\$18 per ton	\$17 per ton
Bottles, per gross .....	\$1 85 per cwt.	\$1 50 per cwt.	\$1 25 per cwt.
Windows glass, 100 square feet .....	1 75	1 75	1 20
Boots and booties for men .....	3 50	3 50	2 37
Boots and booties for women .....	1 50	1 50	1 25
Salt, per bushel .....	20 cents	10 cents	50
Castor Oil, per gallon .....	40 cents	40 cents	37 1/2 cents

From this comparison of the three last Tariffs, it will be seen that the rate of duties which is prepared by the Committee on Manufactures is less than the duties under the Tariff of 1828 or 1832. And it may be well to inquire, what were the resources of the past administration?

When Mr. Van Buren came into power, only two-tenths of the reduction provided for in the compromise act had taken place, and the duties were then as high, and in some cases higher than they are in the proposed bills; and during his administration the public lands yielded a revenue of \$5,500,000 annually—a sum three times as large

as they will yield for years to come, even if they were returned to the Treasury, which I hope may not be the case: yet, with all these advantages, he spent during his administration about eight millions annually more than the accruing revenue.

It appears, by the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, that there was in the Treasury a large sum on the 1st of January, 1837. At the extra session of that year, the fourth instalment due to the States was, by an act of Congress, withheld from them; the bonds of the United States Bank were disposed of; and after all, Mr. Van Buren left the country millions in debt.

The account, when stated, stands thus:

In the Treasury January 1, 1837.....	\$6,670,000
Bonds of United States Bank.....	8,211,000
Interest and deposits.....	533,000
Debts due from banks and paid.....	380,000
Fourth instalment to States, withheld..	9,367,000
Debt on the 3d of March, 1841, says..	7,000,000
Total.....	\$32,161,000

Here we have a grand total of \$32,000,000 of revenue falling within Mr. Van Buren's administration, which arose from other than the ordinary sources; so that the last administration, with a Tariff about as high as the one now proposed, expended annually \$8,000,000 more than the ordinary revenue. And in this statement we make no account of the other debts which he left to the present administration—such as pay for services in the Florida war, arrearages in the Post Office Department, for which provision was made at the extra session; nor do we take into the account the numerous private claims which were unjustly deferred, for some of which provision has already been made. We do not mention this by way of complaint, so much as to show gentlemen that their taunts of extravagance and a *High Tariff* are altogether misplaced. The Tariff approved by General Jackson was in many particulars much higher than in the bill before us; and, even during the administration of Mr. Van Buren, the duties on many articles were not so low as they are in the bill reported by my colleague.

But, Mr. Chairman, after all the complaints against protection, I find that each gentleman is in favor of having his own staple protected.

The gentlemen from the cotton-growing region who have addressed the committee are in favor of low duties. And why is this? They are alarmed lest our imports should be diminished, and thereby reduce the export of cotton. They maintain that any restriction upon commerce operates directly against their interest; and hence they ask us to give *Free Trade*. And what is this but protection in another form? But the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. HUBARD) is still more direct. He is not only opposed to protection as impolitic and unjust, but as unconstitutional; and yet that gentleman comes out directly and asks us to protect his favorite staple—*tobacco*. He has told us that he doubted the propriety of countervailing duties, and thought the subject should be made a matter of negotiation! If protection by statute is unconstitutional, I would ask that gentleman to inform us by what authority our Government can enter into negotiation to obtain the same end.

If I understand the force of the remarks which have been made, most of the gentlemen who incline to the doctrine of Free Trade admit the pro-

priety of countervailing duties to a certain extent. If Great Britain should prohibit the tobacco, or cotton, or rice of the South, they would come forward, and, with one voice, demand that the Government should interpose, and, by treaty or retaliatory duties, obtain redress. This, I venture to say, they would demand; and their demand would be just; and these who are now so sensitive on this subject of protection, would come up like men, like Americans, and vindicate the rights of our Southern brethren.

But Mr. Chairman, this is yielding the whole ground. They would lay countervailing duties to promote the interest of the planting States; they would contend that they ought to be placed on an equality with the foreign produce of the same article. The principle involved in countervailing duties is all that the friends of protection ask. We only ask that there may be a fair competition between our own and foreign labor. And it matters not from what cause this inequality arises—whether from a single act of foreign legislation, or from their general policy—if a fair competition is destroyed, it is the duty of our Government to throw her protecting shield around her citizens, and prevent their being driven from their workshops or their plantation by the degraded labor of foreign countries. If the manufacturers of Great Britain can destroy the manufactures of this country, I care not whether it arises from an order in Council or an act of Parliament—whether this state of things was brought about by one law or by fifty—whether the policy was introduced last year or last century—the effect upon our own citizens is the same, and the duty of our Government is in no degree altered. The advantages which the foreign manufacturer has over our own arise in a great degree from causes which, if they are not produced by any one act of legislation, grow out of the general policy which their Governments have adopted. For example: Great Britain pays a bounty upon the glass which is sent to this country. This gives the British manufacturer an advantage over our own. Those who are engaged in this species of manufacture find themselves undersold at their own doors. This competition, which is so ruinous to the glass manufacturer in this country, arises, in this case, partly from the direct action of the British Government. But there are other causes—such as the low rate of interest, a dense population, and the reduced price of wages—which give the foreign manufacturer a decided advantage over our own. The cheapness of capital and of labor gives the foreigner his principal advantage; and we have the same right to come in, and by legislation counteract the influence of these causes, as we have to pass countervailing duties in any other case.

Let the advocates for countervailing duties show us the difference in principle between protecting our citizens against a single law of a foreign nation, and that low price of wages which grows out of their general policy or local condition. In the one case, they ask the interference of the Government; they complain that they are injured—that every thing like fair competition is destroyed. But no statute can be more ruinous to fair competition than the low price of money and labor in foreign countries; and, if this is not produced by any one statute, it is, in a great degree, produced by a policy which is cherished by their Government.



While the interest of money is 30 per cent. less in Europe than it is in this country, and wages are 400 per cent. less, our manufacturers must either give up their business or reduce the price of their laborers. Do gentlemen desire either? Do they wish to see the millions of capital now vested in manufactures utterly destroyed? Do they desire the gloomy spectacle of deserted villages, and of wide-spread ruin and bankruptcy? Do the agriculturists wish to see their home market destroyed, and thousands of the consumers of their products become producers, and so ruin their prices? Or do gentlemen desire to see the price of labor so reduced that that meritorious class of our citizens shall be brought down to the low standard of European paupers? Unless gentlemen desire to see the manufacturers of the country ruined, or the honest laborer deprived of the common comforts of life, they must be willing so to discriminate in the imposition of duties, as to give to the laborer his just reward, and to sustain his employer, so that this employment may be sure and constant.

The reduced price of labor on the Eastern continent is the great cause why foreign fabrics can be sold in our market lower than our own. I have examined two volumes of the reports of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of the hand-loom weavers, made to the British Parliament in 1840. From these valuable documents it appears that this class of laborers, both in Great Britain and on the continent, is in a most deplorable condition. I will give a brief statement of their condition, as gathered from these reports:

*Average prices per week of the Hand-Loom Weavers in Europe, including the Weavers of Silk, Cotton, Linen, Woolen, &c., in all their varieties, exclusive of board, rent, fuel, lights, &c.*

Great Britain.....	8s. 0d. per week.
France.....	7s. 0d. " "
Switzerland.....	5s. 7d. " "
Belgium.....	6s. 0d. " "
Austria.....	3s. 0d. " "
Saxony.....	2s. 0d. " "

These are the average prices for men employed in weaving. Some of the silk weavers employed on velvets and figured patterns earn from 12s. to 17s. per week; but it was given in evidence before the commissioners, that this species of weaving required more light, and consequently subjected the weavers to higher rents: so that their nett earnings were no more than those of weavers employed on other fabrics. Male weavers in the United Kingdom earn on an average not more than 8s., and females from 30 to 80 per cent. less.

The following statements and facts, taken from the reports of the commissioners, will show the deplorable state to which the weavers and their families are reduced. In relation to the county of Somerset, the commissioner has given various tabular statements, showing with great minuteness the pecuniary condition of this class of laborers.

One table presents the condition of 149 families containing 721 persons, and shows that, after deducting the sums paid for rent, fuel, soap, and candles, there would remain of their earnings, for food and clothing, only 1s. 5½d. per week to each person. Another table of 11 families, consisting of 58 persons, shows that the entire income to each family amounts on an average to only 8s. 5d.

per week; to each person, 1s. 6½d. per week; and that of this sum, after paying for rent, fuel, &c., there remains for food and clothing only 11½d. per head per week. Another table of 37 families, of 198 persons, shows that, after deducting the sums paid for lights, soap, fuel, rent, and rates, there is left for food and clothing for each person 1s. 3d. per week. Another table shows that 36 families, of 181 persons have, after deducting the sums paid for rents, rates, lights, soap, and fuel, only 1s. 2d. per head per week left to supply them with every thing they have to eat, drink, and wear. Another table of 38 families, consisting of 176 persons, presents the same result of 1s. 2d. per week, left for the food and clothing of each person. Another of 36 families, of 217 persons, leaves 1s. 4d. per week to supply each person with food and clothing.

These tables are all taken from the different parishes or villages of a single county, and it does not appear that wages are materially lower here than in other parts of Great Britain.

Let American labor be thus degraded—let families of four or five persons be brought down in their pecuniary resources to 7s. or 8s. per week—let each person be reduced to the necessity of supplying his only food and clothing from the miserable pittance of 11½d., or even 1s. 4d. a week, while flour, as in England, is selling for \$8 60 per barrel—and what would be the sentiment of every working man in the land? Let them be brought to this deplorable condition, by the blindness or obstinacy of their own Government, and that Government would be of short duration.

One witness, called before the commissioner, says:

"Children of seven years old can begin to turn the wheel to spin flax, which is very hard work; and they are kept at work from five in the morning till nine at night. I might notice the number of weak and crooked-legged children in town—an evil which is attributed to this sort of work."

A manufacturer testifies that

"Their dwellings, their clothing, and that of their children, evince great misery. There is often great distress among them. They are generally sober, industrious, steady men, but with the best intentions, at the present wages, they cannot get a living. Many weavers are obliged to apply to the parish for assistance."

Mr. Otway, the commissioner who examined into the condition of the weavers in Ireland, gives us a gloomy picture of their condition. He says:

"The cabins that the weavers live and work in are fearful specimens of what habit will enable human beings to endure. The weavers are obliged to pay as high rent for these dens as they ought to get comfortable cabins for. The landlords charge £3 per annum for any cabin having room for two looms—containing only two small rooms, and sometimes only one."

Again, he says:

"Nothing can equal the distress of the poor cotton weavers. I never witnessed greater misery than in their cabins and mode of living. Few, however, remain at the trade, except old and infirm persons, and a few young boys, whom the poor parents try to keep at the loom, in order to prevent absolute destitution." "The houses of some of the lower classes of weavers are in the most wretched state, with only a little straw and a coverlet for a bed; plenty of children, but scarcely a chair to sit down upon. In the neighborhood of Bulkington, &c., the usual con-

dition of a number of journeyhand families is that of the greatest dirt and misery, sometimes with no beds, but beds of wrappers stuffed with straw, and without any linen to them. Sometimes the beds consist merely of chaff held together with bricks and covered with a wrapper. Their food in these instances consists chiefly of bread and butter, potatoes, and a little tea, with occasionally a few poor scraps of bacon. Rudeness and misery seem to be the inevitable condition of this class of laborers; and even many of the undertakers live in the greatest necessity, especially those burdened with large families.

Erasmus Charlton, a police sergeant, testifies that, of his own personal knowledge,

"The weavers are much distressed. They are wretchedly off in bedding. Has seen many cases where the man and his wife, and as many as seven children, have slept on straw laid on the floor, with only a torn quilt to cover them. Sometimes he has had occasion to search the houses of some of the weavers on suspicion of stealing yarn, and has witnessed very distressing cases—children crying for food, and the parents having neither food nor money in the house, or work to obtain any. Does not think that, in one family out of ten, the children or adults can attend church, in consequence of their ragged condition. Has frequently dropped in at meal times, and found them eating potatoes, with a bit of suet."

Another witness says:

"A poor weaver, living within 50 yards of me, is a case of great distress. Last Sunday he came to witness's house and stated that he had had a poor Sunday, not having a potato or even a bit of bread in his house. The weaver had a wife near confinement and three children."

Another witness testifies that

"The wife of a weaver had a child at the breast, and she declared to him, at 5 or 6 o'clock P. M., that she had had no food for the whole day, and that she had three children. There was not a table or piece of furniture in the room; every thing was sold. He further states that he has no doubt that many of the weavers and their children, especially young children, die from disease brought on by want of proper nourishment. He further states that these men are industrious and sober, and would willingly work if they had it to do."

The commissioner declares that

"The master of a poor house was regretting that the nature of the food, (gruel,) its scantiness or some other cause, produced great mortality in the work house; but, as for the poor weavers, he verily believed that their children brought to the work house, in some instances, died of repletion. They had been previously brought so low, that the work house allowance was too good for them."

With such facts before us, we can sympathize with a respectable weaver, who testifies before the commissioner as follows:

"Question. Have you any children?"

"Answer. No: I had two, but they are both dead, thanks be to God!"

"Question. Do you express satisfaction at the death of your children?"

"Answer. I do. I thank God for it. I am relieved from the burden of maintaining them, and they, poor dear creatures, are relieved from the troubles of this mortal life."

Comment upon such evidence would be out of place. When poverty and wretchedness press so heavily upon parents, that they rejoice at the death of their own children, their state must be painful indeed!

Nor is the condition of the laborers on the continent any more favorable. Mr. Keyser, the commissioner charged with the inquiry, represents the

laborers in the same employment in Germany, &c., as in the most deplorable condition. He describes a family near Berlin as follows:

"A man, his wife, two sons, and a journeyman, live in a room 17 feet by 14, in which are two looms. They must all work hard to earn the aggregate sum of 9s. per week, and of this sum one-third is required for rent and taxes. In the morning, they have each a cup of bad coffee and a cake, such as is generally bought in Berlin for about a farthing; for dinner, groats, or meal porridge, or potatoes, with occasionally a herring or a little lard; in the evening, a slice of black bread and butter, with which they drink nothing but water. On Sunday, they have sometimes a small quantity of bacon or other meat.

Again, he says:

"It is to be observed that the very low rate of wages is not only in proportion to the cheapness of provisions, but more particularly occasioned by the very limited wants of the working weavers. Even the article of bread, in that country so very cheap, is still beyond the reach of these poor people, who subsist almost entirely upon potatoes."

A witness from Prague says:

"Our weavers are in that state, that, if each family had not a bit of land on which to grow potatoes for their food, and were they not to steal their fuel, as they want it, from the forests with which the country abounds, they would almost starve on the wages they earn. By working very hard, a weaver may get 2s. per week. These people are now in want of work and in great distress, occasioned by the large stock of goods in the hands of manufacturers and cotton printers. They seldom eat bread, but only potatoes, which they cultivate themselves."

Such is a picture of laborers upon the continent of Europe, and in the boasted land of liberty, Great Britain! The condition of European laborers must be obvious when we consider that the prices given to men amount to only 10d. per day, without board, for a species of labor which requires skill and muscular power, and must generally be carried on in cities or large villages where rents are high and provisions dear. The hours the laborers are employed, are in many cases sufficient to break down the strongest constitution. Some weavers in Ireland and Germany, more especially, work from 14 to 18 hours per day; and another evil still greater, because more oppressive upon the mass, is, that work cannot always be obtained, and hence the hands are thrown out of employ. Many families in fact are compelled, as we have seen, to depend upon from 11d. to 1s. 4d. per week per head for food and clothing—about half the sum which, as appears from the same documents, is required in Great Britain to support her prisoners in prison! Some of these laborers are in fact paupers hired out by the parish, that they may be able in some degree to earn their living. This is the character and condition of the labor with which our own comes in competition: And the question is, whether we shall stand idle and see our mechanics and artisans driven from their work-shops by the half-starved millions of the old world?

Do the free trade men on this floor wish to see American labor brought down to this low condition of poverty and wretchedness? Do the democrats here in our midst, who profess to be the exclusive friends of the poor and laboring classes, desire to see the independent laborers—the freemen of the land—reduced to a vegetable diet, and to all the evils attendant upon the most squalid

poverty? As they have manifested so much sympathy for the oppressed foreigners in the State of Rhode Island, who are deprived of the right of deciding the fate of the institutions of a country in which they were not born, and which they refuse to adopt as their own—I say as they have manifested so much sympathy for these disturbers of the public peace and traitors to our common country, it was to be hoped that they would manifest a little feeling in behalf of the laboring men of our own country, and not be willing to see them brought to an allowance of eight shillings per week, to supply all their wants. If they are desirous of seeing wages reduced, that they may purchase the product of labor at a lower rate, and thereby live themselves upon the hard earnings of the poor, let it be known. If this is their doctrine, let them proclaim it now upon this floor, and I will engage that this will be the last Congress in which they will ever make the proclamation. And it is, I confess, with regret that I find the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. HABERSHAM) contending, as he does in his minority report, that wages should be so reduced that the hardy and industrious laborer shall receive but fifteen dollars a month and board himself. The wealth of a nation is in its labor; and there can be no surer test of the prosperity of a people, than the price which the laborer can command. One argument, and in fact the great argument with me in favor of a Tariff, is drawn from the encouragement it offers to domestic industry.

I wish to see the manufacturers prosper; I wish to see investments which have been made in this branch of national industry yielding a fair return to the enterprising citizens who have embarked their capital therein. But I confess that this is not the greatest object of my desire. No, sir; I desire above all things to see the honest laborer, whose only capital is in his own sinews thrive and prosper. I wish to see his labor so rewarded that comfort and plenty may be seen in his habitation, and that he may have the means of educating his children, and training them up for usefulness.

But it is sometimes said that, if manufactures produce so much wretchedness as is found in Great Britain, this is a good reason why we should not encourage them in this country. But nothing can be more unfounded than this objection. Manufacturing does not produce this poverty and suffering; they arise from a crowded population, and exist in spite of manufactures. Manufactures give employment to thousands who could not otherwise be employed at all. Blot out the numerous manufacturing from Great Britain, and thousands who now find employ and obtain a comfortable living would be thrown out of business, and consequently would starve. Manufactures, instead of being the cause of low wages and poverty, are, in fact, the effect of poverty and low wages. Thousands are driven into manufactures because they can find no other employment. It is, then, a great blessing to the people in England that manufactures exist.

But, whatever might be the case in Great Britain, no evil can be apprehended from manufactures in our own country. Even in the manufacturing districts we have large quantities of uncultivated land; and then there is that unbounded world of the West, which is capable of supporting untold millions. So long as we have vacant lands, there is nothing to fear from manufactures. And with

what propriety can those who oppose manufactures make this charge? They profess to be great friends of commerce. But does not every person know that, in all our great marts of commerce, the population is more dense than in our manufacturing villages? And if gentlemen have such holy horror of a crowded population, how can they rejoice at the increase of our commerce, which tends directly to build up thickly settled places?

But the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. KENNEDY) is fearful that the morals of the people will be corrupted and their health impaired by manufacturing establishments. I have neither the time nor the inclination to go at any length into this part of the subject. I will simply say that in New-England our manufacturing population is as intelligent and as moral as the portion engaged in agriculture; and whether the moral atmosphere of New-England is as pure as that of the South and West, I will leave to that gentleman to decide. I bring no accusation against his constituents—I desire none in return.

But gentlemen tell us that they wish to be left free to buy where they can buy cheapest, and to sell where they can obtain the highest price. This doctrine at first blush appears very plausible, but it is far from being sound. Let us test it by an example. In time of war a citizen might buy cheapest of the enemy, and in return dispose of his own products to them at the best prices. But, sir, would this be allowed? Would the plea that this is the "largest liberty" avail in such a case? It might be for the interest of some individuals to enjoy this *free trade* in time of war; but the man who should attempt to carry it on would be restrained for *purposes of State*. He would be informed that his interest and that of the public were at variance, and that his claim must yield to theirs. The same principle holds good in time of peace. It may be for the interest of an individual in time of peace to smuggle goods, but, as his interest is adverse to that of the public, the one must yield to the many. There may be great national interests, in peace as well as in war, which demand certain restrictions upon trade. Discriminating duties are necessary to sustain the great interests of the country, and the public good is promoted by their importation. It is with a nation as it is with an individual: the market where we can buy cheapest is not always the best, even in a pecuniary point of view. It may be good policy in an individual to buy in the dearest market; it may be nearest at hand, or it may be the best market in which to sell his products. The cheapest market for purchase may require specie payment, while a dearer market may receive other commodities in return. The doctrine that we should at all times purchase in the cheapest market is far from being a sound principle in political economy.

The cotton manufacturers at the North might purchase their cotton in India, as they undoubtedly would in some degree, if the duty on that article should be taken off; and they might find it profitable for themselves, especially as they could buy cheaper, and at the same time open to some extent a new market for their fabrics: but, as this would impair the home market for the cotton grower at the South, the injury inflicted upon the planting States would be greater than the benefit obtained

by the Northern manufacturer. For reasons of State, a preference should be given to domestic cotton. The Northern manufacturer who consumes one hundred bales of cotton grown in this country, not only gives employ indirectly to those who labor to produce that article, but he gives employ to those who raise the meat and the grain which the laborer consumes while raising the cotton; whereas the manufacturer who consumes one hundred bales of cotton raised in India encourages foreign instead of domestic industry. In the former case, all the profits of the entire business are kept in the country, while in the latter half of the profits accrue to foreigners. The same remarks may be made upon manufactured articles. He that patronizes the home manufacture encourages home industry, and creates a home market. Our friends in Tennessee, for example, by wearing American cottons, even if they cost them a trifle more than the foreign fabric, would thereby promote not only the interest of the country, but their own pecuniary interest. By patronizing the domestic manufacture, they not only prevent a greater competition in the production of their great staples, but, by sustaining the manufacturer, they increase the demand for their own products. The Southern planter while growing the cotton, and the Northern manufacturer while converting it into cloth, are both living upon the corn and wheat of Tennessee, or, which is practically the same thing, on the corn and wheat of some other State which comes into direct competition with their own. But if they wear the fabrics of British looms, made of cotton grown in India, they lose all these advantages. The interest of the country and the ultimate interest of the individual, then, would be promoted by the purchase of domestic fabric. If the first cost were higher, the incidental advantages which would result from such a policy, would more than balance the difference in price. Is it not so? Does not every practical man see that this is the natural tendency, the certain result?

The idea that we must purchase abroad rather than manufacture at home, is a dangerous one; and, whenever it is generally adopted by a people, their home industry will decline. There may be articles not suited to the climate, or pursuits not adapted to the condition of a nation. In such cases, they must look to foreign countries; and, if they can, raise some other articles which they can give in exchange for foreign products, it would be wise to sell and purchase abroad. But if this exchange can be carried on between the different parts of our own country, where the business cannot be disturbed by foreign legislatures, it is the dictate of wisdom and of prudence to seek supplies at home, and thus be independent of foreign nations. If we adopt the policy that we will procure every thing abroad, because it can be obtained cheaper, we shall, in a short time, find our own industry paralyzed, and our means so reduced that even cheap articles will be beyond our reach. Ask the industrious mechanics or the hard-working farmers in the country—those whose means are limited, and who are compelled to husband their resources—and they will tell you the advantages of exchanging their labor for the article they purchase—“of getting things in their own line,” as their phrase is. Let this maxim be adopted, and it will be found much safer than that expressed in

the more elegant phrase “of purchasing in the cheapest market.”

Mr. Chairman, no one can examine the foreign tariffs without perceiving that every nation with which we hold commercial intercourse has reference, in the imposition of duties, to its own interest or supposed interest. They all discriminate to favor their own labor and their own products. This is the uniform policy of the nations with which we have commercial intercourse; and of this we have no reason to complain: they do nothing but what they have a legal right to do. But while this policy, adopted by foreign nations, gives us no legal ground of complaint against them, it calls upon us to defend our own citizens against the effects of their measures, by imposing discriminating and countervailing duties. But there is danger in carrying countervailing duties too far. The countervailing principle should go into every Tariff Law. But there are serious objections in my mind to a direct countervailing statute. If you pass a law imposing a high duty, conditioned that it shall be repealed or modified when the foreign nation, against which it is designed to operate, shall modify her laws, you virtually put some of your great interests into the hands of foreign Governments. Suppose you pass a law imposing 80 per cent. upon woollens brought into the country from Great Britain, with a proviso that one-half of it shall be taken off when she shall repeal her corn laws; in the first place, she might retaliate upon us and exclude our grain altogether. Instead, therefore, of forcing open her ports to our wheat and flour, we should be completely defeated; we should not only gain nothing, but should lose what little of market we now enjoy in that island.

But this is not all. It would produce a premature growth of woollen manufactures in our country. Encouraged by this enormous protection, our citizens would rush blindfold into a business which requires great skill, and, consequently, a gradual growth. While our factories were going up, England might remain inflexible; but, when they were completed and in operation, she might, for the very purpose of ruining these establishments, repeal, for a limited time, the corn law, and thus compel us to violate our faith with her, or to inflict ruin upon our own citizens. A countervailing law of this character strikes me, I confess, as a dangerous experiment. Matters of this sort had better be left to negotiation, or the end be sought by general policy, rather than by an express and direct enactment.

As the subject of the British corn laws has more than once been presented for our consideration, I propose to give this subject a passing notice. I believe that some gentlemen in the grain-growing States have deceived themselves upon this subject. My friend from Maryland, (Mr. JENKINS,) at an early part of the session, presented this subject to us with his usual eloquence, and called upon the grain-growing States to seize the prize now within their reach. He spoke as though the repeal of the corn laws would enable the United States to supply the whole demand of the English market. But, from all the examination I have been able to make on the subject, I am inclined to believe that a repeal of these laws would operate against the interest of the grain-growing States. These laws illustrate the policy of Great

Britain; they show that she is resolved to guard all her great interests; and they remind us that we should protect our own citizens. But I confess that I do not believe that their repeal would give us the market of England. By an inquiry into the prices of wheat and flour in the United States, and on the Baltic and other parts of the continent, it seems to me morally certain that we could not compete successfully with the continent.

*The following are the average wholesale prices of flour and wheat from 1831 to 1840 inclusive, taken from the prices current at Philadelphia, New-York, and Boston, and from the entries at the Custom-Houses; also, the prices on the continent of Europe, taken from the invoice prices at the Custom-Houses, and from other authentic tables.*

Years.	American Prices		European Prices	
	Flour.	Wheat.	Flour.	Whea.
1831 .....	\$ 5 80	\$ 1 18	\$ 5 50	\$ 1 10
1832 .....	5 88	1 15	4 90	0 98
1833 .....	5 82	1 13	5 00	1 00
1834 .....	5 36	1 08	4 95	0 99
1835 .....	5 89	1 19	4 15	0 83
1836 .....	7 83	1 44	4 20	0 84
1837 .....	9 62	1 83	5 25	1 05
1838 .....	7 93	1 54	4 70	0 94
1839 .....	6 92	1 42	5 35	1 07
1840 .....	5 43	1 10	5 35	1 07
Average.....	\$ 6 65	\$ 1 30	\$ 4 93	\$ 0 98

Besides this general result of European prices, I will give the average prices of wheat at certain ports or marts of trade on the Eastern continent for five consecutive years.

Hamburg.....	79 cts.
Amsterdam.....	82 "
Danzic.....	87 "
In the Ports of Prussia.....	82 "
On the Black Sea.....	56 "

*Wheat imported into Great Britain in 1831.*

It appears by published tables that there were imported into Great Britain, from foreign countries, in 1831.....	2,451,800 qrs.
From Russia.....	937,300 "
From the United States.....	488,106 "
From Prussia.....	481,900 "
From Germany.....	395,600 "
From all other countries.....	1,148,900 "

It will be seen, by the above statement, that the United States, in 1831, supplied only 11 per cent. of the importations into Great Britain; that Russia supplied twice as much as the United States, and that Prussia and Germany each nearly as much.

It also appears, by the tables in McCulloch, that, for twenty five years in succession, Prussia has supplied England on an average nearly three times as much as our own country; that Russia, the Netherlands, and Germany, have each supplied twice as much, and that, during that whole period, the United States have furnished only about four per cent. of her foreign supply.

With these facts before us, it is preposterous to suppose that we could compete with the continent in supplying Great Britain with breadstuff, if her corn laws were repealed. The English merchants are now in the constant habit of sending their ships in ballast to Hamburg, to take in breadstuff for Newfoundland and Brazil.

When we consider the low price of labor on the continent, the ease and cheapness with which grain can be transported from the Baltic into England, it seems to me that nothing can be more idle than to suppose that we could supply the English market. But these laws will not be repealed: they may be modified in some trifling degree, but they will not be annulled. In fact, these laws, as they at present exist, operate in favor of our grain-growing States, rather than otherwise. As England receives breadstuff from her colonies almost free of duty, there is a large and important trade now carried on through Canada, whereby the American wheat and flour find their way into Great Britain on more favorable terms than the grain from the continent. Repeal the corn laws, and this trade would be cut off. Nor is this trade, in effect, confined to the States bordering upon Canada. New-York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan, can send a part of their supply to that market; and all that is taken off in that direction reduces the quantity in our market, and so tends to raise the price in all the other grain-growing States. This trade would be destroyed by a repeal of the English corn laws. And the repeal would operate upon the grain-growing States in another respect: it would reduce the price of living, and of course of labor, in England, and so enable her to manufacture cheaper, and thereby prostrate our own manufactures. At present, the grain-growing States find their best and surest market among our manufactures at the East. But let the price of living and of labor be reduced in England, and our domestic manufactures would decline, and the grain-growing States would suffer in their home market. Thus would the grain-growing interest be injured rather than benefited by a repeal of the English corn laws.

But gentlemen tell us that a Tariff is a tax upon the labor of the country. The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. KENNEDY) says that it is a tax upon the farmers, and that the advocates of a protective tariff belong to some great manufacturing establishments. Whatever may be the case with others, I can say for myself that I have no connexion with any species of manufactures. I do not own one dollar of manufacturing capital. My sympathies are altogether with the cultivators of the soil. Among them I was born—to the business of agriculture I was brought up. This hand has wielded every implement of husbandry. I know what it is to eat bread in the sweat of my brow. I know what it is to endure the labor of the field, exposed to the rays of a scorching sun, or the chilling blasts of a New-England climate. The district which I have the honor to represent is an agricultural district; and, though we have some manufacturers among us, the proportion which this business bears to agriculture is comparatively small. I advocate a Protective Tariff because I believe that it will promote the interest of agriculture, and, particularly, because I believe that it will improve the condition of the poor laborer, who depends upon his daily earnings for the support of himself and family. By encouraging manufactures and the mechanic arts you create a demand for labor, and so enhance the price. Wages, like every thing else, depend upon the laws of demand and supply. When manufactures flourish there will be a demand for labor, and it is then that the poor man receives the greatest reward for

his toil; it is then that his income is the greatest, and his labor brings him the most abundant return. Many of our hardy laborers have no property but their ability to toil: their physical frame is their only productive capital. Now, if you protect the industry of the country, and so enable the poor man to earn a larger sum, you practically add to his productive capital, or, which is the same thing, render his present capital more productive. If the laborer, by the impulse given to industry, is enabled to earn thirty dollars in a year more than he could have earned without this stimulus, you actually, for the time being, confer upon him as great a blessing as though you deposited \$500 for his benefit, and secured the interest to his use. The laboring man, more than any other, has an interest in this protective policy. The system is designed to protect labor, and to secure to the industrious their reward. I advocate this system, not because it will benefit the capitalist, but because it will confer a blessing upon the laborer. The capitalist has no interest in protection. His tens of thousands will yield him a better return when labor is depressed, and every article which he wishes to purchase is reduced in price. The rich capitalist, if he seeks nothing but gain, covets what are generally denominated *hard times*; but the man who depends upon his own labor has a direct interest in a revival of business, and in the general prosperity of the community. Let the hardy laborers of the country, those who eat their bread in the sweat of their brow, reflect upon this subject, and they will at once see that they have a direct interest in the protective policy. They will not only perceive that a Tariff tends to increase wages, but that the same sum of money will purchase more of the necessities of life. There is no article of clothing which goes into the consumption of the poor man and his family so much as cotton in its various forms. This article has enjoyed a protection since 1816, and the reduction in price has been three or four hundred per cent. Common shirts, which, at that time, would have cost thirty-five cents at retail, can now be bought for from seven to ten cents, and all other articles of cotton have fallen in about the same proportion; so that, by the operation of the Tariff, wages are kept up, and articles of consumption have fallen in price. Twenty-five years ago, the females of New-England (who have not, as yet, thank Heaven, imbibed the sentiment that labor is degrading) would be required to labor four weeks to purchase an ordinary calico dress, which they can now purchase with a week's labor. View it in any light you please, and the protective system is emphatically the system for the laborer and the poor man.

I regret, Mr. Chairman, that gentlemen seem disposed to view this subject through what I believe to be a false medium. They speak of it as a system to benefit manufactures, and by manufactures they mean the manufacture of *cotton and wool*. This view of the subject is entirely superficial. It is not the interest of manufactures alone in the narrow sense in which that term is used, that we wish to promote. There is what may be called the *mining* interest and the *mechanic* interest, which are deeply involved in this question. And then, sir, there is, first and foremost, the great agricultural interest, which needs encouragement as much as any other; and the Tariff is as

well calculated to aid that calling as it is to aid manufactures. As far as the farmer consumes his own products, he has no interest in the prices which they bear. But if a young man purchases a farm, and expects to pay for it by the sale of his crops, he has then a direct interest in the state of the market. Any policy which improves the price of agricultural products confers a direct benefit upon him. Now, the protective system is calculated to build up manufactures in every part of the country, and in that way to create a home market, where the hardy tiller of the soil can dispose of his products at a fair price. A home market is every thing to the farmer. How is it that wheat is worth one dollar and thirty cents in one part of the country and twelve and a half cents in another? How is it that land of the same quality will sell for \$50 in one part of the country and for \$5 in another? Every man knows that this is the fact; and why is it so? Simply because one is near a market, and the other is more remote. We see the operation of this in every township and in every village. And I hesitate not to say that the capital now invested in manufactures has increased the value of real estate in the country more than one hundred per cent. The agriculturist has a direct interest in the subject before us. The young and growing West should feel as deeply as New-England and the Middle States. Deprive the West, or even the South, of the home market, created by manufactures, and they would at once find their prices decline, and their pursuits become less profitable.

Gentlemen, as it seems to me, under-estimate the value of the home market. It is not only the best, but it is in fact the principal, market for the great agricultural staples. I have taken great pains to ascertain as near as possible the amount of articles consumed in Massachusetts annually, which are the growth or product of other States in the Union. I have written to intelligent gentlemen connected with almost every branch of business in my own State, and have consulted all the statistics which have fallen into my hands, and I confess that our consumption is greater than I had supposed. Probably some of the estimates may be too high, and others I am confident are too low. As a whole, I believe them to be a fair estimate. In fixing the prices, I have endeavored to take the average for the last three or four years. I speak of these articles as *consumed in Massachusetts*. They are consumed in the sense in which such articles are capable of consumption. Cotton and wool are consumed, in the sense in which I use the term, by being converted into cloth, and the same is true of all other articles which go into our manufactures. The result I will now present for the consideration of the committee.

*An estimate of the products of the soil, &c., of other States consumed or manufactured annually in Massachusetts.*

Cotton.....	185,000 bales,	\$7,200,000
Wool.....	620,000 bbls.,	4,100,000
Corn & other grain	3,730,000 bush.,	2,790,000
Coal.....	175,000 tons,	1,300,000
Wood.....	188,600 cords	1,390,000
Wool.....	3,000,000 lbs.,	3,200,000
Lumber of all kinds.....		3,690,000
Leather and hides.....		7,600,000
Beef, pork, hams, and lard.....		2,800,000
Butter and cheese.....		1,000,000

Horses, cattle, sheep, and swine.....	600,000
Potatoes.....	300,000
Poultry of all kind.....	70,000
Pig lead.....	1,450,000
Furs, buffalo robes, &c.....	45,000
Rags, junk, &c., for paper.....	965,000
Lime.....82,900 casks,	72,000
Pot and pearl ashes.....	580 tons, 58,000
Tobacco.....	960 hhds., 68,000
Rice.....	325,000
Tar, pitch, and turpentine.....	1,290,000
Iron.....	800,000
Sugar and molasses.....	47,000
Staves, casks, boxes, &c.....	360,000
Domestic spirits and beer.....	100,000
Feathers, hair, and bristles.....	185,000
Oysters, venison, sand, sweet potatoes, summer fruits, such as peaches, melons, &c.....	210,000
Hay, grass-seed, flax-seed, flax, lined oil castor oil, beans, bees' wax, tallow, onions, nuts.....	175,000

\$42,010,080

Here we have the round sum of \$42,000,000 of domestic products consumed in the State of Massachusetts—a state of 737,000 inhabitants—in a single year. The importance of such a home market will appear when we consider that the average of our entire export from the United States for the last ten years, exclusive of the manufactured articles, amounts to only \$82,200,000. So that the State of Massachusetts consumes annually, of the products of other States, more than half the amount of our whole foreign export, less the manufactured articles; and the articles thus consumed in my own State are the product of every State in this Union.

Maine supplies lumber, wood, lime, leather, and potatoes; New-Hampshire wool, butter, cheese, beef, and pork; Vermont wool, iron, beef, pork, butter, cheese, and potash; Rhode Island lime; Connecticut iron; New-York flour, wool, leather, butter, cheese, and grain; New-Jersey grain, grass seed, and fruit; Pennsylvania iron, coal, wool, leather, and potash; Delaware grain; Maryland corn, tobacco, and leather; Virginia corn, flour, tobacco, and coal; North Carolina tar, pitch, and turpentine; South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, cotton and rice; Louisiana cotton, sugar, and molasses; Arkansas cotton, beef, and pork; Tennessee cotton, wool, tobacco, and corn; Kentucky tobacco, wool, flour, and whiskey; Missouri lead and corn; Indiana flour, corn, wool, beef, and pork; Illinois lead, flour, corn, and pork; Michigan flour; Ohio flour, corn, beef, pork, wool, and potash. This is a specimen of some of the leading articles which the different States furnish to Massachusetts markets. Besides these, there are other articles, which are produced by the whole valley of the Mississippi, such as hides, fur beans, castor oil, flax seed, &c.

The great West is immediately connected with New-England, and there finds the best market for her product. By means of the great lakes, canals, and railroads, Ohio, Michigan, and the upper portion of the Mississippi valley, communicates with New-England; and the rapidly increasing commerce between New-Orleans and Boston brings the product of all the States bordering upon the Mississippi into Boston market, where a vast

amount of them are disposed of. By returns from Boston, furnished me by a friend, it appears that there was brought into Boston from New-Orleans during nine months, ending June 1, 1842, the following amount of their great staples:

Cotton....	49,534 bales.	Lead... ..	80,046 pigs.
Flour.....	64,631 bbls.	Beef.....	1,519 bbls.
Pork.....	53,514 "	Bacon....	1,391 hhds.
Lard.....	91,565 kegs.	Tobacco..	1,760 "
Corn.....	83,982 bush.	Whiskey..	1,320 bbls.

The commerce between Boston and New-Orleans is rapidly increasing. It appears by the Boston papers that there were seven arrivals from New-Orleans in that city on the 25th of April last, bringing into Boston in a single day the following among other articles from the West:

Cotton....	2,456 bales.	Calf skins... ..	75 bales.
Flour.....	4,863 bbls.	Deer skins.. ..	23 "
Lard.....	4,140 kegs.	Furs.....	31 "
Lead.....	2,678 pigs.	Beef.....	150 bbls.
Corn.....	4,418 sacks.	Sugar.....	98 hhds.
Beans.....	515 bbls.	Flax seed....	36 bbls.
Hams.....	58 hhds.	Fig iron.....	88 tons.
Tobacco.. ..	295 "	Sausage skins.	14 bbls.
Hides.....	3,200	Castor oil... ..	16 "
Whiskey....	79 bbls.	Curled pigs' hair,	90 bales.
Tallow.....	4 hhds.	Clover seed... ..	7 bbls.
Molasses... ..	47 bbls.	Cherry lumber,	442 pieces

Every week presents us with more or less of similar cargoes from New-Orleans. The Boston papers received this morning state the arrival of a ship from that port with a cargo, among other things, of:

Cotton....	729 bales.	Tobacco.....	60 hhds.
Corn.....	2,447 sacks.	Hams.....	66 "
Flour.....	749 bbls.	Pork.....	59 bbls.
Oats.....	1,500 bush.	Beef.....	6 "
Lead.....	2,928 pigs.	Hemp....	32 bales.

These articles are mostly consumed in Massachusetts, though some of them are reshipped, and some sent to the neighboring States. And besides this communication between the West and New-England; the opening of the railroad between Boston and Albany brings the latter city within ten or twelve hours of the mouth of the Great Western Canal, which communicates with the great lakes. Through this channel, and by packets between Albany and Boston, the products of the West find their way into New-England. A few weeks since, I saw an account of an arrival in Boston, by railroad, of a quantity of flour, some eight or ten days from St. Joseph's, Michigan. These facts show the immediate connexion there is between New-England and the West, and consequently, the interest they have in the success of our manufactures. Every waterfall in New-England which is made tributary to Yankee ingenuity, every additional spindle which is run at the East, will give a new impulse to Western industry, furnish a market for their products, and so extend its influence "to every log house beyond the mountains."

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that there is no part of this subject less appreciated than the importance of the home market. As compared with the foreign, its importance will be seen by a few examples. I have estimated the amount of tar, pitch, and turpentine, which are consumed in Massachusetts at \$1,200,000, while the foreign

exports of these articles in 1840, the latest period for which we have any returns, amounted to only \$602,529. I commend this part of the subject to the attention of my friends from North Carolina. The amount of beef, pork, hams, lard, &c., consumed in Massachusetts exceeds in value the whole foreign export of these articles. The butter and cheese of other States which we consume is about five times the amount of the foreign export. These articles will serve as a specimen. Many of the articles we have mentioned are not exported at all, so that the home market is the only one. I do not pretend that all the articles sold in Massachusetts go into manufactures, or that that market would entirely cease if manufactures should be abandoned. But by a recurrence to the articles, it will be seen that many of them go into manufactures entirely, and others would be consumed in a less degree, if manufactures should cease.

With these facts before us, will our friends at the West pretend that they have no interest in the growth of Eastern manufactures? I think they will not. They cannot be insensible to the value of a home market. Compared with a foreign, a home market is always the most valuable. A market in a manufacturing district is always more sure than any other. The demand is constant and may always be relied upon, whereas a foreign market will always be uncertain. Suppose, for example, that the Western States had one hundred thousand barrels of flour to dispose of annually, and they looked to Great Britain for a market: that market would depend upon the crops in Europe. When the crop was good on the continent, England would take but fifty thousand barrels, and when the crop was short, she would want one hundred and fifty thousand. Though her demand would amount to one hundred thousand barrels a year upon an average, yet, it would fluctuate from fifty to one hundred and fifty thousand. Under these circumstances the farmer could make no calculation how much wheat to sow. This uncertainty, depending upon contingencies which he could not possibly foresee, would hang like an incubus about his neck, and paralyze his efforts.

But let the West depend upon a home market, created by manufactures, and the farmer can calculate with great certainty. He knows that there are 100,000 persons employed in manufactures, and that they will want a barrel of flour each; and he knows that the crops on the Eastern continent will have little or no connexion with the demand here. Under these circumstances, he knows with a good degree of certainty how much to sow; and, having a certainty of a market, his industry will redouble, and he will realize greater profits from his labor. Every practical man knows that much depends upon the certainty of the market; and, from this glance at the subject, no one can be so blind as not to see that the home market is more sure than the foreign.

This is the difference between a foreign and home market in time of peace. And how is it in time of war? Why, in that event, the home market is the only market that can be relied upon. In case of war with a great maritime Power, like that of Great Britain, whether our commerce was with her or with any other foreign nation, it would be in a great degree cut off, so that the foreign market would fail. From this glance at the subject, it will be seen that a home market must,

after all, be the main dependence for the farmer—his only sure reliance—his only abiding hope.

The West, then, have as great an interest as the East in the subject before us. The cheapness of the Western land, and the fertility of their soil, will enable them to produce the great staples of meat and grain to almost any amount. All that they want is a market for their produce. Give them this, and there is nothing to impede their prosperity. From the facts we have presented on this point, it will be seen that the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. KENNEDY) spoke without due knowledge, when he said that the West had no interest in the subject, and that a home market was nothing to them. The fact is, the West have a direct interest in this subject. It is to no purpose that her soil is fertile, and that she can produce enough to supply a continent, if she has no market: her produce would rot upon her hands. The manufacturing districts furnish her with her best market, and she should cherish them as the apple of her eye. Nor is this all. The products of agriculture receive a protection as great as manufactured articles. Most of the duties are specific, and it is difficult to say what they would be per cent. ad valorem, as the prices are constantly varying. I have taken a few articles which are protected, and cast the ad valorem duty, and the following is the result:

Cotton, 3 cents per pound, equal to	33	per cent. ad valorem.
Wool, 3 cents per pound	30	do. do.
Hemp, \$2 per cwt., equal to	33	per cent. ad valorem.
Beef and pork, 2 cents per pound	32	do. do.
Hams and bacon, 3 " " "	45	do. do.
Cheese, 9 " " "	100	do. do.
Butter, 5 " " "	35	do. do.
Lard, 3 " " "	46	do. do.
Potatoes, 9 cents per bushel	36	do. do.
Flour, \$1 12 " "	19	do. do.
Wheat, 25 " " "	20	do. do.

Here we have a list of eleven articles of agricultural products, raised principally in the South and West, and they average about 43 per cent. protection—a rate much higher than is enjoyed by the manufactured articles. I know it is said that these articles need no protection. But this is a great mistake. These articles have been imported into the country, on an average, for the last five years, to the amount of \$2,341,600 annually. The fact is, they need protection as much as many of the manufactured fabrics.

Sir, there is an identity of interest between the manufacturer and the agriculturist. Agriculture and manufactures are not enemies to each other—they are not even rivals; but they are intimate friends. Viewed on a large and liberal scale, they are only different departments of the same great system of national industry; and whatever tends to give prosperity to the one will give prosperity to the other. They both need the fostering care of the Government. The case of wool and woolens is an example of this. The wool-growing interest has become an important one in this country. The annual product may be safely estimated at \$16,000,000. Withdraw protection from this great interest, and the shock would be felt by Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Indiana, and in the same degree by several other States; or, if you withdraw from the woollen manufactures all protection, you destroy in a great degree the home market for the wool, and the influx of woolens would be such as to destroy the wool-growing interest. This one example illustrates the principle as well as fifty. Let



the present law, if any law we have, go into operation, and the first effect would be felt by the manufacturers. Standing in the fore front, they would receive the first shock; but the ravages would soon extend, and the laborer, the farmer, would finally have to bear his full share. I am fully convinced that the labor of the country is the great thing to be protected; and as more people are engaged in agriculture than in any other calling, so agriculture has the greatest interest in this question. And if the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. KENNEDY) cannot comprehend how the great agricultural States of the West have an interest in the success of manufactures, he not only cannot put two ideas together, but, as it seems to me, is incapable of comprehending one.

If you should destroy manufactures, you would at once drive the men engaged in those various employments into agriculture, and, from being consumers, they would become producers, and the price of agricultural products would at once fall. This would reduce the price of labor, and so affect every laboring man in the country. In fact, labor constitutes the wealth of the country. It has been estimated by writers on political economy, that the annual industry of a country will amount to one-seventh or eighth of its entire wealth; so that, if a people should cease from labor altogether, they would consume their entire substance in seven or eight years. If this is true of nations generally, it is certainly true of this country, where industry is proverbial. If labor, then, forms so large a part of national wealth, any policy which stimulates industry must add greatly to the wealth of a nation; and this principle is perfectly cumulative. The benefit done to one is a benefit done to all; the same stimulus which prompts one to action, and increases the reward of his industry, will move another to action with the like result; and so the benefit may be multiplied by the number of the laborers in the land. The same causes which stimulate industry in one calling, or in one part of the country, will operate in another; so that all will, in the end, partake of the blessings.

Mr. Chairman, we have, during this debate, heard several eulogies upon free trade and unfettered commerce. But whence do these eulogies come? Not from the honest American importers. They call upon us for protection; they represent that foreigners have engrossed the greater part of our commerce, and they ask the Government to interfere in their behalf. The foreigners who have engrossed the principal part of our commerce in the city of New-York are the great centre from which this free-trade doctrine emanates. They have some of the presses in the country in their interest; and no means are spared to disseminate these doctrines through the land. We have, sir, heretofore heard much about "British gold" and its corrupting influence. Now, sir, I defy any man to produce a more striking instance of foreign influence than this case presents. Foreigners have engrossed seventy-four per cent. of the commerce of New-York, and the members from that city comes forward and pleads for unrestrained commerce; nay, so devoted is he to their interest, he had rather have recourse to direct taxation than to subject his foreign friends to the great inconvenience of testifying to false invoices, as they have been convicted of doing. I do not, of course, in-

tend to accuse that gentleman of being corrupted by them himself; but if he, with his admitted honesty and fairness, can be so far influenced by the doctrines they put forth, as to give up the ordinary mode of raising a revenue, and to advocate the doctrine of imposing a direct tax upon the people, we may safely conclude that this foreign influence is overshadowing in that city.

The very fact that foreigners have engrossed seventy-four per cent. of the commerce of New-York, and that gross frauds have been committed by them upon our revenue, shows the necessity of some legislation on our part; and I have no doubt that the substitution of specific for ad valorem duties, and other necessary checks, would save to the Government hundreds of thousands annually. This glorious free-trade doctrine, this golden dream, over which gentlemen are brooding, is altogether impracticable. It could not and would not exist, even if all nations should attempt to come into it. The different localities, conditions, and situations of the nations would give one country an advantage over another, and so destroy the very thing aimed at. But the nations of Europe will not in practice come into the doctrine of free-trade. In the imposition of duties, they all discriminate against us; and why should we not recognise the same principle and discriminate against them? Free-trade on one side, and restrictions on the other, would be very far from the true doctrine of equality.

It would be madness and folly for us to open our ports to the productions of all nations while they are hedging in our commerce on every hand. This idea is so repugnant to the common sense of mankind, that no person would adopt it in his own private affairs. Let two neighbors be so situated that they were under the necessity of crossing each other's land, and let one impose a duty upon the other for the privilege, and how long would it be before the other would be under the necessity, in self-defence, of imposing something of a countervailing duty? If the cities of Boston and New-York were equal in their advantages and resources, and were cut off from all the rest of the world, and were compelled to have commercial intercourse with each other, and the city in my own State should impose restrictions upon the commerce of New-York, how long would the honorable member from that city be willing to practise upon his *free-trade* doctrine? Would he advise his constituents to remain tributary to the New-England emporium, until the merchants and capitalists left the city and removed to Boston, where they could enjoy the advantages of laying New-York under contribution? Men may talk of the free-trade theory, but no one would be willing to reduce it to practice.

Mr. Chairman, the protection of our own industry is so important, and so obviously the duty of the Government, that I hope and trust we shall adopt one of the bills now before us, with such modifications as may be found necessary. Such a measure is demanded at our hands: every interest requires relief. An exhausted Treasury and a stagnant commerce, agriculture languishing, and manufactures paralysed, to us make their solemn appeal. Let the voice of the public be heard, and let us adopt a measure which will give industry its due reward.

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 7.

Office No. 160 N. 8-street,  
Near the City Hall, Park.

NEW-YORK, OCTOBER, 1842.

Price...75 cents a year.  
Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

### OF THIS (OCTOBER) NUMBER.

I...THE PRESENT STATE OF THE QUESTION OF PROTECTION.....	Page 193
II...BRIEF EDITORIALS.....	193 & 194
III...THE SILK CULTURE, (Report of Mr. A. A. Bliss to the Legislature of Ohio).....	195 to 210
IV...TEN YEARS OF 'FREE TRADE,' (Report on Commerce, by Hon. J. F. Kennedy, of Md.).....	210 to 212
V...SPEECH OF MR. EVANS, of Maine.....	213 to 221
VI...WOOL AND ITS MANUFACTURE.....	224

**A NATIONAL CONVENTION** of the friends of PROTECTION TO HOME INDUSTRY will assemble in this City (at the Lyceum of Natural History, 563 Broadway) on Thursday, Oct. 13th, and continue in session through that day and the following. The Farmers, Mechanics, Manufacturers, and Laborers of the several Counties, Cities and Towns who have not yet done so are requested to send Delegates or come themselves to this Convention. It is held during the week of the Great Annual Fair of the American Institute, to attend which is of itself worth a week's journey. An immense variety of the choicest and most original productions of American ingenuity, skill, enterprise and industry will there be exhibited, (at Niblo's Garden.) The Convention is held just on the opposite side of Broadway, and is intended to devise and put in operation measures calculated to prevent the Repeal of the Protective features of the New Tariff, and to uphold, perfect and render permanent the policy asserted in that measure. We trust there will be a generous attendance of sound, enlightened and practical men from different States, and that much good will be effected by their deliberations. The result will be given in the next number of the Laborer.

### The Present State of the Question of Protection.

After a severe and doubtful struggle of months, the friends of a Protective Tariff have obtained a qualified but decided triumph. After years of declining Duties, of Protection dying by inches and Revenue wasting away until it had become utterly inadequate and the Government as well as the Country plunged in debt, we have at length obtained a Tariff which is calculated to repair, to a great extent, the disasters and depressions of the last seven years—to arrest and turn back the Country from the downward course it has so long been pursuing, and to bring back—not the madness of the Paper Era of 1835-6, but the stable

and onward prosperity of the Protective Era of 1823-34. A few words on the present attitude and aspects of the question may not, therefore, be inappropriate.

And first, it is the evident duty of the friends of Protection and of American Labor to *stand by the Tariff as it is*, until a fitting time shall arrive for its safe and beneficent readjustment. It may not be, it probably is not, perfect in all its details—how could that be hoped? Here were Duties to be fixed on hundreds of different articles, with a steadfast regard to the *general* and not to partial or individual good. It may—nay, it *must*—often happen that the interests of a class would require a high duty or low duty on a particular article, while the general interest required the opposite, and thus dissatisfaction would necessarily be given by a correct and enlightened decision on that point. It may very easily be that the Committee of Congress, not having all the facts fairly before them, should arrive at a wrong conclusion on a particular item or items, and this conclusion be incorporated in the Bill as it became a Law. But what then? Shall the friends of Protection allow themselves to be divided and ultimately defeated because of this error? Shall the Wool-grower, for instance, be seduced by representations that low-priced Wool is admitted too cheaply into alienation from the friends of Protection generally, and thus throw the power into the hands of the enemies of *all* Protection? Can any be so insane, so short-sightedly selfish as to commit this suicide? We see that, though the Wool-growers are protected by the new Tariff, to an extent even beyond the average Protection of other branches of Industry—though perhaps not yet so fully as the interests of the Country require—the most determined, insidious efforts are making to seduce them into disaffection with and hostility to the New Tariff! Can they succeed?

So on many other points. There are many articles on which we would have preferred a higher duty—but what then? Shall we mend the matter by uniting with the enemies of *all* Protection in decrying the measure? Not so, friends! **STAND BY THE TARIFF**, as it is, and take care that whenever it shall be revived, the work shall be in the hands of intelligent, unbending, consistent supporters of Protection!

And this brings us to the next point, which is,

that the friends of Protection must every where TAKE CARE that, so far as they have power, NONE BUT DECIDED AND HEARTY FRIENDS OF PROTECTION ARE ELECTED TO THE NEXT CONGRESS.—Every effort will be made, every device invoked, to circumvent them on this point. But these must not prevail. The PEOPLE—the great Laboring and Voting multitude of the Free States—are emphatically advocates of Protection. They feel and know that it is necessary to the Country's prosperity and to their own. They cannot be cheated out of their convictions by any Free Trade sophistry, but they may be deluded by party legerdemain. Let them be aroused on this point. Let them demand of every candidate for Congress—“*Sir, are you an advocate of a Tariff for Protection? and will you firmly uphold the Protective features of the present Tariff?*” Let them every where demand that these questions shall be explicitly and satisfactorily answered by every candidate, or he does not obtain their votes.

And yet again: the friends of Protection must every where make ready to sustain by systematic effort their cause before the Country. Let no man deceive himself into the belief that the question is now settled—that Protection is firmly established as a cardinal feature of our National policy. Such should be the fact, but it is not. At this moment a most determined effort is preparing for the subversion of the Protective features of the Tariff.—“*Repeal! Repeal!*” is fiercely demanded by the frank and open advocates of one-sided Free Trade, and is softly acquiesced in by their less manly associates in sections where ‘Repeal’ would be an unpopular war-cry. The election of a Congress not heartily favorable to Protection will be the signal of our overthrow. Farmers! Mechanics! Laborers of New-York! and of other States! Shall not this be averted?

#### The Culture of Silk.

We have surrendered a great part of this number of THE LABORER to a Report made last winter to the Legislature of Ohio by Mr. A. A. BLISS of Lorain County in favor of encouraging the growth and Manufacture of SILK in this Country and in that State. Although immediately confined to the Silk Culture, it will be found to embody enlarged and statesmanlike views, resting on principles which lie at the root of the whole matter of Protection or No Protection. If it be wise to foster and build up new branches of Industry in the Country, for the sake of the good thereby secured to existing branches and to the Laborers generally by multiplying and diversifying the applications of Labor, and of course increasing and rendering more steady the demand for it, then it is wise to protect and cherish those branches which have already struggled into existence. If it be wise to encourage the Silk Culture among us, because it would give employment to thousands who now

have no work,—especially Women and Children, then it is wise to protect Manufactures and other rivaled branches of Industry, for the same reason. If it be politic to sustain and extend the Silk Culture as a means of reducing the number of producers of Grain, Meat, &c. and increasing that of the purchasing Consumers, then is the protection of Manufactures wise and necessary on the same grounds. In short, there can be no reason at all for encouraging the Silk Culture which does not urge with greater force the general, systematic Protection of the Industry of the Country.

It is most unfortunate for the Silk Culture that it took a start among us in the speculating era of 1836-7, and unavoidably partook of the character of that era. Men were imbued with extravagant ideas of the profit of this branch of industry, paid ridiculous prices for Multicaulis, &c. and acted in all respects rather like lunatics than rational beings. The result was foreseen and unavoidable. Their absurd expectations of instant profit were disappointed; they were disgusted with the business, and rushed out of it as hastily and inconsiderately as they had rushed in, and the Multicaulis fever passed off as suddenly as it had swept over the land. This is just like the Merino fever of 1815, or many others. Its effect is to depress for a time the branch of industry which it involves, but it cannot be permitted to work lasting injury.

The Report and Documents which we publish are valuable for the clearness and brevity with which they set forth the effect of establishing the Silk Culture in this Country and the means of securing this end. The safest and most economical processes of rearing the Silk-Worm, furnishing it with food, reeling the Silk, &c. &c. are all set forth as fully as can be needed. We trust that thousands will derive instruction and profit from the appearance of this Report in THE LABORER.

A single suggestion, and we close. There are in every Township many Women and Children who want employment, who need its rewards, yet who find none suited to their capacities. These might be profitably employed in the production of Silk, to which the New Tariff extends an adequate and certain Protection. Whoever would embark in the enterprise would be a public benefactor. Will not some one attempt it?

#### Mr. Evans's Speech.

We give place in this paper to a forcible practical Speech in favor of the Policy of Protection, and in defence substantially of the New Tariff, by Hon. GEORGE EVANS, the able Senator from Maine. It will be found full of instructive and interesting truth. Whoever is familiar with the history of our National Legislation through the last twenty years must be aware that Mr. Evans is among the first debaters and legislators in the land, and as such is he regarded at Washington. Logical, forcible, and comprehensive, he grasps the question presented with a straight-forward and giant power, and disperses the most plausible sophistries like cobwebs. We commend this Speech to those who love to see a great question of National policy treated in a liberal and National spirit.

## THE SILK CULTURE.

Report of Mr. Bliss to the Legislature of Ohio.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Feb. 24, 1842.

Mr. BLISS, from the Select Committee on the Silk Culture, to which the subject had been referred, made the following

### Report:

The Select Committee on the subject of the Silk Culture, and to whom was referred a large number of petitions on that subject, have had the same under consideration and now report—

That they have been led to estimate the importance of the culture to the people of the State, more and more highly, as they have given the subject an examination.

The use of the article of silk, for clothing and for ornamental purposes, has been known for ages; and the wonder is, not that the people of this nation are now turning their attention to the subject, but that their enterprize has not long since made us a silk growing people.

The earliest mention that is made of silk, is in the translation of the Bible, by Jerome, who speaks of it as one among the articles which the Phenicians imported from Syria. The exceeding beauty of the fabric rendered it particularly attractive to mankind, wherever it was known. It was brought, for a long time, by traders from China, in caravans, through the sands and deserts of Asia to the ports of Syria and Egypt. The distance which it was brought, and the consequent difficulty of procuring it in large quantities, made it very expensive. Dionysius Periegetes, the geographer, who was sent by Augustus to compile an account of the Oriental regions, gave to his countrymen the astonishing information that precious garments were made by the Seres, the inhabitants of what is now Bucharia, from threads finer than those of the spider. And among all the gorgeous displays made by the renowned and luxurious Cleopatra, none excited so strongly the admiration, the unmixed astonishment of the people, as the silk sails of her pleasure bark.

For centuries, the silk trade was monopolized by the Persians. When they were subdued by Alexander, the commodity was brought to Greece, and thence to Rome. The anxiety of the Romans to trade directly with the producers of this costly material, induced the Emperor, Marcus Antonius, to send ambassadors to their country to negotiate a direct commercial intercourse with them.

Soon after Justinian ascended the throne, he sent Julian as his ambassador to the Christian King of Axuma, in Abyssinia, appealing to him that, for the sake of their common religion, he would assist him in war with Persia, and direct his subjects to buy silks in India and sell them to the Romans, by which means the Axumites would acquire great wealth, and the Romans would have the satisfaction of paying their money to their friends, instead of to their Persian enemies.

But the culture of silk was finally introduced into Europe, in a singular manner. The preachers of the Nestorian religion, having been persecuted by the Ecclesiastical Government at home, fled from Byzantium into India. Their Patriarch, who resided in Persia, sent missionaries abroad, and established convents in various parts of India. Two of his monks, who had been employed as

missionaries, penetrated into the country where silk was produced and manufactured, and became acquainted with its culture, and the art of manufacturing it into elegant fabrics. Knowing the anxiety of the Europeans to possess this knowledge, they imparted the secret to the Emperor Justinian, that silk was produced by a species of worm, whose eggs could easily be transported. By the promise of a great reward, they were induced to return, and they carried safely to Constantinople a quantity of silk worms' eggs, in the *hollow of a cane*; and the worms from these few eggs, thus brought from India, may properly be considered the progenitors of all that have since been reared in Europe or western Asia. From this the culture gradually spread over different parts of Europe; but the use of it was still confined to the courts of Emperors and Kings, and to the wealthier classes of the people. And it was not until in the sixteenth century that the culture and manufacture became so extensive as to warrant any thing like a common use of it; and even then, compared to the whole number, it was used but by few.

Of the history of the culture in America, little need be said. A renewed interest on the subject has happily been felt in this country within a few years past. On the first settlement of Virginia, the culture was strongly recommended to the settlers by the Government of Great Britain; and up to the time of the revolution, more or less attention was paid to it, and much good silk produced.

In Georgia, lands were granted to individuals on condition that they plant a certain number of mulberry trees and give their attention to the silk culture. And previous to the revolution, silk was produced and exported in considerable quantities from that State. In South Carolina, some attention was paid to the subject. The culture was commenced in the State of Connecticut about the year 1660, and has continued from that time to the present.

The first question that would naturally arise, on the consideration of the subject, is—IS OUR COUNTRY ADAPTED TO THE PRODUCE OF SILK?

Is there any thing in the nature of the case—in our soil, climate, or in our institutions, that will prevent complete success in the culture of silk? Your Committee believe that there is *no reason* why we should not be a silk-producing people.

1st. We are in the same latitude with those countries that are the most successful in its culture and manufacture.

2d. We are not only in as good a latitude, but our *climate*, in the same latitude, is much better than the climate in a corresponding latitude in the old world for the growth of silk, as all testify who are competent so to do.

3d. No man can doubt that our soil is fully adapted to the growth of the mulberry; and wherever there is a pure atmosphere, a good supply of food, and the requisite attention, silk-worms will live and prosper. We have this pure atmosphere, we can raise a supply of food, and it would be a libel on the character of our countrymen to suppose, for a moment, that they are not capable of giving the requisite attention to any business they undertake.

4th. It is the uniform testimony of those who are qualified to judge, that we can become a silk-growing people.

But your Committee will not dwell upon this point, as it would seem that there can be no doubt about it. It is admitted by all, that there is nothing in the nature of the country or its inhabitants that will prevent successful and perfect prosecution of this branch of industry. If, then, every thing goes to show that it *can* be cultivated, another question will very naturally arise—

#### CAN IT BE DONE PROFITABLY?

Your Committee are of the opinion that the culture and manufacture of silk, in all its branches, can, *profitably* to those engaged in it, be introduced in this country.

1st. The experience of all who have engaged in it to any extent, shows the fact. The people of some parts of Connecticut have pursued the business for nearly a century past. Would they have continued the business if it had not yielded a profit? In the town of Mansfield, in Connecticut, which is exceedingly barren and unproductive in the usual products of the soil, the culture of silk has, for years, composed the principal business; and the fact that they have *continued* the business, proves that, to *them*, it is profitable; and to the profit yielded in its cultivation they owe much of their prosperity. We refer to the testimony of Mr. Gill, in another part of this report, and to the testimony of others in this State, whose communications are herewith published, to sustain this point. Experiments have been made within the last few years, in different parts of the country, in almost every variety of circumstances, that go to prove, beyond doubt, that it can be made profitable to *individuals*, and to our whole country, in the aggregate.

2d. It will not be doubted that the silk manufacture is profitable in England. Yet she does not produce a *pound of raw silk*. She cannot raise the silk worm—the humidity of her atmosphere supposed to be the cause—yet, while she is under the necessity of importing all of her raw silk, she manufactures, *profitably*, to the amount of \$75,000,000 annually. We have this advantage, that we can *produce our own raw material*, and successfully manufacture it. In France there is also more manufactured than is produced at home; and they import several millions annually of raw silk. Our advantage is, that we shall not be under the necessity of taking our gold and silver out of the country to pay for the material; nor have we to pay duties and other expenses of importing it. All these items take from the cost of the article when manufactured, and of course all *other things* being equal, it can be manufactured at a greater profit here than in England or France.

3d. As a further evidence that it can be profitably entered into, it will give employment to much of the labor of the country that is now unproductive. The aged person, whose three-score years and whitened locks have exempted him from the performance of the ordinary labors of the day, may furnish for himself a profitable employment, and at the same time, an amusement, in feeding and caring for the silk-worm; while children, of both sexes, who could in no other business be a source of profit, can do many things connected with the culture to as much as or more advantage than persons of mature age. So much is a *clear gain*. It is bringing so much labor into existence; and the profit of this labor is a clear saving to the person to whose use it is applied. And further, it

promotes a profitable and pleasing labor for the females of our country. What more delightful employment can they desire than the raising of the silk-worm and the reeling of silk? The time once was, when the music of the spinning-wheel was heard in every cabin, and in every farm-house, while the matron of the house could be seen at the loom. But that day has gone by; and the shuttle is now only thrown by the power of steam or the force of the water-fall, while the music of the spinning-wheel would scarcely be recognized amid the Babel sounds of a manufactory. We have, as yet, no substitute for those employments with which our mothers were familiar.

The Silk Culture will fill a vacuum that has too long existed. It will furnish pleasing labor for the female portion of almost every family that is disposed to pursue it. And this portion of the family, whose labor has, from the nature of the case, been before in a manner unproductive, by this means will yield a direct revenue to the pockets of those to whom they look for protection and support. The following extract from the memorial of a lady of Tennessee, to the Legislature of that State, undoubtedly speaks the sentiments of many among us:

"We would remind their honors that female labor, in this country, is nearly prostrated; that since the existing improvements in carding, spinning, and weaving, by machinery having taken place in the United States, the labor of females in those branches of domestic industry is reduced so low, that there is but little inducement to follow them except to make clothing for ourselves and our households. In bygone days, we could, by industry, not only provide clothing for our households, but could make a sufficiency of domestic manufacture to spare, to sell to the merchants to procure other necessities for our families. This is not now the case; when we manufacture these articles now, and take them to the merchant, we find them supplied with domestic manufactures from the Northern and Eastern States of the Union, at so low a price, that we cannot bear a competition with them. We believe that our time would be more profitably employed in the culture of silk, and that if the General Assembly (as most of the States of the Union have done,) will give a premium on cocoons, sewing silk, and raw silk, so as to encourage our daughters, and domestics, and others, to engage in this branch of industry, it would be the means of improving the prosperity and happiness of our households, and ultimately add much to the wealth and prosperity of the country."

It is evident, then, that that branch of the culture which can be carried forward by private individuals and families may be made profitable; that it may be, in a great measure, the product of labor, which would be unavailable in any other business.

Fourth: Another ingredient that should enter into our estimate of the probable profit of the culture, is the fact, that the production of the raw material does not necessarily occupy but a small portion of the year, while in estimating the profits of other kinds of business, we start upon the presumption that the whole *time* is occupied therein. From this fact, that but a small portion of time is occupied of each year; and, the fact, that most of the labor may be done by the aged and infirm, and by children and families, if they have leisure, every farmer may raise from *ten to one hundred* pounds of raw silk, annually, without the investment of one cent as capital, and without adding to the expense, or diminishing the products of his

ordinary farming operations. This being true, no one can deny but there would be profit in it. In connection with this branch of the subject, we will state a fact that is now before us. In the year 1834, in Venetian Lombardy, there was \$16,002,606 worth of silk reeled; and this was done by 80,000 persons. Each person then reeled, on an average, \$200 worth of silk. This was *all done in five or six weeks*; while the balance of the year was occupied with other and their ordinary avocations. Had they raised the cocoons, as well as reeled the silk, it would have been to them the same as the *coining* of \$16,006,606 in gold and silver. This gold and silver would have been the product of their labor. But allowing them 20 per cent for reeling, it is then true, that they earned \$3,300,000, in that short space of time. It is then an important subject for consideration, that the time is short, necessary for the production of the raw silk.

Fifth: It is an evidence that it may be made profitable, in this country; that it is, *in fact*, profitably carried on in other countries, where the people labor under great disabilities, with which we are not at all encumbered. It is produced at a profit, notwithstanding every product is heavily taxed. Every pound of cocoons, and every pound of raw silk, is taxed; and it is stated, that in the Neapolitan Territory, every mulberry tree is taxed, annually, about sixteen cents. If the people there can sustain themselves under these heavy burdens, and make the business profitable, shall we, with all our enterprize, admit that we cannot, when every thing connected with it, is as free from taxation as is the air of heaven?

Sixth: It is made profitable in countries where the soil and climate are not as well adapted to the culture as with us. In calculating the profits in other countries, a deduction is always made on account of a *certain* loss of a large portion of the worms. This arises from negligence, or from the climate, probably the latter. In many places where it is carried on *profitably*, a loss of from 30 to 50 per cent. is always sustained by the death of the worms. In this country no such loss need be calculated upon; a loss will sometimes occur from negligence or mismanagement. But it is believed, as a general thing, that the loss can be brought below five per cent. Our climate is so pure that a loss in consequence of its influence is not necessary. If then, those who must necessarily sustain such losses can make it profitable, cannot we, who are subject to no such disadvantage?

Seventh: Another consideration of a good deal of weight, looking to its probable profit, is the fact of the *uniformity* of its value every *where*, and at all *times*, and the facility with which it can be transported. It will command its present price, or about that price, as long as the supply does not equal the demand. There are times, when the ordinary productions of the farmer yield no profit at all. The market is glutted. There is no demand for the article, whatever it may be, and as a consequence his pork, beef, corn, and grain of every description, is so low as not to pay the cost of production. Not so with silk, either in its raw or manufactured state. The supply cannot, for many years, equal the demand, if ever. It has a uniformity of value, and that value is measured by its weight. In this particular it resembles the

precious metals. It has a value, because it will always command specie or its equivalent. It is, in fact, a very good substitute for it for all practical purposes, and, certainly, a much better representative of it, than that which forms the most of our circulation. It is a matter of no small importance to the farmer, that without any outlay of money, or any additional help, he can, in a few weeks time, raise *something* that is always as good to him as gold in his pocket. He can have it worked up into clothing for his family, and thus save the money that he lays out for the same material; or, with it, he can procure his tea, sugar, coffee, and all the variety of things necessary for every family to purchase; or he can get the cash to lay by for a rainy day. And it is net like taking a load of hay, wheat, or potatoes to market, for the value of a load of each of those products can be carried in the work-bag of the good woman, and the matter is got along with without any trouble or expense. The merchants will, of course, be always glad to receive it for goods, as they can take a few hundred dollars worth of it to the Eastern citier, if necessary, with more ease than the same value in silver.

Eighth: But it may be objected, that the price of labor being so high, we cannot compete with those countries where the price of labor is much lower. To this might be set off the *fact*, as in all respects conclusive, that experience has already demonstrated, that, notwithstanding the price of labor, we *can* compete with those countries in which the price of labor is low. But we go farther. In this country the price of labor, to a considerable extent, need not enter into the calculation, as we have seen, that the raw material can be produced by the farmers of the country, without *any additional* expense for labor at all. It will be done by labor that at any other business is not available.

Thus the produce of silk *creates* the labor that produces it. It adds the product of so much *additional* labor to the country; and to the extent that it does so, it is a *clear profit* to the country.

But facts go fully to demonstrate, that it does by no means follow, that, in countries where labor is low, the product of this labor can be afforded *cheaper* than where greater wages are paid. The price of labor generally depends upon the *industry* and *skill* of the laborer. We can afford to pay for labor what that labor is worth to us. If, owing to the industry and skill of the laborer, a certain amount of labor gives us a product of a given value, we can, of course, afford to pay more for the labor than if the product was only *one half* that value. And is it not a universally admitted fact, that industry and skill, and consequently an increase in the product of any given amount of labor, go hand in hand with high wages; or, rather high wages evidence the fact, that this industry and skill exist, and that the product of a given amount of labor is *worth more* than in the other case?

And besides, in those countries where labor is low they are surrounded with difficulties that do not affect us, which would counteract any advantage that they might have from the low price of labor. Their taxes on production are enormous, and they are compelled to calculate upon a certain loss, by disease, of a large per cent. of their worms.

England can furnish manufactured silks as good

and as cheap as France and Italy—although she has to import *all* her raw material, and the other countries have the double advantage of being able to raise their own raw material, and that wages are lower than in England.

Holland can furnish linens cheaper than they can be furnished in countries where wages are lower. France can furnish woolen goods cheaper than Spain, while her price of labor is higher.

And what is, perhaps, of as much importance as any thing, is the fact that in countries where wages are extremely low, it is next to impossible to introduce any improvements. The work, from the picking of the leaves of the mulberry, to the finishing of the finest silks and satins, is mostly done by the slow process of hand labor. In countries where wages are high, (and it would be so in this,) the *skill* of the citizen is brought into requisition, and machinery springs into existence to the aid of the laborer. And who can doubt that in this country the time will soon come when machinery, as complicated and as perfect in its organization, driven by the power of the elements, as that now applied to the cotton or woolen manufacture, will be applied to the manufacture of silk?

We close this part of the subject with an extract from the memorial of Mr. J. W. Gill, presented to the Legislature at its present session, which is a strong illustration of the point under consideration. He says:

"Influenced by such reflection on these subjects, and the great benefit that would accrue to my country, if they could be brought into practice and successful operation in a systematic manner, I concluded to devote a portion of my time and capital to a practical test of this business, which, for four years past, I have pursued, as per annexed scrawl.

"In May, 1838, I purchased and planted one thousand multicaulis, and three thousand Italian mulberry trees, at a cost of about \$400. That season fed a few, say ten thousand worms, by way of experiment, and was very successful. Let the roots from multicaulis stand out during the winter, and they were generally killed by the frost. In April and May, 1839, I purchased and planted twelve hundred multicaulis and two thousand Florence, at a cost of about \$800. These trees increased ten fold. At the same time I contracted for the production of one acre more, which produced three thousand two hundred multicaulis, at a cost of \$460. At the same time I contracted with John Fox, senior, and three of his family, all experienced and skillful machinists and silk manufacturers from London, for one year, at a cost of \$720, and during the same year, they, with other assistance, constructed a number of looms, harness and other machinery and manufactured about \$1,090 worth of silk velvets, hat plush, &c., from cocoons of my raising, and purchases made from this State and Pennsylvania. I had but partial success raising cocoons that season, owing to the loss of two hundred thousand fine, healthy worms, after their fourth moulting, caused by the neglect of a person to properly ventilate the room and feed them during a few days of my absence. In November, 1839, I purchased twelve thousand two hundred multicaulis trees, at a cost of about \$600, making in all, at that time, forty-two thousand six hundred trees, which cost \$2,260; from which I sold four thousand six hundred for \$1,400, leaving on hand thirty-eight thousand trees, at a cost of \$800; and by September, 1841, they had multiplied to about one hundred and fifty thousand in number, and covered thirty acres of ground. During 1839, '40 and '41, I constructed three cocooneries, worth \$1,200, and a factory three stories high, forty by sixty feet, worth \$1,100. Cash

value of engine and machinery, September 1, 1841—\$3,200.

Since then, I have added much additional machinery. During the past year I was completely successful in my feeding operations, and produced eighty bushels of good cocoons, and had foliage and room sufficient to have produced double that quantity, but could not procure silk-worm eggs. During the past two years operations in the silk factory, we have made thirty-five pieces of velvets; length from ten to twenty-four yards each, value from \$4 to \$6 per yard; ten pieces of plush, from which we made twenty-four dozen silk hats, worth \$48 per dozen; one hundred pieces dress silks, flowered vestings &c., varying in length from ten to thirty yards each, and worth from \$1 to \$3 per yard; also, sixty dozen cravats and pocket handkerchiefs, worth from \$1 to \$1.75 each; and for all of which I have found ready sale.

"Since September last, we have twenty hands regularly employed in the factory, who, with the machinery I now have, manufactured, daily, from the cocoons, about \$30 worth of goods. I have about six months stock of cocoons on hand, which I have obtained principally from this State, New-York and Pennsylvania, where a bounty is given to encourage their production within the last year.

"My establishment has been sufficiently complete and successful to repay the outlay for stock and labor in manufacture, and yielding a small profit on capital invested. The more I become acquainted with the business, the more sanguine do I feel of success. I have had many obstacles to contend with, such as my own inexperience, the opposition of friends, and the impositions of speculators in machinery, trees and eggs, want of proper workmen and materials to construct machinery, and every other difficulty attending a new and complicated enterprise.

"I have succeeded in establishing the first regularly organized silk factory ever put in operation in this State, or the United States, that purchases all the cocoons and reeled silks, from whatever part of the United States it may come, and manufactures the same into dress goods. I have practically demonstrated to the citizens of Ohio, and of the United States, that this country can manufacture silks, as well as produce the raw material; and I believe this business will soon be more lucrative to our producers and manufacturers than either the production and manufacturers of wool or cotton."

But the question of profit, after all, depends upon the answer that can be given to the question—

#### IS THERE A SUFFICIENT MARKET?

It needs no argument to show that there will be no difficulty on this point.

1st. For the last five years, we have imported, on an average, \$18,000,000 worth of silk goods annually. This, in addition to what is raised here, is consumed among us. There can be no doubt but the market will be good until we can manufacture an amount equal to that which we import for consumption. Our imports will, in fact, always be just the amount that the consumption of the country exceeds its production.

2d. The consumption of the article will increase in proportion as its product increases among us. Silk enters already very largely into the clothing of the people. It is used more or less in every family; and while it can be had, it will not be dispensed with. It is reasonable to suppose, as the article of silk, for which we now send our gold and silver to Europe, becomes more and more the ordinary product of our labor, that a much larger proportion will be used for clothing than is now used. Thus, when we are able to produce an

amount equal to our *present* imports and our *present* consumption, the increase in our consumption will furnish a market for an amount equal to the present imports, and an addition to it to an amount equal to the increase in our consumption.

3d. But when we are able to supply the demand for home consumption, we need not stop at that limit for the want of a market. The heaviest of our imports are from Great Britain, and will continue to be so. For all that we purchase of her, we must pay in some way. If we have nothing else that she will receive, our gold must go for the purpose. England manufactures \$75,000,000 worth of silk goods annually. She makes them, of course, to sell; but in the first place, she has to *buy* every pound of the raw material, as she cannot raise it. She can make a profit on the manufacture, and as long as she can do this, she *will have* the raw material, if it is to be had. If she can get it in no other way, she will pay the money for it. But she will get it where she can do it at the best advantage; where, instead of paying the money, she can *exchange* her *own products* for it. Are not the commercial relations between that country and ours such that she will be likely to buy of us if we can furnish her? She purchases the value of from fifteen to twenty millions, annually, of raw silk. She will buy it of us if she can pay us as easily as she can pay others for it. Here, then, will be a new market opened. The same may be said of France, as she purchases the raw material to the value of several millions annually.

But there can be no doubt on this point: We *cannot* produce enough to supply the markets that will be opened to us, and not enough to effect materially the price of it. The demand will keep ahead of the supply. If, then, we can cultivate the growth of silk, and do it successfully and profitably, and can find a market for all that we can produce, it may be very proper to inquire into

#### THE GENERAL IMPORTANCE OF THE CULTURE.

On this point of the subject, a boundless field of inquiry is opened. Your Committee being, none of them, personally engaged in the silk business, and not having given the subject much attention, can only suggest such considerations as are the result of limited reading and reflection on the subject. But they beg leave to suggest a few considerations why, in their opinion, it is exceedingly important to the interests of the country that it should become a leading branch of national industry.

The wealth of a country is the product of the labor of that country. Individuals may become wealthy by speculation, and by various means other than by labor; but all that is obtained in this way by one, is taken from the pockets of others, and there is no increase in the aggregate. But the *labor* of a community will *produce* something *valuable* as its necessary result: that is, of course, when the labor performed has that for its object. The wealth of a country will increase in proportion as the products of its labor increase. Every man can, by his labor, *produce* something; and every additional amount of labor, when rightly directed, will give an additional product. To this product will be attached a certain *value*; and it follows that every product obtained from the additional *LABOR* of the country, must add something to the aggregate wealth of the country. There can be no doubt but a large amount of the raw

material of silk may be *produced* in this country by labor that in any other business would be unproductive. Most of the labor can be performed by aged persons, children and females, who, without this employment, would produce little or nothing. In fact, the aged and the children would be a tax upon community to the amount of the cost of their support. There are in the State of Ohio 1,500,000 inhabitants. Supposing that, on an average, each family consists of *five* members, there are 300,000 families in the State. Reducing this again to one fifth, would leave 60,000. Does any person doubt but there are 60,000 families in the State of Ohio that can produce, each, ten pounds of raw silk every year, without the *cost* of any additional labor? It can be produced mostly by labor that would otherwise be unproductive. On this supposition, the product of the 60,000 families would be 600,000 pounds of raw silk. This, at \$5 a pound, would be a product of 43,000,000 to the people of the State. But, while there are 60,000 that can produce ten pounds each, there are one half that number that can produce twice that amount. This would give an additional amount of 300,000 pounds, worth \$1,500,000; in all, a product worth \$5,500,000 to the public. This could be done, and the products of the State in every *other* particular, be as large as they now are. This would as really be an addition to the wealth of the State as though the amount were *coined* expressly for her benefit. It is the product of labor otherwise unproductive, and so much clear benefit to the people.

But look at the same calculation for the whole Union. We have 15,000,000 of people. One fifth of that number is 3,000,000, and one fifth of that number is 600,000. A product of ten pounds, each, would be 6,000,000 pounds; at \$5 per pound, it would be \$30,000,000. This is the raw material; and this is made without any reference to the vast numbers who will make the silk culture their business, and who will consequently produce a much larger amount.

But further:—as soon as the raw material is produced, manufactories will be established throughout the country. The only reason that they have not hitherto increased, is the fact that the raw material could not be procured to work up. Manufacturers are only waiting for this. When we can manufacture our *own* product of the raw material, we shall of course *save* to the country the *profit* arising from the manufacture.

The above calculations may appear extravagant and visionary. But from what little examination we have been able to give the subject, we are persuaded that the estimates are too moderate, rather than otherwise. Mr. G. B. Smith, of Baltimore, a gentleman in whose opinions all who are interested in the culture will have great confidence, in a number of the Silk Journal, says: "But let us make a calculation, for the farmers' domestic use, for the production of silk as a domestic article in all our farmers' families, whence the invention of machinery has expelled the spinning-wheel, and where very little profitable employment has been left to the females and junior and senior members. Suppose the farmer has an acre of ground planted with 5,000 trees, his children gather the leaves, and his daughters feed and attend to 80,000 worms. This they can do without materially interfering with any other arrangement



Another reason why it is important, is, that the profit of its cultivation does not at all depend upon the perfection of our system of Internal Improvements. It is of such a nature, that the same facilities for transportation, that would raise the price of almost every other product, would not sensibly affect this. Our system of improvement by Railroads and Canals, is already so perfect, and our facilities for transportation so great, that this view of the subject can hardly be appreciated. Every farmer knows that his wheat is worth on his farm just as much less, than at the place of market, as it *costs* to get it to market. A market is now, as it was for wheat (although not so with most kinds of farmers' produce) at almost all points on our Canals, Railroads, Lakes, or navigable rivers. If wheat is worth one dollar per bushel at either of these points, it is worth less to the producer, in proportion to the distance he lives from the point. If he lives ten, twenty, forty, sixty, or one hundred miles from the point of market, his wheat is worth so much less than a dollar as it costs him to get it to market. The price of raw silk would not be thus affected, because it would cost comparatively nothing to get it to market. Suppose the wheat-grower lives one hundred miles from market—he takes fifty bushels of wheat into his wagon, for which he expects to get fifty dollars. It cost him fifteen dollars to get the wheat to the place where it is worth one dollar per bushel. His wheat yields him one dollar, less the cost of taking it to market, which is thirty percent. His wheat at home is worth seventy cents a bushel.

The load of wheat would weigh about three thousand pounds—worth at market fifty dollars. The same load, if it were raw silk, would, at five dollars per pound, be worth fifteen thousand dollars. It would cost the same to carry it one hundred miles, which instead of being thirty per cent., would be about *one-tenth of one per cent.* The cost of transporting it being very trifling; the article would, as a consequence, be worth nearly as much at any point in the interior of our country as at the point to which it may be necessary to transport it; and any person who will make the calculation, can see that all the raw silk that can ever be raised in the State of Ohio, can be carried, in a wagon, to the city of Boston, at a less per cent., than the wheat crop can be carried, in the same way, a distance of twenty-five miles.

But we have already dwelt longer upon this point than we intended. Every man must admit its importance to the interests of the people. It opens a sure road to wealth. In order to lead every man to consider the subject, and to persuade the people, generally, to go into it, it may be necessary, in the infancy of the culture in this country, to offer some further inducement to insure a fair commencement of operations. We then ask, IS IT NECESSARY TO GIVE A BOUNTY ON ITS PRODUCTION.

It has been truly said by a writer on this subject, that

Every new enterprise, of whatever kind, or wherever undertaken, has its initial difficulties, and that which is the result is attended with most profit, has, at commencement, usually the greatest number. The history of new undertakings would form one of the most interesting and instructive works that was ever presented to man; and now, when enterprise and perseverance are not, perhaps, the preponderating virtues among our species; when enthusiasm is often observed to be suddenly quenched in disappointment, and the cry of humbug is raised to screen the stupid miscalculations of one class, or the want of intellectual perceptions in another, any attempt to inspire courage and confidence, where such can be made available to the public interests, must naturally contribute to the sum of human happiness.

It is believed, that the most sure way of inducing the people, generally, to commence the culture, is to offer a reasonable bounty to the producers.

It is a *new* business. Our farmers raise their wheat, corn, and potatoes, and their other ordinary productions, year after year, and are satisfied if the crop is *usually* productive and the price is *usually* good; but it is with difficulty that they can be persuaded to encounter the seeming hazard of entering into a *new* branch of cultivation. This is the reason our farmers have not already more generally turned their attention to the subject. If a small bounty is offered as an inducement, they are led to look at the subject. Being sure of realizing *something* from an attempt, and thinking that the amount of the bounty will at least pay them for trying the experiment, they commence cautiously. By a careful trial, they become satisfied that they can make it profitable *without* the bounty. The bounty offered first induced them to make the effort; and after having made the trial, they are fully satisfied that it can be made profitable—a fact which they *would not have learned* had it not been for the bounty offered. This, in itself, is a sufficient reason why a bounty should be

given. In France, and in other countries, where the silk culture is already, perhaps, the most important branch of national industry, and where, from the fact that it is so profitable, it is rendered of national importance that it should be fostered—it is encouraged in this manner. Although all the difficulties of the *commencement* are past, yet, by the offer of large premiums, and by other inducements, the culture increases in amount, and the products improve in quality. This is the course frequently taken to enlarge the increase in the product of any particular article, which it is greatly for the public interest to produce. In the year 1837, the State of Maine offered a bounty, to the wheat-growers of the State, of two dollars on the first twenty bushels raised, and eight cents a bushel for all above that amount. The State authorities saw that this branch of industry was languishing, and that, as a consequence, the money of the people was sent abroad for bread, when she could as well have produced it herself. The offer of the above bounty had the desired effect, and the wheat-growing interest became a permanent one.

The State of New-York, at the session of her Legislature of 1840-41, granted \$8,000 a year, for five years, to be distributed among the several countries, for the promotion of the cause of agriculture. She also gave a bounty of fifteen cents a pound on cocoons, and fifty cents a pound on reeled silk. Connecticut gives a bounty of fifty cents a pound on reeled silk. In Massachusetts, it is fifteen cents on cocoons and fifty cents on reeled silk. In Illinois, ten cents on cocoons, and fifty cents on reeled silk. The bounty in Pennsylvania is twenty cents on cocoons, and fifty cents on reeled silk. In Indiana, — cents on cocoons, and fifty cents on reeled silk. Bounties are paid in several other States; and in Georgia, the bounty on cocoons is *equal to their value* in market; and the State, at that, will be a great gainer, provided this induces her citizens to turn their attention to the subject. The surrounding States are opening their eyes to the importance of the subject. Shall Ohio permit them to snatch the prize from her? Every pound of silk that is produced in *consequence* of the bounty, is so much additional wealth to the community in which it is raised. It brings into that community an amount of money equal to the value of the silk produced.

After the culture is once successfully established, the bounty will not be needed, as every man who desires to go into it can profit by the labors and the experiments of those who have preceded him, without any of the expense incurred by those by whose labors he profits.

But there are those who object to giving a bounty; and here your Committee beg leave to notice a report, made by the Committee on Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures, in the other branch of this General Assembly. With all due deference to the branch in which it originated, and the Committee from whom it emanated, it is believed that the conclusions of the Committee are the result of a limited view of the matter. The objections of the Committee appear to be principally founded upon the principle shadowed forth in the following paragraph:

"Believing, as your Committee do, that the true principle of civil government consists in extending

equal protection to *all*, and granting *special privileges* to *none*, we cannot consent to a violation of this principle, by recommending the passage of a law that must necessarily impose a burden upon the many for the benefit of the few; or, in other words, that will, in its operation, tend to benefit one class of labor, by taxing other kinds of productive industry."

The objection seems to be, that it will be a taxation of the *many* for the benefit of the *few*. It is true, that for the small sum that the bounty paid out may amount to, the many are taxed; but is it for the benefit of the *few*? We cannot think the objection has any force, for the following reasons:

First: Although it proposes to tax the many, yet they are benefited by it to an amount infinitely greater than the tax. If this small tax should effect the object designed by it, to wit: to *induce a general cultivation* of the article, no one will deny but it will be a great benefit to the community in the aggregate. If it induces the culture, so that our people can produce what they consume, it will be to the State a benefit to the value of the amount consumed. Because, if we consume a million of dollars worth, instead of sending this money out from us, it is retained *among us*, and is *continued in circulation*. It then accomplishes a great *general good*. This ought to be sufficient.

But is it not a benefit to the people of the State *individually*? It *benefits all who are engaged in it*, of course; and we should bear in mind, that it is the *object* of the law to induce *all* to cultivate it. Every man who pays a tax may get it back again ten-fold, and at the same time benefit himself, and confer a great good upon the public.

But how is it *now*? Are not the many taxed for the benefit of the *few*? We can say what we please about extravagance, about what *might* be, and what *ought* to be; still the *fact is*, that the people of the State do consume silk fabrics to a large amount. Every tax-payer in the State, and thousands who pay no direct tax to the State whatever, *tax themselves* to procure the article. *There is not a family in the State, in which there is not more or less of it consumed*. To whose pecuniary benefit is all this? Certainly not to the consumer, but to the producer. The money goes into his pocket. Where shall we find the producer? On another continent? The importers, the jobbers, and the retailers, are the only persons in this country who are pecuniarily benefited by it, and they only to the limited extent of the profits they make, as it passes through their hands. The large proportion of this tax, paid by the people of the State of Ohio, goes out of the country to oil the wheels in the machinery of other governments, and to aid in cherishing other institutions, to which ours must necessarily be in direct variance. This enormous tax, it is true, is a voluntary one, but as *really* a loss to the people as though government should wring it from them, without appropriating it to their use. Thus we see, that the use of this article, which *will be used by all*, is a tax upon the consumer for the benefit of the producer. And when the consumers and producers are a different people, there is a loss to the consumer to the value of the article consumed. Now, any person can see that, if the article is *produced* in the same community in which it is *consumed*—if the producer and consumer are *one*, this loss cannot occur.

If a man produces *all* that he consumes of any article, he of course need not *pay out* any thing for the article. It is the same with communities. If the people of this State produce all that they consume of a given article, of course they need not send their money out of the State for the article. It is the object of the proposed law, to *induce* the people of the State to do this, as far as silk is concerned. An individual raises 100 pounds of raw silk, worth \$5 a pound. He sells it at home to the manufacturer for \$500. With this he pays his laborers, and other expenses out, and has a handsome balance for other uses. The purchaser manufactures the raw material—sells it to the merchant, by which he gets back his \$500, and the *cost* and *profit* of manufacturing it. With this he pays his workmen, all of whom distribute it among the community, for the necessities and comforts of life.

The individual who was the producer of the raw material, with the same money that he received for it, with others who are perhaps not at all engaged in the business, buy of the merchant all that they wish for family consumption. This enables the merchant to buy again of the manufacturer, and the manufacturer to purchase the next crop of the original producer. So that we see the same money performing, over and over again, its proper functions, and is *still retained in the community*, that it may be continually used as a circulating medium in that community. How much better would this be, than the contrary state of things. Now, the money that is paid by the consumer, goes to the retailer; from him to the jobber and importer, and is by him shipped across the water, and goes into the pockets of the foreign producer. The consequence is, that it takes more money to perform the ordinary operation, for which money is used. If the article was produced, as well as consumed among us, the money that is used as a means by which the article, in all its stages, is exchanged from one to another, could continue to be used for the same purpose, and also to facilitate other operations that require the *same* means. Now it is used but *once*; as, when it passes from the hand of the consumer, it goes *out* of the community. And to the amount that is thus carried away, other money must supply its place; or so much of the *means*, by which the ordinary commercial operations are performed, *are gone*, and the *same* operations cannot be performed. This is one great cause of the general derangement of the business operations of the country. Too much money is sent *out* of the country. Could it be retained among us and used, as it was made to be used, general prosperity would be the certain result. This will not be the case, until we *produce* as much as we *consume*.

But again: If the objection taken, that a bounty will be a tax upon the many for the benefit of the few, can have any force in this case, it will be equally conclusive against any appropriations for public purposes. Whenever there is an appropriation, there must be a tax to meet it; and if the pitiful appropriation that is asked to be made in this case, will not result in the benefit of the many, it is difficult to state an object, where taxation is required, that would result in such a benefit. For what is the State now laboring under a heavy pecuniary embarrassment? For what was her enormous debt created? For her Public Works,

her roads and her canals.—It is for these, and to furnish those not yet completed, that the State is almost overwhelmed, though still struggling for recovery. Will any one deny that these works are the pride and glory of our State? We may, as a State, well be proud of them. But there are thousands, and tens of thousands, of individuals in this State, who are not benefited by these works. The Almighty has stretched, along the whole extent of our southern and southeastern boundary, a navigable river, and has furrowed out the deep channel of the lakes upon our North. The producers in our State, to whom points on the lake or river are more convenient than any point on our canals, will, of course, there send their surplus produce. And to them, for this purpose, the canals are of no benefit. The sections of the State traversed by them, are benefited, towns are built up, and the hum of business is heard, where, without these improvements, solitude would have reigned. But the cause that produces improvement here, proves an injury to other portions of the people. Those portions of the State not traversed by these canals—see their progress in wealth and population seriously retarded—labor and enterprise, before put forth to build up, are taken from them to exert their power in other places—their prosperity is withered, and, in proportion as it is a benefit to others, it is an injury to them. Yet we hear no complaint. The people are all taxed alike, regardless of any considerations growing out of this state of things. The State has incurred a debt of millions; the interest must be kept up, and the debt finally paid. The people must be taxed to do it. And that portion of the people who are directly injured, by the expenditure of the money for which the debt was incurred, must pay their proportion. And they do it willingly, because they believe that our public works are a great public benefit. Yet with all their importance, connected with our progress to wealth, your Committee believe that the Silk Culture, if entered into by our citizens as it may be, and as we trust it will be, will produce consequences promotive of our prosperity, more important than all the advantages that can ever be derived from our public works. And in connexion with these works, the benefits of each acting upon the other, the good cannot be calculated.

We say, then, that the object of the bounty is to induce the people to look into the subject, and to commence the culture. When once fairly started, the bounty will not be needed. The amount that will be paid as a bounty, will be a mere pittance at most; and for every cent so paid, one hundred fold will be returned to the pockets of the people. And as the culture progresses, induced by this bounty, property will rise in value, and the Treasury will be doubly replenished with the same amount of taxation.

From J. B. Tillinghast, Norwalk, Huron City.

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO SILK GROWERS.

I have endeavored to be a close observer in the silk business for five years past. The business of propagating eggs for market has appeared to follow in the train with the *morus multicaulis* speculation, and all that would sell was saved of course. It is our candid and humble opinion, that the principal cause of most failures in our country, has originated in the egg, either in the manner of

procuring or preserving. The principal cause that has enabled us to discover the important method in feeding the worm upon our improved apparatus, was in trying to approximate as near to nature as circumstances would allow. The common practice has been to permit the millers, from whole lots of cocoons, to come out in a mass together, and to copulate immediately, which is absolutely wrong. The cocoons upon the native tree are thinly deposited; the millers of both sexes have not that immediate opportunity of copulation, without sufficient time for both male and female to discharge the mucus, (as they naturally will before this union, if permitted,) and will fall directly from them, and should never come in contact with the egg. The miller upon her native tree deposits her eggs for another progeny; therefore, our practice is to select the most perfect and firm single cocoons for eggs, and to separate the male from the female miller as soon as they pierce the cocoon, from thirty to sixty minutes, then place them upon sheets of paper on thin cloth, suspended perpendicularly, for copulation; and in about eight hours they must be separated for depositing their eggs, which should be kept cool and dry until wanted for hatching. Eggs naturally hatch about the time the mulberry puts forth its leaves. In order to take the advantage of the greatest growth of foliage, and the season for feeding, which is about three months in this latitude, eggs should be preserved either in tin or glass, placed in an ice house in cold weather, and not exposed to a warm atmosphere until wanted for use, and then gradually exposed. Or another method:—Procure a tin canister, say eight inches in diameter, and two or three feet long, to contain the rolls of paper with eggs, in such parcels as will be wanted to hatch from time to time, without exposing the whole, and made so tight that no moisture can penetrate when suspended in a cold well, with the lower end immersed in water continually, and for the purpose of giving air to the eggs, which is important for their vitality, a small tube should be connected with the canister, extending to the top of the well. Eggs may be well preserved in this manner, in any latitude where wells can be obtained that remain cool enough to prevent the eggs from approaching to a hatching state. It is important to place eggs in the well as early in the season as in the ice house. The temperature should not vary far either way from eighty degrees in the nursery room, and through the different stages of the worm. A thermometer is necessary to govern the temperature. Fresh foliage should always be given to worms. Young and tender leaves must be given to young and tender worms, and should be removed from their litter as often as their periods of moulting. Picked leaves and small branches, with their foliage, may be fed in the nursery room. Fine slaked lime should be sifted upon worms frequently. It absorbs moisture, and purifies the atmosphere; is a good preventive, (but not the cure all,) of disease originated before the worm existed. As to different varieties, there is a difference, and will do well to compare with the pig kind—there is the Byfield, the Berkshire, and the grass fed, and all pigs must be corn fed to make them what they should be. So it is with the silk worm. All kinds, if from a healthy stock, and well fed, as they should be, will make their cocoons, and in five weeks may be reeled for the manufacturer. The peanut va-

riety is generally considered the best. The largest, when formed single, if they are firm and heavy, and good to reel, is what we consider the best. The most convenient sized shelves, I find, are four by two and a half feet, fitted to rest on cleats, upon frames to contain about six shelves each, placed about one foot apart. Worms can be fed very thick upon those shelves. Soon as they revive from their last moulting, the shelves should be moved from the worms and litter to the feeding frame. The floor of the cocoon room should be raised high and ovaling. The building should be situated upon an elevated spot; should be tight when the doors and shutters are closed, to guard against sudden changes from heat to cold—the atmosphere that is most agreeable to those employed, is the most congenial for a worm. The *morua multicaulis* of one year's growth, is the most convenient to feed upon this frame. The trees should be planted four feet between the rows, and as thick as they will grow from layers in the rows. Trees that stand out through the winter unmolested, when full of foliage, should be cut near the ground. The trees should be laid lengthwise of the frame when feeding, three days in succession, to form a foundation, that the worms may not easily fall through. After the third day the shelves must be removed, and the trees should be laid across the frame; and continue to cross the trees that they may be open and airy. Care should be taken that foliage is not laid on in heaps, or faster than the worms consume it. Trees may be cut twice the same season, without injury to the roots, and will produce as much foliage through the season as if plucked from their branches. We design to cut one half of our plantation yearly. This will enable us to feed altogether of one year's growth upon our frame. Healthy worms will always keep uppermost, attached to the trees and branches, until through feeding, not inclined to ramble at all, but go directly down into the brush, and form their cocoons. Diseased worms will be sure to find their way through to the ground: and the sooner the better. Unless the worms all go down to spin at one time, which is not often, the floss of those that commence spinning first, catches some of the droppings of those above them, and the most of the floss is unfit for use. This is of no consequence in comparison to the many advantages derived from this mode of feeding; for we hardly consider the floss, when clean, worth attention.

We have five acres of mulberry, thickly planted, and a sufficiency of good eggs, we believe; and if we do not succeed in feeding 1,000,000 next season, with the help of two men, and two boys ten years old we shall fall short of our calculation, and be very much disappointed. And we are now ready to testify to all that may read the foregoing, that all the difficulty and anxiety so attendant upon the last stage of the silk worm, in other modes of feeding, in this way is entirely removed, and has become the most agreeable and interesting employment that we were ever engaged in.

J. B. TILLINGHAST.

From J. A. Farquhar, of Cincinnati.

CINCINNATI, December 30, 1841.

DEAR SIR: Feeling a deep interest in any thing pertaining to that all important branch of individual and national enterprize, and having had some little practical knowledge, I felt that I was

called upon, through that communication, to furnish what few facts I might be in possession of. The first attempt I made at feeding silk worms, was in the latter part of the summer of 1840. I procured one ounce of eggs, from which, in about 30 days, I raised 102 pounds of good cocoons; were fed five times a day on well chopped *morua multicaulis* leaves; changed often, and litter removed, until their second year, when we applied air slacked lime once every day, and immediately preceding the last feed at night; from this time no litter was ever removed until the little (I may add abundant) crop was harvested.

The use of lime prevents any pernicious effects often produced from the fermentation of the litter; and its use at night, I am led to believe, has a very salutary effect by raising, in some degree, the temperature of the night air more upon an equality of that of the day. Not a dozen of unhealthy worms were among them. Upon the daily use of lime, and always feeding fresh and perfect leaves, and the room well ventilated, depends, mainly, the success of silk-growing. This crop I suffered to pierce their cocoons for the purpose of seed; such cocoons will not reel, and I am not aware that there is any machinery here to manufacture pierced cocoons.

Last spring I made arrangement to feed between one and two millions of worms; commenced about the first of June, with 8 ounces; at the approach of their 4th and last age, in consequence of the extreme drought and want of cultivation, (the trees I hired and were to have been cultivated) our foliage failed. I had then to have recourse to an orchard, 8 miles distant from my cocoonery. Those leaves were always much wilted before feeding, and the consequence was, I did not make a half crop. The second and third crop was attended with no better success; our worms were generally healthy; none of consequence lost by sickness, except a few of the first crop. I am led to believe my failure, the past season, arose entirely for want of good, healthy, and well grown foliage. I pursued the same plan I had adopted the first season, that proved so successful, except that of the last year, a portion of which were fed upon open burlies; all besides were fed upon shelves made of boards. I discovered no difference in the result.

We are reeling silk on the Piedmontese reel, and intend having it woven into dress silk. Want of a market for cocoons has discouraged many from going into the business of silk-growing; and want of a certainty in obtaining a supply of cocoons, I have no doubt, operates to deter capitalists from entering into the manufacturing of it. A manufacturer must see, first, that there is some prospect of obtaining cocoons; and as the farmer is the proper one to look for a supply of all the raw material, and he being generally slow to embrace new projects, some inducement, therefore, is necessary to be held out to him in shape of a bounty. and that, too, double the amount of the present. This would, with reasonable success, come near remunerating him for the trouble; this, with what he might obtain for his cocoons, would operate as a powerful stimulus, and in a very few years the act might be repealed as the business would then fully protect itself.

There are few farmers who have not some members in it that cannot be of any or much service in.

the field, and yet could do all the work of feeding a few worms. Once embarked in it, and conducted chiefly by the female department, it would be held on to with a tenaciousness that farmers' daughters are wont to do, where they are to be so easily and amply rewarded for their labor. No country on earth is more congenial and better adapted to the growth of every variety of the mulberry, and none where the worm flourishes better. American silk is said to be of finer gloss than of any other country; and where will we go to find more industrious and enterprising farmers than the State of Ohio? No where I believe.

I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

A. A. BLISS, Esq. J. M. FARQUHAR.

N. B. I raised about 400 pounds cocoon; have no data at hand what was raised in the country.

N. B. Since the foregoing was written, I have called upon the Auditor of Hamilton county, and find the first cocoons returned to that office and the bounty claimed was in 1840, and 133½ pounds was all. I know of many small quantities besides, which does not appear to have been returned. I find the amount returned and bounty claimed in 1841, to be 1619½ pounds, above 1200 per cent. of an increase over the preceding year; and had the season been a favorable one, I have no doubt five times, if not ten times, the quantity would have been raised. I had, myself, calculated, at the commencement, room, &c., for above 3000 lbs.

J. A. F.

Letter from Mr. John W. Gill, of Mount Pleasant.

MOUNT PLEASANT, January, 1842.

A. A. BLISS, Esq.

DEAR SIR: In connection with my former communication I now add what I consider to be the best method of cultivating the multicaulus mulberry tree, constructing cocoeneries, and feeding worms:

First: The proper soil for multicaulis, is such as is suitable for producing either wheat or corn, but it should not be a cold stony soil; it should be ploughed deep in the winter, or early in the spring, and thoroughly harrowed, about the usual time for planting corn; strike it off in rows 5 feet apart, and divest the trees of their side branches, and drill the tree in the row, the root of one at the top of another, and cover all up about three inches deep; also drill all lateral branches in rows to themselves, in same manner as the trees, and cultivate them as you would a crop of corn. About the first of November take a sharp spade and cut off the body of the buried tree beyond the first tree put up from the root, which, with the old root, leave for a permanent orchard, as they will stand the frost. Take up all the balance of the trees growing from the body and branches, and bury them in a standing position, in a rick five feet wide, and any desired length; shake the soil well in among the trees; cover them with straw, and cut a drain around the rick, and cover all over with plank to let the rain pass off, and they will be sure to keep safe. Take them up in the spring and plant them as before stated.

A cocoenery should be so constructed as to have the temperature under control. Fresh air should be let in through a number of vent holes at the bottom in the floor, with slides to open or shut at pleasure; there should be one board chimney at least twenty inches square to every twenty square

feet of cocoenery, going from the upper floor of each feeding room out through the roof; this will draw off all impure air.

The best plan for feeding shelves is this: take plank 6 inches wide by 1 inch thick, and height from floor to ceiling; nail on slabs 1 inch apart for grooves, and 14 inches apart for the different tier of shelves, and set them in rows 3 feet apart; for shelves make frames and cover with muslin or thin plank, and make them 2½ feet wide and 3 feet long, and let them rest in the grooves of the uprights on their centers; for cleaning the worms have nets with meshes ¾ inch square, bound round with coarse linen, or take strips of wood 3 feet long, 1 inch wide and ½ inch thick, and pierce holes through them ¾ inch apart, and with twine passed back and forward, forming, when stretched, a net or rack 1½ feet wide, and when they are laid over the shelf of worms to be removed, lay on a few twigs, first crossways, then feed with leaves, and the worms can be thinned, shifted and cleaned with the greatest facility. Shelves for putting the worms on after their last moulting to spin, should be thus constructed: make racks of lath to reach from floor to ceiling, 5 feet wide, and cross lath 14 inches apart, and set them up at convenient distances, across the end or along the side of feeding room, and lay on plank for shelves the entire length of room, and 5 feet wide and 14 inches between shelves; all shelves for feeding should be planed and made smooth; then take corn husks, split them into ribbons and string them on twine through the shank, and hang them between the shelves, by fastening one end to a nail in the upper shelf, and passing through and fastening at opposite side; the 2 inch tack, 6 inches from the first, making two rows of husks hanging 6 inches apart, with the point end touching the under shelf. Between these husks set up a row of broom corn, then have space of 3 feet to insert the net hurdles with the worms on them after their last moulting; then, as before, two rows of husks and broom corn, and then nets, and so on with all the shelves, and feed the worms until they mount to spin; should any remain unmounted five days after they generally commence to spin, remove them to a new space, and gather the cocoons in four days afterwards, being careful to make three parcels: First—the dead and imperfect: Second—the double ones: and Third—the perfect, which immediately kill by suffocation with charcoal, carbonic acid gas, or camphor; then spread them out thin until perfectly dried; cut both ends of the double cocoon thus X, and the miller will come out healthy, and lay as good eggs as from the best single cocoons. There should be stoves in the cocoenery to warm them in cold and damp weather; the sun should not be permitted to shine on the worms, through the windows, and strong daylight should be excluded; the worms should be sprinkled with air slacked lime once in every two days. Eggs should be kept dry, and so that air can get at them, in an ice house, until wanted; from thence introduce them into a cellar four days; then in a room four days; then into hatching room, where there is a fire regularly kept; bring on lots this way every week; after their first moulting introduce them into the cocoenery, feed lightly, and be careful not to disturb them when moulting. At all other times feed them as much as they will eat; feed at least seven times in twenty-four hours; first feed,

4 A. M., last feed, 10 P. M. When the trees are numerous, or sufficiently grown to be pruned, and worms fed with branches, construct a bench 5 feet wide, and whole length of cocoonery, with room to pass all round; on this frame lay lath from side to side 6 inches apart; after last moulting take your feeding shelves, and fasten them with the worms on them, underneath the lath, with buttons or books; lay branches or trees on the lath, and the worms will mount on them; then remove the shelf and continue to feed with branches: first crossways, then lengthways, and so on; all litter, &c., falls from the branches and worms to the floor, and is swept out, and the worm spins up, when he is ready, among the bare branches. This method is preferable, and much cheaper, than any other when foliage is plenty. Silk should be reeled on even thread of 8 to 10 fibres fine for manufacturing, and on the Piedmontese or J. White's patent reel and twister. The sooner cocoons are reeled the better, as after one month they begin to depreciate in value, and are not worth more than one half their first value when suffered to remain 15 months unreel'd. Very respectfully your friend.

JOHN W. GILL.

From Wm. Bebb, Esq., of Hamilton, Butler county.

HAMILTON, OHIO, December 27, 1841.

My attention was first directed to this subject by some specimens of sewing silk, produced and manufactured by an industrious and enterprising society of "Shakers," residing near this place. These specimens, by their permission, I exhibited at the first fair of the Butler county Agricultural Society, held October 27, 1831, at which they received a richly merited premium. I refer to this experiment here, only because a portion of the silk was made from the native mulberry, and a portion from the *morus alba*, or white mulberry. The silk produced from the latter, was in *quantity, strength*, and especially in *lustre*, far superior to that produced from the former.

The little I know touching the subject of your inquiries, will, perhaps, best be told by a brief and simple narrative.

In the month of May, 1840, an agent of Messrs. Price and Son, (Long Island) called on me, and said that he had fifteen thousand *morus multicaulis* trees, and about three thousand composed of *morus alba*, *morus alpine*, *morus elea*, &c., which would go to destruction, as he could neither sell nor give them away. I had six acres of warm black sandy loam, resting on a bed of limestone gravel, which had not been lately manured, and which had been severely cropped for forty years. This ground had been ploughed and "furrowed out," four feet apart, for Indian corn. I agreed to take the trees, plant them on this ground, and give to Prince and Son, one third the proceeds the next autumn. I thought the experiment could not cost much, and the trees, if they could stand the climate, might be saved to the country. Accordingly, on the 10th May, 1840, we took the trees from the boxes, in good condition, and laid them lengthwise in the furrows, root and branch, as sugar cane is planted, keeping each kind separate. The weather proved favorable, and in about two weeks the *multicaulis* threw up roots at almost every bud, and the other varieties, shoots from their roots. The ground, during the summer, was ploughed and hoed three times, as Indian corn is cultivated.

The result was, that in autumn, my lots were covered with hedge rows of mulberry trees, from five to seven feet high, numbering more than a hundred thousand; the *multicaulis* hanging with the most luxuriant foliage which I had ever seen. The white mulberry grew about three feet high, and the *morus alpine*, nearly as high as the *multicaulis*, but fewer in number.

When the frost killed the leaves, I dug up one-third, of the whole, for Prince and Son, and buried them as farmers do potatoes. The remaining two-thirds, I resolved to leave standing in the lot unprotected, to contend for life with the ensuing winter. Dr. McFarland can describe to you the exposed aspect of the lot. Few situations, in the country, are more completely under the dominion of a "northwester." Winter came with its frosts, and thaws, and sleets, and storms; at one time the thermometer, hung on a limb of a tree fully exposed, fell sixteen degrees below zero. On examination, about the first of May, 1841, I found that only the unripened wood and the tops of the trees were injured; and what is remarkable—the *morus alba*, *morus expansa*, and *morus alpine*, which have been considered hardy varieties, were quite as much injured, if not more, than the *multicaulis*. It is now December 27th, and there they stand yet, not a bud injured, the wood always ripening better the second year than the first. Messrs. Prince and Son being unable to sell their share of the trees, they directed me to *farm* them out to others as they had done to me. In this way I, last spring, distributed about thirty thousand mulberry trees among some eight or ten of the most enterprising and industrious farmers of the vicinity, who planted them, and are now prepared to feed worms next spring. The number of *multicaulis* trees, in the county of Butler, at this time, cannot be less than three hundred thousand, or sufficient to feed, next summer, four millions of worms; but there will not be one-fourth that number fed.

Previous to August, 1840, I had never seen a silk worm, and knew nothing of the art of rearing them. Finding I had such a quantity of foliage, I procured one-fourth of an ounce of eggs, of the two crop worm, to experiment upon. They hatched about the third week in August, being very late, and were placed upon boards in the *garret*. They were fed on wet leaves almost entirely, for I knew no better. We gathered the leaves in the morning, while dropping with dew, to keep them fresh, and whenever they got dry, we sprinkled them with water, and I fancied the worms relished them better. Moreover, the days were hot and the nights cold, and the worms, in the *garret* under the roof, were almost roasted by day and chilled at night; to compensate for all this bad treatment, they had plenty of excellent leaves, and room and air. The result was, that they fed like pigs—not one in a hundred died, and about the 25th day they mounted and span fine cocoons. This variety run their course much sooner than the sulphur worms, even under the same treatment.

Encouraged by this little experiment, on three thousand worms, and finding my trees had stood the winter, I resolved, in March last, to build a small and cheap cocoonery.

It is 18 by 42 feet, of frame, not plastered, with a rough pine floor, no loft, 8 windows and 4 doors, one story high.

The windows are furished with Venetian blinds; the whole is surmounted by a cupola five feet square, operating as a ventilator. The whole cost one hundred dollars.

Thus prepared, as soon as the leaves came fairly out, I exposed to the warm air two oz. of eggs, mammoth, sulphur, or six weeks variety. In a few days about forty thousand worms appeared, which did extremely well and produced one hundred and thirty pounds of very heavy and excellent cocoons. Scarcely one died. We fed multicaulis exclusively; cut no leaves; but fed first with leaves, and as the worms grew, cut branches, leaves and all—laid them upon the benches like crib work. The worms crawled along the branches and fed finely. The leaves were always fed *dry* when practicable. Scarcely one in a hundred died.

Early in July we hatched a second crop of forty thousand, which had been retarded in an ice-house. These did not do so well. The drought operating on our then sandy soil had injured the foliage very much. The weather was too hot, and, perhaps, one-fourth died of yellows; still we had seventy pounds of cocoons of fair average quality, but far inferior to the first crop.

Experiments, rather than profit, being my object, I procured a Piedmontese reel. My wife and daughter commenced reeling, and to our high gratification, found it an easy and pleasant task. They had never seen a reel, or skein of raw silk; yet they reeled, the first day, one half a pound in four or five hours. Our last year's crop amounts to two hundred pounds of cocoons from eighty thousand worms, being a pretty fair yield; about one-fourth of the whole is reeled, of which we send you a very small specimen; we would send a larger, but do not wish to encumber the mail.

We had every thing to learn last summer, and our experiments cost us more than they should have done. My profession left me little time even to direct. Most of the work was done by a German gardener, who labored in the cocoonery about half the time, and in the garden the other half. I would state the account thus:

Silk.	Dr.	Silk.	Dr.
To labor .....	\$40 40	By 20 lbs. silk, at \$5.....	\$100 00
Rent four acres.....	12 00	By premium from State ..	20 00
Interest on Cocoonery.....	8 00	Total.....	\$120 00
Reeling 20 lbs. silk.....	20 00	Deduct cost.....	80 00
Total.....	\$80 00	Gain.....	\$40 00

This is a very small experiment. Still it satisfies me that our farmers might make silk culture, in connection with their other business, profitable. Their children might do the work, and thus they might easily realize from one to five hundred dollars per annum, and scarcely feel the loss of time. A silk worm lives but a month, and eats but little, except the *last week* of that month.

Having thus given to you the result of my rearings, both of the mulberry tree and of the silk worm, I proceed, pursuant to your request, to add a few observations and "suggestions."

First: Silk worms want a *dry* atmosphere. Hence the silk of China, and of the United States, is the finest in the world. The silk regions of France and Italy are shielded by mountain ranges from sea breezes.

Second: The *morus multicaulis* will endure our winters. It is more easily propagated than the white mulberry, or any other variety—is equally hardy—is preferred by the worms, and makes as good, but, I think, *not better* silk than the *white*.

Third: The labor of producing and reeling silk may all be performed by aged persons, females and children. It is light, pleasant and healthful employment.

Fourth: The quantity of land required is very little; four acres would produce foliage enough for four hundred dollars per annum.

Fifth: Our country is now ripe for the experiment, and the next five years must decide the question, whether the mulberry trees, now happily spread over almost every county in the State, shall be preserved as a rich source of national industry and wealth, or whether they are to be utterly neglected and destroyed, as many thousands were last spring in this county.

Sixth: If we ever do become a silk producing community, all agree that we should encourage the producer of the cocoons to reel his own silk for several reasons: 1st. Cocoons reel more easily when fresh; 2d. They are a cumbrous article, easily damaged, whilst reeled silk is an extremely portable article; 3d. Since machinery, applied to manufactures, has driven the wheel and the shuttle from the farm-house, what is there left for female industry so appropriate as the reeling of silk? Respectfully yours, &c. Wm. DEBB.

From Mr. Ebenezer Wood, of Jefferson, Ashtabula county.  
JEFFERSON, December, 1841.

DEAR SIR: I have just received a letter from S. F. Taylor, Esq., member of your House, making certain inquiries in relation to the silk business, and requesting an answer returned to you.

Feeling a deep interest (aside from all pecuniary considerations) in the culture and manufacture of silk, it is with much pleasure I comply, so far as I am able, with his requests.

In regard to our soil and climate being adapted to the growth of the mulberry I would say, that among those who have given attention to the subject for the last four or five years, I believe, there is but one opinion, and that is, both are adapted to its growth. It is said by many, whose opinions are entitled to much respect, that the whole United States is admirably adapted to its growth. But if I may be allowed to differ in opinion, I should say that Maine is too far north—not but the mulberry would grow well there, but the seasons are too short to insure profit.

The unbelief and discordant opinions about our climate and soil being adapted to the growth of the mulberry, have grown out of peculiar circumstances. In the winter of 1839, large contracts were made by speculators for mulberries, to be delivered in the succeeding fall. They were made by speculators—men who never cultivated a tree, or ever intended to. They depended, for supply to fill their contracts, on purchases. Of course it was their interest to buy cheap. They then went at it, pen in hand, to write down the character of the mulberry, and even went so far as to employ an Englishman, a gentleman of talents, to write for them. His communications were sent to Philadelphia for publication, and from thence, together with others of the kind, spread all over the Union. Add to this, after the speculation began to decline, some of the real producers of the tree chimed in and told the same story, in order to make sale of another and new variety. Hence, have arisen most of the doubts and fears that our soil and climate are not adapted to its growth. I



spoke of the *morus multicaulis*, for I considered it well settled that we shall mostly, if not altogether, depend on that tree for silk. I have cultivated it for five years on clay and clay loam soil. At first, for the want of information, I did not succeed well, but not so now; any soil or climate which is good for Indian corn is also good for mulberry.

In regard to the effect of our climate upon the health of the worm, I have to remark that they want just such an atmosphere as we, ourselves, do. Give them good air, plenty of food, and occasionally a sprinkling of lime, and we may promise ourselves a good crop of cocoons. That we have good air in Ohio no one doubts; and that we have rich low land—rich in vegetable matter, going to decay, acted upon by chemical laws, generating poisonous gases, thereby producing a sickly atmosphere, will also be admitted; but all experience and science tell us, that its improvement keeps pace with that made by the axe and plough. Hence, we may look forward to a time when every section of the State will be adapted to the silk business. But how to give the worms good air is a subject on which much thought and attention has been bestowed, great improvements made, and, no doubt, much yet to be learned.

In order to insure the greatest profit all wish to feed as many on a square foot as will answer; but how many? what they should be fed on? whether shelves, hurdles, straw, sticks, &c., are subjects about which time and experience will teach us. There have been, as might be expected, many failures and disappointments; some have given up the business as not practicable, and of course discouraged others. Hence, the necessity of legislative encouragement. But with our present knowledge and improvement, we have every reason to believe, we shall realize full success; and with legislative encouragement for a few years, we believe, we shall triumph over all difficulty and add millions to the wealth of the State, and have plenty where now poverty reigns.

Here I should further remark, that I believe most of those who have given that attention to the subject the business required, have succeeded fully equal to their expectations. All, I believe, have made more or less mistakes, but they are becoming less liable to do so as we improve in knowledge on the subject. It is not to be supposed that all will succeed equally well—that is not the fact in any business.

Considering our infancy in the business, the advances we have made, in some respect even beyond that experienced in the old world, our prospects are truly encouraging. We learn from the best authority, from gentlemen who have been to France and Italy, and taken great pains to obtain information in relation to the silk business, that in France and Italy it is usual for them to lose from twenty-five to fifty per cent. of their worms, by disease and sickness. I have no doubt but that in a very few years it will be thought by us quite a loss to lose ten per cent. Some have succeeded so well, the past season, they tell us their loss will not exceed one per cent. My loss, I think, was about five per cent.

Thus far my remarks have been confined to the production of the raw article.

In reference to the inquiry, "whether such improvements have been made in machinery, &c., as warrant the belief that a few years more of en-

couragement will enable those engaged in it to compete, successfully, with the foregoing," I would answer, that I think enough has been done to warrant a beginning; and taking into consideration Yankee ingenuity and enterprise, we cannot but think it will succeed equally well with the manufacture of cotton. From 1828 to 1833, about a dozen mills for the manufacture of silk goods were erected, mostly in New-England, with a view of importing the raw article until they could get a home supply. By a treaty made with France, I believe in 1833, all French goods until 1840, were admitted free of duty. This act shut down their gates, and vetoed their whole operations. It is believed that with the Tariff of 1841, they will be able to put their machinery in motion as soon as we can give them the raw material, and that new establishments will spring up as fast as we can give them the raw article to manufacture.

As a specimen of what may be done in almost every family in the State, I send you a sample made in my family, by my daughters, said by those competent to judge that it is equal, if not superior, to the foreign. It was reeled on a reel in principle the same as the Piedmontese, and spun on the common wheel.

Very respectfully, your obedient, &c.

EBENEZER WOOD.

From John Fox, superintendent of Silk Manufacture.  
MOUNT PLEASANT, JEFFERSON CO. OHIO, Dec. 1841.

SIR: The time having nearly expired for awarding a premium of ten cents per pound, to the raisers of cocoons, and as petitions are now forwarding from various silk raising counties in this State, praying the Legislature to renew, and extend their liberality; I hope you will pardon the liberty I have taken, as an individual, in presenting a few facts that have come under my notice, during the last three years, and which, I think, may have a tendency, to elucidate the subject, and prove the necessity of further encouragement. Having had the honor of superintending the silk establishment belonging to John W. Gill, Esq., of Mount Pleasant, nearly three years, I have had an opportunity of witnessing the operation of the late premium. From January 1, 1840, to January 1, 1842, I have purchased for Mr. Gill three hundred and fifty bushels of cocoons, besides one hundred pounds of reeled silk, raised and reeled mostly in this State. In order to encourage the raisers of silk, Mr. Gill always instructed me to give the highest price prudence would allow; still many experienced a loss the first and second years, and had it not been for the premium most of them would have given up. You are aware, sir, that in all new adventures, practical knowledge is indispensable; this knowledge the silk raisers have to acquire by diligence and perseverance. Many went to a considerable expense in purchasing trees, but for want of judgement lost many; some the whole by frost and other casualties; others informed me the eggs they purchased were spurious; others not knowing how to hatch the eggs and train the worms met with great sacrifices; still they persevered in reliance upon the future liberality of the Legislature. It is my conscientious opinion, that not more than one out of five have cleared themselves, notwithstanding the late bounty; a few individuals have been compensated, and but a few; the tree speculation is for ever abandoned,

and the silk trade, in all its various standings and bearings, is being fixed upon a solid basis; new raisers of silk are increasing every season in almost every county, and I have no doubt next season Ohio will be equal, if not ahead of all the silk-growing States in the Union. I believe, sir, your petitioners do not solicit more of your liberality than has been awarded to other States, by the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Jersey, Delaware, New-York, Pennsylvania, Maine, &c. &c. The national advantages resulting from State bounties are obvious, if we take a retrospective view of the last three years. Look at Economy, Pennsylvania; Northampton, Massachusetts; Mansfield, and Providence, Connecticut; New-Jersey; Nashville, Tennessee. In Mount Pleasant, three years back, there was not the least vestige of silk weaving to be seen; now look at the silk fabrics sent to Columbus for your inspection, and if encouragement is given to the raisers and reeler, other places, I am acquainted with, will commence weaving next season, and in eight years will save millions, annually, of our specie being transported to foreign nations, that are now looking upon us with envy and a jealous eye. Congress has kindly extended to us the arm of protection in granting a Protective Tariff, and all we now stand in need of is, the smiles and liberality of State Legislatures. It may not be amiss to notice the distribution of private capital through this State. I purchased for Mr. Gill, the last two years, cocoons and reeled silk equivalent to eight hundred bushels, which, upon an average at three dollars and fifty cents, amounts to two thousand five hundred dollars, (but I have often given four dollars and four dollars twenty-five cents per bushel.) This sum could never have been circulated had it not been for the late bounty, which has been like oil to the wheels of industry. It is supposed, by some persons, that American silk is inferior to foreign: this is for want of a better acquaintance with the article. I have devoted thirty-five years to the silk business in London, and nearly ten years in America, and I affirm the American silk to be not only equal, but superior (where the worms are fed upon the Italian or multicaulis trees) to any I have seen in London, from France, Italy, China, Piedmont, or Valencia. During the last twenty years in London, I had passed through my hands weekly, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty pounds of silk of various kinds and qualities, so that my testimony, founded upon practice and experience, may be relied upon.

From B. Wells, Esq., Steubenville, Jefferson county.  
STEUBENVILLE, January 27, 1842.

I let out my cocoonery and mulberry plantation on the shares. The person who undertook to feed (A. Cleawell) succeeded admirably well for the number of worms he had hatched; but owing to some misunderstanding between him and the person in whose charge I had left the eggs for safe keeping, he did not feed half as many as he could have done; he did not bring out more than two hundred thousand worms, and he had twenty bushels of cocoons, principally of the peanut variety—all first rate cocoons. He thinks he could have fed half a million in the same time. He says, that all that hatched in June or July were very healthy; those that were brought out after July were somewhat sickly. He thinks the health of

the worms were promoted very much by a free use of lime. And from his statement to me, I am convinced, he would have lost a great part of his worms had he not used lime freely, as he suffered the filth and rubbish to remain too long without cleaning. From the little experience I have had in feeding, and from extensive information by correspondence and otherwise, I have the greatest confidence in the ultimate success of the silk culture in the United States, and, particularly, in Ohio. Our soil and climate are well adapted, both, to the culture of the mulberry and rearing the worms. I do not view it as a business for speculation. I believe it will be a moderately profitable business, with but little outlay or capital. It will add to the productive labor of the country, through a class of laborers, that now have generally no employment—I mean old and feeble persons of both sexes, and children. But it is a new business with us, and our people will adventure in it cautiously—the greatest number will wait to see how the few, that take hold of it, will succeed. A moderate bounty upon the cocoons and reeled silk, such as many of the States give, would encourage those who are timid in the business, as it would, at least, insure them against losing by the adventure.

Yours respectfully,

B. WELLS.

From Frederick Hamlin, Esq., Elyria, Lorain county.  
ELYRIA, January 6, 1842.

SIR: Worms have been fed for four or five years past, by a few individuals, with uniform success, till 1840. When sickness began in 1841, it greatly increased, and caused a pretty general failure in this county. Of the causes of sickness, various opinions are entertained. I will only state my own. First—want of necessary precaution in retarding the hatching of eggs. There is abundant evidence that the practice of repeatedly taking eggs from them in hot weather, and exposing them to the common air, although it be only for a few minutes, may destroy the vital principle, or if they hatch, so impair the health of the worm as to render them worthless. To avoid this, they may be put up in such parcels, that when taken out for hatching, or for sale, few if any need be exposed, except what are wanted for use at the time. Eggs should be put into the icehouse, or other place where they are to be kept, before they are in the least affected by the warmth of spring, and kept at such a temperature, that they will not hatch, in any part of the season, in less than twelve or fourteen days after they are brought out. A second cause of sickness undoubtedly is, a want of sufficient and free circulation of pure air, through every part of the building. Air should be admitted at the side near the floor, or through the floor, as well as other parts of the building, and permitted to escape at the ridge. A third cause is, accumulation of litter and want of cleanliness. The remedy must be, never to suffer the litter to ferment or become mouldy, and to keep every thing sweet and clean in and about the building. My experience goes to show that extreme heat is unfavorable to the health of the worm. This would seem to indicate that our feeding should be done, mostly, before the extreme heat of summer commences, or after it abates. As I believe the principal cause of failure has arisen from bad management of eggs, I will add a few remarks on that point. I believe the safe way will be to procure eggs from worms

which have never been subjected to the retarding process; if this cannot be done, get the most healthy that can be obtained; let them hatch as early in the season as food can be obtained for them, and continue this course with all that are to be used for propagation, and I believe we shall soon have a healthy stock, and that eggs, from such worms, can be retarded for successive crops without injury.

From Mr. John Moyer, of Perry, in Wayne.

Four years ago, I raised what made twenty yards of tow silk, a yard wide, and a dozen pairs of stockings; since then, I have made all into sewing silk, till 1840. I made one thousand skeins of sewing silk, and sent 3 lbs. 15 oz. of raw silk to Mount Pleasant, to Mr. J. Fox and J. W. Gill, to manufacture into dress silk. We receive fifteen and a half yards, after the manufacturer had taken his pay from the piece. It was worth two dollars per yard. The silk was reeled sixteen fibres to the thread. Mr. Fox said it ought to have been reeled only ten fibres to the thread, and it would have made handsome cloth. Of this, I will enclose you a sample, to let you see what Ohio can do. I have five acres of white mulberry trees, from five to six years old, and five acres of multicaulis, mostly planted last year. Last season, 1841, I fed between 80 and 100,000 worms. The first hatching, June 3, made 150 lbs. of cocoons, the worms healthy. The second crop, only eleven days later, was not so healthy; they died in their last age, with the muscardine, though I used lime, but perhaps not enough. In all, we raised 225 lbs. of cocoons. We had to feed the first crop, and most of the second crop, on the white mulberry, the dry season kept the multicaulis back very late. Last spring I built a cocoonery, forty-two by twenty feet, two stories. I expect to have foliage to feed from 500,000 to 1,000,000 of worms next season. Mr. G. Dulin raised 19 lbs. cocoons; and a number of others raised more or less in the county. This winter we make all into sewing silk. We have made 1,500 skeins, and are about half through. We sell to the merchants at five cents per skein, which makes one dollar per ounce. Our machinery is simple, cheap, and easily made. One reel, worth four dollars, and a twisting machine worth ten or twelve dollars, on which we can make three hundred skeins per week, worth \$15. Two females and two boys can do this.

**AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTION.**—The State Agricultural Society, at its recent meeting, held several sessions upon the important subject of Agricultural Education. After a free interchange of opinion from gentlemen living in various parts of the State, and visitors from other Commonwealths, it was resolved to appoint a committee of eight, whose duty it should be to memorialize the Legislature for the establishment of Agricultural Schools in such parts of the State as may seem desirable. This we consider as a measure of great importance. The country calls for some legislative action, and we doubt not that the measure will receive all the deliberation it deserves.

The following gentlemen compose the committee:—1st district, Rev. J. O. Cheules; 2d, J. J. Brooks, Esq.; 3d, Dr. J. P. Beekman; 4th, Hon. John Savage; 5th, B. P. Johnson, Esq.; 6th, Geo. J. Pumpelly, Esq.; 7th, Harvey Baldwin, Esq.; 8th, Jas. S. Wadsworth, Esq. [Com. Adv.]

## TEN YEARS OF 'FREE TRADE.'

From Hon. John P. Kennedy's Report to the House on commercial reciprocity from the Committee of Commerce, the late Session.

The Committee have yet to notice another administration of the Government which brought a great aggravation to the evils of the day. This was the free importation system, established by the acts of July, 1832, and March, 1833.

Reflecting upon the policy of the Government, as exhibited in the two measures to which we have already adverted, it is scarcely possible to conceive a more ingenious addition to their power to do harm than that presented by this system of free importation.

The enactments relating to the banks and the public domain opened every resource for the creation of paper money and easy accommodation: this free importation expedient furnished not only a convenient facility to the employment of these accommodations, but a most importunate invitation to the whole world to persuade the nation to spend with unstinted prodigality. It not only provoked our own merchants to indulge in the seductions and ruinous allurements of excessive trade, but it set the merchants and manufacturers of all Europe to the busy employment of their wits to invent devices by which the last dollar of the precious metals hoarded up in our secret depositories, might be drawn away.

We agreed to admit free of duty (or, in regard to some commodities, if not absolutely free, yet virtually so) silks, linens, worsteds, wines, teas, coffee, fruits, and sundry other articles, which, together, have constituted about one-half of our imports.

The first impulse which this gave to our trade was to render the United States the chief depository of the surplus stock of European work-shops; and, by the augmentation of the supply, much more than by the reduction of the duty, to furnish us with that greatly extolled blessing of cheap goods.

The next effect of it was to stimulate a variety of new inventions in foreign manufacture, by which a supply of attractive household goods, of the class exempt from duty, might be furnished to our population; and, as far as these fabrics could be brought into use, to supercede the manufactures made from that long-fostered and valued staple of export,—our own cotton. The result of this measure has been, after eight years' experiment, to clothe a large portion of our own people in cheap moulines de laine, and other fabrics of the same material; and in silks and linens, to the exclusion of just so much cotton cloth, which all our previous inculcations of good policy had taught us to believe it was an important object to bring into the most extensive consumption.

From the date of the free importation acts, our trade has, to a certain extent, ceased to be regulated by our own merchants. A great amount has fallen into the hands of foreigners, under a system of foreign consignment, and is disposed of through the agency of auction sales. The credits on the duties have furnished a capital for these foreign traders, and given a most destructive vigor to this mode of supplying or rather of glutting our markets. The duties are evaded through the very circumstance that the owners of imported goods are not within the jurisdiction of our laws; and

frauds are consequently practised by persons over whom we can exert no vigilance. The Tariff which protected *coarse* cotton goods has had no operation upon the *fine*, and we have, therefore, found large amounts of the costly cotton fabrics of France, Germany, and England,—articles of luxury and ornament—multiplied in our use, under lower rates of duty than have been imposed in several cases upon the necessities of life.

The Trade with China has partaken of the same excitement; as also that with Brazil—which latter has been maintained under circumstances entitling it to higher favor, both on account of its increasing importance to the agricultural products and manufactures of the United States, to which it has hitherto afforded one of our best foreign markets, and of its value in the supply to our population of coffee, which the habits of the country are bringing into still more extended use.

In illustration of the effect of these measures upon the commerce and, incidentally, upon the habits of the nation, the Committee refer to the following view of the import and consumption of foreign goods from the year 1830 to 1840, both inclusive:

Years.	Amount imported.	Retained for consumption.
1830.....	\$70,876,920	\$56,489,441
1831.....	103,191,124	83,157,598
1832.....	101,029,266	76,989,793
1833.....	108,118,311	88,295,576
1834.....	126,521,332	103,208,521
1835.....	149,895,742	129,391,247
1836.....	189,980,035	168,233,675
1837.....	140,989,217	119,134,255
1838.....	113,717,496	101,264,611
1839.....	162,092,132	151,597,607
1840.....	107,131,519	88,951,207

From this statement it will be perceived that, for the six years following the passage of the act of 1833, the importations increased with extraordinary rapidity; that the amounts of those not re-exported, but retained for domestic consumption, were, at one period, almost doubled; and that not until the country was whelmed in the financial embarrassments of 1840 was there any return to that more moderate course of trade from which it had been led away by the fatal influences of the paper money system.

There are other facts connected with this era worthy of observation. In a comparative view of the gross amount of imports in two succeeding terms of ten years each,—that is to say, from the year 1821 to the year 1830, both inclusive, and from the year 1831 to 1840, it will be seen, estimating the amount in millions and tenths—

That the amount imported in the first term was.....\$798,500,000  
In the second.....1,302,500,000  
Showing an increase if importation in the latter period of \$504,000,000.

The amount retained for domestic consumption during the first period was.....568,900,000  
During the second it was.....1,103,100,000

Making an increase of domestic consumption in the country during this last term of \$534,200,000 and showing a consumption of foreign goods nearly double that of the former term.

A further examination will show that this great

increase in the consumption of imported goods chiefly took place in that class of commodities which are ranked amongst luxuries; and that we are indebted for our excessive importations almost altogether to the appetite for superfluous expense and costly indulgence which it would seem to have been the careful effort of the Government to create.

A reference to a few of the most conspicuous articles of import, during the two periods of ten years above designated, will exhibit this fact in a light deserving attention.

We present the following aggregate of importation during these terms:

#### *The Importation of Silks.*

During the first term, from 1821 to 1830, amounted to.....\$71,400,000  
During the second, from 1831 to 1840. 139,400,000  
Being an increase of \$67,000,000.

#### *Of Wine.*

During the first term.....15,900,000  
During the second.....29,700,000  
Being an increase of \$13,800,000.

#### *Of Worsteds Goods.*

During the first term....\*15,800,000  
During the second.....45,100,000  
Being an increase of \$29,300,000.

#### *Of Linens.*

During the first term.....32,400,000  
During the second.....42,600,000  
Being an increase of \$10,200,000.

#### *Of Teas.*

During the first term.....24,400,000  
During the second.....42,900,000  
Being an increase of \$18,500,000.

#### *Of Coffee.*

During the first term.....50,300,000  
During the second.....89,500,000  
Being an increase of \$39,200,000.

These constitute the principal commodities which, since the acts of 1832 and 1833, with the exception of wines, have been admitted free of duty; and in regard to wines, the reductions of duty under the act of 1832,—which took effect on the 4th of March 1834,—were established at so low a rate as to be, in effect, equivalent to free importation. The above statement of these importations shows that silks and wines have been increased in our consumption nearly one hundred per cent.: that the introduction of linens, teas, and coffee has been greatly enlarged; and that the worsteds goods of France, England, and Germany, which, in so many forms, have been manufactured to supplant the use of cotton, and now so largely enter into the consumption of the country, have been multiplied nearly three hundred per cent. since the adoption of the free Importation Act.

Contrasted with this view of the extension of our trade through the medium of free goods, an examination of the principal imports would show that, in the dutiable articles retained in the Tariff since 1832, the increase of importation has preserved a ratio nearer to that of population; and although these importations were undoubtedly somewhat enlarged by the stimulus of the Government measures upon the currency, yet the difference between them and the free goods is suffi-

\* There being no account kept of these importations in a separate form, previous to 1833, the two years of 1821 and 1822 are computed at the same amount as in 1833.

ciently obvious to demonstrate the pernicious effect of reducing the duties, especially at a time when every day's experience was proving to us that the currency was suffering under the drain of a constantly accumulating foreign debt, which had its origin in the excessive influx of foreign goods into our ports.

A reference to a few articles of importation, subject to duty, in the two periods presented in the last statement, will afford an illustration of this fact.

The total value of WOOLEN GOODS (excluding worsteds) imported between 1821 and 1830 is estimated at \$63,400,000	
Do. from 1831 to 1840 .....	82,400,000
Increase \$19,000,000.	
Value of COTTON GOODS imported in the	
1st term .....	93,800,000
Do. 2d term .....	116,400,000
Increase \$22,600,000.	
Value of IRON AND STEEL imported in	
the 1st term .....	54,300,000
Do. 2d term .....	92,200,000
Increase \$37,900,000.	
Value of EARTHEN AND STONE WARE	
imported 1st term .....	10,800,000
Do. 2d term .....	17,700,000
Increase \$6,900,000.	
Value of HEMP MANUFACTURES imported	
1st term .....	6,000,000
Do. 2d term .....	5,600,000
Decrease \$400,000.	
Value of MOLASSES imported 1st term ..	22,600,000
Do. 2d term .....	32,400,000
Increase \$9,800,000.	
Value of SUGAR imported 1st term ..	42,900,000
Do. 2d term .....	68,600,000
Increase \$25,700,000.	
Value of SALT imported 1st term .....	6,100,000
Do. 2d term .....	8,000,000
Increase \$1,900,000.	

It is proper to observe, in reference to a portion of these importations, that the descending scale of duties, as provided in the act of 1833, has had a manifest effect to quicken importation in proportion as the reduction of duty lessened the amount of protection afforded, and brought the American manufacture more directly within the range of foreign competition. This is strikingly true in some branches of the iron business, in the importation of glass ware,\* and some other foreign manufactures. In regard also to the fine cotton goods, which have never been manufactured in the United States, the successive reduction under the act of 1833 have very visibly stimulated the yearly importations from France and England, and have so far served not only to contribute a full share to the embarrassments produced by overtrading, but to feed that taste for foreign luxuries which has become so conspicuous among the causes which have drained the wealth and enervated the morals of the community.

From all parts of the Country we have accounts of the revival of Business and the increase of Industry and Production in consequence of the passage of the New Tariff. The good work of improvement goes on gradually and steadily, and we trust will be permanent.

\* The importations of glass ware have been as follows:  
Aggregate value of imports from 1823 to 1830, both inclusive, .....

Do. .... 1831 to 1835, Do.	\$2,300,000
Do. .... 1836 to 1840, Do.	3,000,000
Do. .... 1836 to 1840, Do.	4,100,100

#### Fifteenth Annual Fair of the American Institute.

Farmers, Mechanics, Manufacturers and Artisans should bear in mind that this week, Friday and Saturday, (Oct. 7th and 8th,) are the days for receiving articles for competition at this Fair, and that Monday next, at 12 o'clock, M. it opens to the public. On Monday and Tuesday evenings short Addresses will be delivered in the Saloon,—the first by one of the Trustees—the other by the Hon. Mr. Maclay. As both the speakers are men of acknowledged talents, the public may anticipate more than ordinary gratification on these evenings. Wednesday will be one of the great days of the Fair,—the day on which the Ploughing-Match and testing of Ploughs takes place, at East New-York, five miles from South Brooklyn Ferry, near the Railroad to Jamaica. This should interest the whole community, as every human being is interested in this great instrument. In every point of view it is the most useful of all instruments vouchsafed to Man,—our sustenance is dependent upon it—without it Civilization makes little or no progress, and the attempts to Christianize the Savage have met with little success unless accompanied with the Plough. This is the sixth annual Ploughing Exhibition by the American Institute—the second held on Long Island. It is hoped the Long Islanders will lend them active aid in carrying it out triumphantly.

The Rev. J. O. CHOULES will deliver an Address on the occasion in the evening, at the Saloon, Niblo's Garden. His knowledge on all subjects appertaining to Agriculture—his hearty and unabating zeal and his eloquence insure an interesting Discourse. [Express.

PAPER FROM MULTICAULIS.—So many astounding things have turned up of late, that we are afraid our readers are by this time sceptical about every thing they hear. It is not without the fear of exciting their incredulity that we impart to them that *good paper has been made of Morus Multicaulis leaves*! We have before us a copy of the Petersburg Intelligencer printed on the paper so made! Barring the color, which is a little dark, it is very good paper. This beats *lard oil*. Preferring that the fact should be sustained by the testimony of another, we give the statement of Mr. Symme, the Editor of the Intelligencer, who is regarded as first rate authority among Whigs, and unquestionable on all but political subjects among Loco-Focos. Mr. S. says:—

"When our neighbor of the Statesman said some time since, that he was in possession of an important 'secret,' which when revealed, would 'astonish the knowing ones,' he was nearer the mark than a Loco-Foco Editor generally is.

"Some twelve months ago, our townsman, Dr. P. C. Spencer, conceived the idea of manufacturing paper from the leaves of that, of late, much neglected plant, the *Morus Multicaulis*, and communicated his ideas on the subject to our neighbor.

"With the assistance of Mr. Wm. Miller, Dr. Spencer has succeeded in manufacturing excellent paper from *Morus Multicaulis* leaves, and we have now in our possession several numbers of our issue of to-day printed on this paper.

"Dr. S.'s discovery, we have no doubt, will be much improved upon—and we should not be surprised if, in the course of a year or two, the use of rags in the manufacture of paper were entirely abandoned." [Richmond Compiler.

# SPEECH OF MR. EVANS, OF MAINE.

On Reporting to the Senate the first Tariff Bill (afterward vetoed by Pres. Tyler.)

IN SENATE, July 25, 1842.

The bill, which was the special order of the day, with the amendments recommended by the Finance Committee, being taken up for consideration in Committee of the Whole—

MR. EVANS, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, addressed the Senate as follows :

*Mr. President:* Before proceeding to consider the amendments which have been reported by the Committee on Finance, it may be expected that I shall submit some observations on the general principles of the measure about to be discussed.

The subject embraced in the bill seems to me to be that which, more than all others put together, excites the interest and engages the attention of the whole country; and it is to be regretted, most certainly, that the advanced period of the session will hardly admit of that full consideration and maturity which, in respect to a measure of such magnitude and importance, would be desirable. I trust, nevertheless, from the review which the Finance Committee has been able to make of the provisions of the bill, having bestowed as much attention upon it as the time it was in its hands would permit, and from the consideration already given to the several topics of discussion at issue in former debates, the Senate will be able, in a short period, and without any necessity for a protracted debate, to dispose of the bill in such a manner as will be alike satisfactory to Senators themselves and to the whole country.

The purpose of the bill is, as its title indicates, "to provide revenue from imports." To obtain from imports a sufficient revenue for the support of the Government is the main object of the measure we are now invited to consider.

And the first question, it seems to me, proper to be considered, is, whether it is necessary to provide more revenue than is now authorised by existing laws; and if it is, whether it is expedient and proper to provide that revenue from imports, or from any other source to which the constitutional powers of the National Legislature may be applied; and, lastly, whether the bill is adapted to the object sought to be accomplished. I propose, sir, to make a few observations on these general questions, and in doing so shall ask your attention and that of the Senate for as brief a time only as seems indispensable from the nature and importance of the subject.

Now, sir, as to the first of these questions. I suppose no manner of doubt exists in the mind of any Senator that more revenue is necessary. It is a matter which underwent full discussion during the last session, and which has already been repeatedly considered during the present. It is a subject which, in various shapes, has been for a long time before Congress; and I do not know that there is or can be, any dissenting opinion to the proposition that it is absolutely necessary to provide more revenue. It is not a new proposition, or one that has grown up this year or last year. What has been our experience during a

series of years past? This is the sixth year in which our expenditures have very far exceeded our receipts from all sources. Contrast the receipts and expenditures for the last five-and-a-half years, and what do we see? That the excess of expenditures has been very little short of fifty millions of dollars. And this inequality is still going on augmenting and increasing. What is to be the end of all this? Shall it be permitted to become an established system, the fatal tendency of which is so palpable and inevitable? No one will contend that it should. We are then called to the consideration of this subject at a time when the public Treasury is largely embarrassed, and when it is found exceedingly difficult not only from the ordinary sources of income, but from the extraordinary resources, heretofore authorized, of Treasury notes and loans, to supply daily means to meet the demands on the Treasury. Without any prospect of improvement, should the Government be left to its present resources, we are imperatively called on by our duty to the country and by every consideration which can animate a patriot's bosom to supply more means. Are we content to see the public credit, the national faith and honor, in such imminent jeopardy without an effort to retrieve it? The country expects it—confides in the energy and determination of Congress to do it, and demands it at our hands. This very reliance on the action of Congress upon this subject has already had a beneficial effect in anticipation. It is not very long since Treasury notes and Government stock were alarmingly depressed in the money market, and threatening still further decline; but the moment it was seen that Congress was determined to meet the exigencies of the Government, confidence was restored: Treasury notes, which before were thrown back upon the Treasury in payment of public dues, became a medium of general money transactions, were freely received in payment from the Government, and not only once more reached par, but re-established their title to a premium.

We had during part of this time to endure the mortification of seeing the disbursements of the Treasury made in its own depreciated currency; but it is gratifying to be able to state that the public credit has so far recovered, notwithstanding the embarrassed condition of the Treasury, that Treasury notes, instead of remaining at a discount, have risen to par, and in some instances have commanded a slight premium; and Government stock maintains itself very nearly at the same point. But, although this is gratifying, still the present exigencies of the public Treasury are great and embarrassing. We have been in session since December, and here we are now, late in July, without having passed more than one or two of the important appropriation bills for the public service, because we know it is in vain to turn them over to the Treasury until the means to meet them are supplied. True this revenue bill, if it had been passed earlier, would not have provided adequate means of itself for present exigencies, but it would have enabled us to obtain all that we desired from the other resources to which I have adverted. No one can doubt that if it is passed, as I hope it will be, without unnecessary delay, the good effect it will have on the money market will be such as to enable the Treasury to obtain, from the authorized loans at its disposal, whatever

means it may require, upon terms at once advantageous to the country and honorable to the credit of the Government. The appropriation bills then need no longer be delayed, for there will be ample means to meet them. We will be saved from the mortification of seeing the public faith violated, and the public creditor told that the Treasury is bankrupt. The loan heretofore authorized has not been rendered fully available, from the want of some adequate revenue which could be pointed to as a guaranty for its redemption and the punctual payment of the interest. The passage of this bill will remove that obstacle, and the whole amount necessary to meet the claims on the Treasury and to preserve our faith and credit will be easily obtained. I will venture to say that the loan will, in that case, be negotiated with far more facility than any body anticipated when the bill authorizing it was on its passage. We were then told that its enactment into a law would be attended with the most disastrous consequences; that the first effect of it would be the rapid depreciation of State stocks; that Treasury notes and Government securities would deteriorate to 20 or 25 per cent. discount; that we could not obtain more than eighty dollars on the hundred for the stock, and that a general panic would carry down the price of every description of property. But, contrary to all these prognostics, the State stocks are no worse than they were—in many instances they are better; Government stock and Treasury notes immediately rose; State loans were negotiated on better terms; there has been no such panic, no general decrease in the price of property, as was confidently predicted. All that is wanted to revive business and give a healthy impulse to the energies of the country is the immediate passage of this or some similar bill, so long and so ardently desired in all quarters. Who can doubt the beneficial effects of a permanent and well grounded system of revenue? Does not every one see that it is the first and best step to restore and invigorate public credit, and at the same time provide not alone for the daily wants of the Government, but for the future income of the Treasury? And surely this consideration of the vast importance of maintaining our public credit and resuscitating the business of the country should induce us to evince every disposition for meeting this question with whatever promptitude and favor the nature of the case will admit of.

Sir, this a revenue bill; and we come to the consideration of it, as it seems to me, under far different circumstances from those which existed when any of the former revenue bills of similar magnitude were enacted. How was it in 1816, when the Revenue bill of that year, combining also the principle of Protection, was enacted? What were the circumstances of that period? In 1816, it is very true, a heavy debt existed, for the payment of which it was necessary to provide. But there was no difficulty experienced in making that provision. The receipts from customs amounted that very year to the enormous sum of thirty-six millions of dollars. The receipts from all sources were fifty-seven millions. But from customs alone the receipts were thirty-six millions—enabling us to pay off twenty-four millions eight hundred thousand dollars of debt, and leaving a surplus of twenty-two millions in the Treasury at the close of the year.

In 1817 the receipts were about thirty-four millions of dollars, enabling us to pay off twenty-five

millions of the Public Debt and leaving us fifteen millions in the Treasury at the end of the year.

Every one will see that the duties then laid enabled us not only to meet all current expenses, to carry on all the ordinary operations of the Government, but to pay off from twenty-five to twenty-six millions of the Public Debt annually, still leaving in the Treasury a very large sum. It is plain, therefore, that there was no such pressure then as now exists—no such imperious demand, calling upon us to provide adequate revenue.

How was it in 1824, when the next Tariff bill was enacted? The receipts that year were seventeen millions of dollars from customs—the total receipts from all sources being twenty-four millions. This enabled us to meet all the public engagements with promptitude, and to pay off sixteen and a half millions of the Public Debt, without inconvenience and from choice, the policy of that day only requiring us to pay annually ten millions of the then existing Debt. But we were in the receipt of such a revenue as to enable us to carry on with ease and satisfaction all the operations of the Government and at the same time pay off sixteen and a half millions of Public Debt.

In 1828, when the Tariff was again revised, our receipts were twenty-four and three-quarter millions, which enabled us to carry on with equal satisfaction all the operations of the Government and pay off over twelve millions of the Public Debt, leaving a balance in the Treasury at the end of the year exceeding six millions. The year preceding, 1827, the results of which may be supposed to have been regarded in adjusting the duties, the receipts from customs were about twenty millions—the whole receipts from all sources being about twenty-three millions; enabling us to carry on the operations of the Government in all branches, to pay ten millions of public debt, and to leave a balance of seven millions in the Treasury.

Thus it will be seen that all our former tariff acts, since the war, were enacted when there was no pressure on the Treasury—when all our obligations were met with promptitude as they occurred, and when our means for discharging the public debt were ample. Am I not, therefore, justified in saying that at such times there might have been some reasons—some motives not inconsistent with patriotism—in resisting the operation of an increased tariff law which do not exist now? The contrast between those periods and this is striking. The Government then was maintained and rendered independent of all exigencies and at the same time rapidly discharging its public debt. But at the present time our means from all sources are found entirely inadequate to carry on the daily operations of the Government, leaving nothing for the payment of debt. On the contrary, a necessity is imposed upon us, in the absence of adequate revenue, of increasing our indebtedness.—So far from paying we are borrowing, and borrowing for ordinary purposes. Under circumstances so entirely different, it seems to me we are called on by higher and much more patriotic motives than could have existed on former occasions of adjusting the revenue. It is the country itself which calls for this measure—that calls for this relief—for this restoration of its honor and its ancient renown—if a country so young as this can with propriety be said to have any thing ancient belonging to it.

I submit then, Sir, whether in such an emergency as this the whole country does not expect us to approach the consideration of providing an adequate revenue with motives of a less mixed nature, if not widely different, from those which prevailed on the occasions to which I have alluded; whether arguments and opinions which might have been employed then with propriety are not now wholly out of place? These considerations seem to me to demand of us that dispassionate and favorable consideration which a measure of undoubted relief, carefully prepared, and equally looking to the various interests concerned in the result, is entitled to.

I will only remark farther, on the first branch of the subject, that, from the data of the Appropriation bills already passed, and of those in progress through both Houses of Congress, the whole expenses of the year cannot fall short of twenty-two to twenty-three millions for ordinary purposes; nor do I know that this amount of expenditure, for two or three years to come, can be materially reduced.

It is apparent that, independent of all this, we must raise means for the payment of the interest and instalments of the Public Debt as they fall due. There are the Treasury Notes which must be provided for; and it must be recollected that the year after next there will be a demand upon the Treasury on account of the loan authorized last Session. Taking all these matters into consideration, it certainly will not be safe to rely on a less amount of revenue than twenty-six or twenty-seven millions of dollars.

The Senate may desire to know what may be the receipts for this year, should the present bill become a law. But, when all circumstances are considered, it will be seen that it is almost impossible to make any thing like a probable estimate. For the first half of the year the receipts from customs hardly reached eight millions; what they may be for the remaining half of the year who can tell? Much depends on the timely passage of this bill and the final shape it may assume. Should it fail, the question will remain whether we shall have any revenue at all for the second half of the year. Before this or any other bill becomes a law, large imports at low rates of duty, or without duty, may materially affect the Revenue of this and the following year. But supposing that the Revenue, as it existed prior to the 30th of June, before the last three-tenths of the reduction under the operation of the Compromise Act were made, was reinstated and allowed by law to continue for the remainder of the year, it may well be doubted whether the receipts from customs would on the whole reach sixteen millions. I understand from mercantile sources, well informed on the subject, that in the Port of New-York, instead of any increase of imports, as expected from the reduction of duty after the 30th of June, there has been a falling off. Such has also been the fact in relation to other commercial Ports. How soon this may be changed we cannot foresee. Trade is stagnant—freights low. It may therefore be inferred that not more than sixteen millions from customs, at the very highest, can be relied on as the receipts of this year, if the laws remain as they were prior to July; while you want, at the very least, twenty-six millions, if not twenty-seven millions, to provide for your ordinary expenditures and Treasury Notes. This branch of the subject has, however, been so often and so amply discussed, and is now so thoroughly understood, that I do not

deem it necessary to go more at large into it. I feel perfectly warranted in taking it for granted that every one must admit that we cannot do without our Revenue. We must largely increase our actual income, or the public faith will not be kept. If we neglect to provide necessary Revenue, not only will the honor of the country be tarnished, but the public interests in every other respect will be inexcusably neglected. Taking it, therefore, as a conceded point that more Revenue must be raised, the next question is, whether it should be raised from customs?

When the Tariff bills of 1824 and 1828 were under discussion the most earnest and energetic appeals against them were made on the grounds that they would amount to a prohibition of imports, leaving no source of income from customs, and throwing back the Government upon direct taxation and excises for revenue. This shows how tenaciously all parties clung to customs as the main source of revenue, and how universal was the repugnance to direct taxation. I wish that a little more leisure had permitted me to look more extensively into the debates of that day, with a view of turning the attention of Senators to the files, in which they would find ample proof of the prevailing sentiment then entertained.

I have, however, heard it suggested that no other nation supports its Government exclusively from customs, and therefore, I suppose, we ought not to do so. It is urged that all other nations resort to various sources for revenue—such as excise and forms of taxation considered suitable to particular emergencies. All this has been urged as if such practices were fitting examples for us to follow. But do gentlemen who entertain these opinions consider how widely different are our political institutions from those of other nations? We support two Governments, State and National. The people of other countries support but one, and that is both the State and the National Government to them. In supporting one they support both. We support and uphold both of ours separately and distinctively. Our State Governments are mainly supported by direct taxation and taxes upon income and prosperity, while the General Government has been chiefly supported by indirect taxes. The State voluntarily consented to surrender all revenue arising from duties for the purposes of the General Government. Justice and equity seem to demand of us that we should leave to the States untouched the alternative of direct taxation, upon which they are mainly thrown for support. Is not this arrangement far more favorable to the General Government than to the State Government? The States relinquish to the General Government the easiest and least objectionable source of income, and reserve to themselves only the harshest and most odious. Is there not a degree of injustice in resorting to direct taxes for the support of the General Government? Who does not see that, if it were possible to do it as a permanent source of revenue, that our people, between the two direct taxes, State and Federal, would be subject to burdens of involuntary taxation most onerous and oppressive? The State Governments are interdicted by the Constitution from resorting to duties as a source of revenue; and, in making this compact, it was undoubtedly considered that they were giving up the best, the most eligible, the most agreeable mode of taxation; and that they reserved to-



themselves that which would be always most odious in its exercise. Ought we not to be content, then, with the greatest power which we possess, and leave to the States the unimpaired sources of revenue to which they are compelled to resort for their whole support, by the surrender which they made of the right of imposing duties upon imports? Shall we invade and exhaust their means of supply, in addition to the greater and better from which they are excluded?

It will probably be said—for it has already been said—that the customs will not yield so large a revenue as is necessary to be raised for the support of Government, and that the commerce of the country will break down under the burdens which will be thus thrown upon it. I have no apprehension of that sort; none whatever, sir. When I consider what the customs have already done, during the period when our population, and of course our consumption, was far less than it is now; when our production and our means of obtaining foreign articles were much less; when our commerce was not so expanded, and intercommunication at home deprived of many of the facilities and advantages which it now enjoys; when I consider what the customs have done under all these circumstances, I have no sort of apprehension that our commerce will not bear this burden now under circumstances so comparatively favorable. The customs, which paid the debt of our Revolution; which carried us through the cost of another war; which has fortified our coasts, built up our navy, established a respectable marine, and sustained our army at home and our diplomacy abroad during the first half century of our independence—the commerce which has been so instrumental in enabling us to place ourselves in the front rank of the nations of the earth, cannot be that fragile thing which will fail us now under an exacting strain in comparison with that which it has so often borne without being injured or retarded in its growth and prosperity.

Sir, I have looked into the statistics of our commerce as a source of revenue from the beginning of the Government to the present period, and I find in them nothing to authorize the apprehensions which some gentlemen indulge. In the documents furnished from the Treasury in 1840, will be found a report bringing into one general view the receipts from customs and other sources, specifically set forth, from the beginning of our Government to the close of the year 1840. In that report I find that the receipts from all sources, for the whole period, amounted to \$1,112,076,586. Of this sum \$181,338,212 was obtained from Treasury notes and loans; so that the balance is shown to be the amount received from all sources of revenue, being \$930,738,374. Of this last sum \$183,815,072 was received from land and miscellaneous sources, leaving \$746,923,309 from customs alone. It is evident, then, that seven-ninths of all the ordinary receipts since the adoption of the Constitution have been from customs.

Here is a fact that cannot be disputed, much less controverted. Seven-ninths of the revenue receipts of the Treasury, since the organization of the present Government, have been derived from duties on imports.

Well, how is it with respect to the expenditures? I find in the same report that the expenditures for the same period were \$1,052,113,422,

of which \$436,748,000 have been in payment of the public debt, leaving for ordinary expenses \$645,365,422, being the difference between the accumulated debt and interest of the Revolution as well as subsequent debt, and the whole amount of expenditure. It will be seen, then; that two-fifths of all our expenditures have been in payment of debt. In round numbers, deducting \$436,000,000 of public debt extinguished, all other expenditures have been \$645,000,000. In this is included the ordinary and extraordinary expense incurred in carrying on the Government, such as appropriations for the army, navy, civil list, cost of the last war, the purchase of Louisiana, Florida, pensions, Indian treaties, and every other expense to which the Government has at any time and under any circumstances been liable.

The receipts from custom were, as before stated, \$747,000,000, and the Government expenditures \$645,000,000; leaving a balance of \$102,500,000 in favor of customs.

Now, when I see that the customs have, in the fifty years of the existence of this Government, yielded enough to pay every expense whatever, except the public debt, and still leave a surplus of \$102,000,000, or an average annual excess of two millions; and when I know that during the period this has been achieved, although generally prosperous, it has not been always so; when I recollect we have had embargoes, non-intercourse, war, revulsions in trade, and disorders in finance and currency; when I see that customs have sustained us, and more than sustained us, by two millions of dollars annually, under all circumstances, I cannot yield myself to those apprehensions which some gentlemen feel or affect to feel that by this Tariff bill we are about to break down or injuriously oppress our commerce. Sir, it is idle to say our commerce and our customs cannot be relied on for this requirement of twenty-six or twenty-seven millions of dollars. They have stood the ordeal for half a century; they have done more than is now demanded in far more disastrous times. They yielded freely the means to carry on the Government when we thought our debt enormous; and why not yield the same means now when our debt is so inconsiderable—a debt which in times past they would have paid readily in a single year.

But looking to the question whether customs will bear the burden of furnishing an adequate revenue for Government, it may be proper to take into view our more recent experience in this matter.

Taking a period of seven years, from 1834 to 1840 inclusive, the average receipt from customs is twenty-two millions and a little over annually. This has been levied on an average of dutiable imports amounting to \$69,748,457, being about at the rate of thirty-two per cent. ad valorem duty. Now the very fact that we have imported only sixty-nine millions of dutiable goods annually during that period, while we have imported at the same time seventy-one millions of free goods annually, shows that we have not pushed the burden of revenue as far as it might have been pushed, and as far as we all know it ought to have been pushed four or five years ago to avert the necessity which now calls forth the present measure. Here we have evidence that the average of free goods has been higher than the average of dutiable goods for the seven years alluded to.

Let us now see what portion of this seventy-one millions might very justly be made to bear its proportion of revenue. I have myself supposed we could very safely take off twenty-five millions to be left free, and add the rest to the dutiable imports. By the table appended to the report of the Committee on Manufactures in the House, it appears that the goods left free by the act of last September, on the same average, amount to \$27,748,000. I might have taken that sum as the proper quota to transfer from the average of twenty-one millions of the seven years' period I have spoken of, instead of the twenty-five millions I have mentioned. The difference is so small that it will not materially affect the calculation. I assume, then, that we have had an average of free imports amounting to forty-six and three-quarter millions, which for the seven years alluded to should have borne its portion of the burden of revenue; a part of it was taken into the dutiable list by the act of the last session, but a considerable list still remains free.

Now, if to the average duty at 32 per cent. on the average annual imports of sixty-nine millions in the seven years from 1834 to 1840, we add the same 32 per cent. on the forty-six and three-quarter millions of hitherto free goods to be transferred to the dutiable goods, we get thirty-six millions of revenue instead of twenty-two, which was the actual receipts. In other words, instead of sixty-nine millions of dutiable imports, we might have imposed duties on one hundred and fifteen and three-quarter millions, and obtained thirty-six millions of revenue instead of twenty-two, being ten millions more than we call for by this bill. But that supposes that the amount of imports would have continued the same. I do not, however, suppose such would have been the case; for, undoubtedly, the laying on of 32 per cent. of duty on articles previously free would have caused some falling off in those imports. It would be a large estimate to allow that 33½ per cent. would have been the falling off; so that, making ample allowance, it is not unreasonable to calculate that the addition to the revenue would have been at least ten millions. This ten millions added to the twenty-two millions would give twenty-two millions—five more than we now desire.

But it will not be necessary to go as high as an average rate of 35 per cent. to obtain twenty-seven millions. The Secretary of the Treasury says an average duty of 37½ per cent. will be sufficient on the dutiable imports he pointed out, which are substantially those contained in this bill. It is plain that no sensible diminution of imports could be expected to occur, should duties which have hitherto averaged 32 per cent. fall to 27½; for, although there might be a falling off of articles hitherto free, there would be a corresponding increase on those relieved from a higher and subjected to a lower duty. I do not see, then, how any doubt can exist of the ability of the imports to be made dutiable to raise twenty-six or twenty-seven millions of dollars. How was it in the very last year—a year of depression! Our imports of all descriptions amounted to \$127,946,177, or, in round numbers, \$128,000,000, of which were re-exported fifteen and a half millions, leaving one hundred and twelve and a half the consumption of the country. Of the 128,000,000 imported 67,000,000 and over were free, and but 61,000,000 dutiable; more than half of the whole imports free.

Now, deducting those which were to be kept free according to the law of last session from one hundred and twelve and a half millions consumed in the country and you still have for the free list, exclusive of tea and coffee, seventeen and a half millions, which, taken from one hundred and twelve and a half millions, gives you ninety-five millions for dutiable imports. Something like 27 per cent. on that would furnish all the revenue necessary to carry on the Government. The consumption of last year appears to be a little more than the average of the last seven years. The average consumption of the seven years was but ninety-four and a quarter millions. A duty of 26 per cent. would give but twenty-three or twenty-four millions; to which, if you add tea and coffee subject to the payment of 25 per cent. duty, you will have twenty-seven and a half millions of revenue. Having passed a crisis of depression, and keeping in view the increase of population, I see no reason to suppose that our imports are materially to diminish. Much must depend of course upon the action of Congress in establishing a sound currency, and in reviving trade and business, into which I will not now enter. I think, therefore, we may safely come to the conclusion that there is no sort of difficulty in obtaining from duties on imports all the revenue necessary to carry on the Government, and at the same time discharge, within the prescribed time, the small debt we have incurred.

I have made these references to the average rates of duties for a few years past not for the purpose of expressing an opinion that a uniform rate is the most equal or most just mode of levying duties, but only to demonstrate the practicability of obtaining from customs all the revenue required for the service of the country.

There is another source of income which has often been the subject of discussion in this State, and upon which there has been on several occasions a full expression of opinion. No doubt it will again be brought under consideration, hopeless as it may be to find any thing new or undefined in its phases. That source of revenue, I need hardly say, is the public land. I know it is said that the proceeds of these lands ought to be restored to the Treasury at once, and to be relied upon not only for the discharge of the existing debt but for permanent revenue. It is far from my wish and my purpose to renew discussion upon this topic. Indeed, there can be no reason that I can see for going over ground that has been so often gone over before. The subject has been as fully and as ably discussed as it ever can be again, not only in former Congresses, but during the last session, and repeatedly during the present session. I know that, no matter how often and how triumphantly the question may have been answered, it will be put again: Why should not the public domain contribute to the national revenue? Why should it not be brought to sustain the General Government and the public credit, as far as the fund derived from that source will go, let that fund be large or small? If the issue is placed on the necessity of the case, it will admit of a brief and conclusive reply. It may be answered by another question: Which stands most in need of it, the General Government or the State Governments? And I believe it can be easily demonstrated that, great as the embarrassments of the public Treasury are, those of many of the States are infinitely

more perplexing. Several of the States, as we are all well aware, are in the most hopeless state of embarrassment. Daily we hear of their failure to meet their engagements with their public creditors. We feel an unerring consciousness that every failure of such a nature has a sympathetic effect in paralysing, to a certain degree, the credit of the General Government. The paralysis not only prostrates themselves, but affects us most sensibly in our national character. It is fatal to public credit, no matter whether that credit has relied upon an individual member or on the whole body politic.

It is urged that there is an imperative necessity for taking back the land fund to sustain the credit of the General Government. Is it not as imperiously wanted to sustain, or aid in sustaining, the credit of the States? But it will be said, that is none of our concern—let the States take care of themselves. Looking then only to our own credit, I would leave it to the States. Whence came the depreciation of our credit? Was it not the effect of the deep embarrassments of the States and the utter prostration of their credit? Has it not been their failure which, more than any thing else, and every thing else combined, has affected us? It is their condition which has drawn us down. It was argued here on a former occasion that we must preserve our own credit, because that would tend to revive the credit of the States. How so? Let me tell you, that, sustain our credit as we may, and restore it by what expedient we can, it can have no possible effect in restoring the credit of the indebted and embarrassed States. It was no loss of credit on our part which dragged them down. It seems to me, therefore, in any way in which we can legitimately act by aiding the States to restore their credit, we must effectually and permanently protect our own. But if no other considerations existed, the present condition of the States ought to induce us to pause before we attempt to withdraw from them the only relief, small though it be, which it has been in our power to afford. I should regret exceedingly if this fund was withdrawn from them at the present time. For I feel assured that the effect would be far more disastrous to their credit than if it had never been proffered to them. I hope, then, this fund will be permitted to go where Congress last session desired it should go. It was a relief which most of the States had long looked to with great anxiety. The settlement of a question so long agitated was in itself a relief to the whole country. Why disturb it again? Sincerely do I wish it could be suffered to repose; but I fear it will not. But, as I have said, it is not my purpose to discuss the subject now. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."

I may be permitted, however, a single remark upon one of the grounds which has been frequently relied upon in favor of restoring the proceeds of the lands to the public Treasury. It is insisted, and perhaps with truth, that the distribution bill could not have become a law at the last session without the clause suspending its operation whenever duties should be levied above twenty per cent., and that, in good faith, we are bound to preserve that provision. But gentlemen who insist on this should keep in view all the provisions of the bill, and reflect that if it could not have become a law without that provision, there are other

provisions which would not now be law but for the distribution. Does any one suppose the grant of 500,000 acres of land to each of the new States could have become a law in a separate bill? Does any one believe that the grant of the two per cent. fund to the States of Alabama and Mississippi, for their own internal improvements, could have become a law in a distinct bill? I have no belief that these two States could have obtained \$600,000 from the Treasury by a separate proposition. No such bills could alone have become laws last session, nor do I believe they could now become laws, particularly in the present condition of the Treasury. I may be told a release of the two per cent. fund had passed the Senate before. I am aware of it, but it never became a law. The House has never concurred in that scheme. I may be told also that it failed there for want of time to consider it. I see no evidence of that. If the measure had been acceptable to a majority of the House time could have been found to enact it. I have no idea that such proposition could have been enacted in any other form than as provisions of the distribution act.

Every one knows that the main purpose of the act of last session was distribution. If the main provision is suspended, why not suspend the conditional provisions? If there is to be no stability in the one, why would there be in the others? These are clung to with the greatest tenacity, yet it is expected we should repeal the main provision of the act. We are to give the new States all the benefits of the separate grants, the 500,000 acres each, the 2 per cent. fund amounting to \$600,000 in money to Alabama and Mississippi, and yet deny the old States the only benefit which the act provides for them. If the distribution is to be kept back from the old States, I desire to see the grants to the new States and the 2 per cent. to the States of Alabama and Mississippi also kept back.

[Mr. WALKER said it is theirs by compact]

Mr. EVANS. By compact! Not so. What was the compact? Was it to make roads in the States, or roads leading to the States? The distribution act was itself a violation of the compact. It released the money to the States for internal State purposes, whereas the compact required it to be expended out of the States and in the limits of other States, but in making roads leading to them. Was it no gratuity to authorize them to spend the money in their own States? Well, sir, if those States want to hold us to the compact, we have a right to hold them to it too, and to recall the fund and expend it in other States? Now, sir, I say if the land fund is to be drawn back to the Treasury because of our embarrassments, I know of no better and prompter mode of relieving it from pressure than that of withholding this \$600,000 which it is so poorly able to pay. Let them set the example of patriotic restitution. Are they willing to do it? No, sir, but they want to hold on to their part of the benefit, and compel the old States to make the entire surrender. They will keep the 2 per cent. gratuity, and join the new States in keeping the 500,000 acre grants; but insist on the other States giving up the distribution. Sir, if part of the bill is to stand the whole ought to stand; it ought to stand by itself as a whole, or not at all. If it is to stand as a whole, it ought to fall as a whole. For that reason I will not consent to give up our part of the bill, leaving still subsisting this

inducement which the other States should receive. Good faith requires us to keep the provisions of the bill; but if it requires us to repeal a portion, it also requires us equally to repeal the whole. If the gentlemen are ready for that, I am ready to meet them on the subject; but I will not discuss that matter on the present occasion. I have been drawn into a much longer notice of it than I intended.

Leaving out of view, then, any other mode of obtaining revenue than from the customs, and with a well-founded conviction that the receipts from that source will be amply sufficient for all the wants of the Government, the only remaining question is, whether this bill is justly and equally adapted for that purpose—whether it will raise sufficient revenue, that is to say, twenty-six or twenty-seven millions of dollars? It is not for us, in the present condition of public affairs, to give a decided opinion of what may be the nett receipts of the customs, under any scale of duties that may be established. The bill prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury differed in some respects, but not very materially, from that now under consideration. He estimated the nett revenue from his bill at about twenty-seven and a half millions of dollars. I think the present bill will hardly yield so much, because on some important articles the duty proposed by him is greater, especially on tea and coffee. There is little doubt, in my opinion, unless some greater reverse than we have yet experienced, or are likely to experience, shall occur—if the state of trade shall not decline considerably, and the price of our own productions shall not fall still lower—there is very little doubt we may obtain twenty-six or twenty-seven millions of revenue from the bill now before us.

I am aware many think so much cannot be obtained; but unless some greater stagnation shall take place than we have cause to anticipate, I see no very strong reason to doubt that we can obtain that amount.

Whether some of the details of the bill will not have to be changed, I will not now undertake to say. This matter of details is one of the most difficult to adjust, because there are such various and in some cases conflicting interests to be consulted. These details in the progress of the bill will of course excite individual and earnest attention from those Senators whose States and constituency have particular interests to be affected.

I suppose it is agreed on all hands that, in framing a bill of this kind, there is such a thing to be thought of as protection, some insisting it should be direct, and others incidental, or accidental rather. But protection in some form, to some extent, it seems generally conceded may be had in view. That discrimination may be made to favor important branches of domestic industry, is also scarcely denied. It is almost impossible, even with the most impartial intentions in the world, to ascertain where is the precise revenue point, and where the protective point in duties on any class of articles begins. It is exceedingly difficult, I own, to arrive at a clear perception of these points, but it is very desirable we should do it. I shall not, therefore, take it upon me to say that in this bill, in every particular, the exact point has been reached which will yield the most revenue, and at the same time furnish reasonable protection; but I will say that I have good reason

to hope it will not be found in the general widely different, and at the same time I trust it will not be thought any interest has been largely burdened. These, however, are things to be determined rather by experience than by formula.

In the very limited time which has elapsed since the bill came from the other House, it has not been possible for the Committee on Finance, to whom it was referred, to acquire, by minute examination and deliberate study, that intimate knowledge of such a variety of details as they should have derived from a more favorable opportunity and adequate time. But, from the cursory review which the committee has been enabled to give the bill, it would be hardly possible to say they have ascertained the relative portions of the burden of duties which it throws upon particular and distinctive classes of industry, or compare the effect which more or less duty would have upon them. Taken as a whole it will not, however be found that the duties imposed by the bill vary widely from the proper revenue point, compared with former tariffs, and guided by our experience. And I may say also, that in most instances, while they furnish no more than adequate revenue, and ought not therefore to be objectionable, they reach a point of protection in the main which ought to be satisfactory. In many cases the scale of duty is about equal to the rate prevailing in 1838 and 1839, before the reduction of the 30th of December of that year. And I am inclined to think if we could re-enact the duties prevailing in 1839, they would furnish about the same amount of revenue which would be furnished under this bill upon the same articles; though the whole amount of revenue received would be much greater than was received that year, because so large a proportion of the imports were then free which are now dutiable.

The bill which is now under consideration proposes duties which are specific in some instances and ad valorem in others. And if it shall be found, as in many cases perhaps it may be, that the duties in a specific form may be apparently less than duties in the ad valorem form in other instances, and therefore that there is an inequality which ought not to exist, it ought to be considered that wherever the duties are specific, although it may be that they are not as high, yet as the specific form is a form which cannot be evaded, and which therefore ensures certainty, a much less apparent rate of duty will be found a more effectual protection than larger ad valorem duties, subject to the uncertainties and evasions of that system.

Suppose on manufactured iron your specific duty of twenty-five dollars per ton would be considered about equal to an ad valorem duty of 30 per cent and the manufactures of woolen goods were made dutiable at 40 per cent. ad valorem. The iron manufacturers might say, "why not give us as much protection as you give to woolen manufacturers?" My answer would be, that the specific duty, which is no more than 30 per cent., is a great deal better and worth more to the manufacturer than an ad valorem duty of forty per cent. It cannot be evaded. The other may be and is. So that if it should appear there are some ad valorem duties higher than other specific duties, it is far less efficient protection than specific duties really afford. I make these remarks to call the attention of gentlemen to

the difference of these modes of laying duty, anxious that they may appreciate the distinction, and thus understand the general principle on which the bill is framed. I trust, when they examine the matter carefully, they will feel satisfied that on the whole specific duties, though at lower rates, are the safest for the revenue, and most certain for protection.

It will be seen, from the examination of the bill throughout its details, that it is not founded on uniformity of duties. There is discrimination. It does not go on the principle of the act of 1832, that all articles shall be subject to a uniform rate of duty, because the trial we have had of that system, as well as the experience of the world besides, demonstrates that all articles will not bear the same rate of duties. All civilized and commercial nations make discriminations in levying duties. All will agree, I suppose, in the general principle of imposing as much of the revenue as practicable on articles of luxury—articles consumed by the wealthy, and those best able to bear the burden. This is nothing but discrimination. But, unfortunately, luxuries are a class of articles which will not bear the highest rate of duty. If imposed, it will not be paid. The articles will not be imported. We must, therefore, impose such duties as will produce the largest amount of revenue. However unjust it may appear on the face of the law to impose less on luxuries than on necessities, yet it is found, by actual experience, that high taxation of luxuries diminishes revenue, and it therefore becomes apparent that for purposes of revenue lesser duties are required. And this ought to be satisfactory to those who pay duties on necessities. The discrimination is for their benefit. It is for their advantage to obtain as much as possible from luxuries, because the less they will be obliged to pay on necessities. Such effects prove the wisdom of discrimination. But, however desirable it may be to obtain more revenue from luxuries, it cannot be done by high duties. To impose them would be to derive a less amount of revenue. Satisfied of this, the Finance Committee adhere to the correct principle in the amendments which they have recommended. They want the largest amount of revenue for the Treasury.

There are limits to the consumption of luxuries. You cannot impose duties upon them with the same certainty of productive revenue as on articles of necessity. And hence it happens that, from absolute necessity, the largest amount of revenue is thrown upon articles of general consumption. In point of fact, the mass of imports consists of articles of prime necessity, and if we are to derive revenue from imports, these articles must of course pay the most in amount. There is absolute certainty of obtaining revenue by levying duties on these, because they enter into the general consumption of the whole country, and cannot be done without. We cannot dispense with them; they are essential to the convenience, accommodation, and comfort of an industrious, enterprising, and intelligent people like ours. Not so with articles of luxury. If they are charged with high duties, you have no certainty of obtaining revenue. Desirous as we may be, then, to throw off the burden of the larger amount of revenue from articles of prime necessity, it cannot be done. We have but to examine the details of our

revenue receipts for any given series of years to become satisfied of this. The largest amount of revenue we receive from a single commodity is from sugar and molasses. Next to these, probably, would be tea and coffee, if we impose duty on them. Now, all will admit that it would be extremely desirable, if it could be done, to remove the duty from sugar and molasses; but all will have likewise to admit that we cannot, in justice to the Treasury, dispense with the revenue derived from them. We cannot surrender such items of productive revenue without the most serious embarrassment to the Treasury and the neglect of the great interests of the country. There are other articles under similar circumstances, but I will not advert to them now. These are sufficient to show that we must rely upon articles of general consumption and use to furnish the revenue for the support of the Government.

I will barely refer to another article, upon which much heated discussion was formerly had, and may be expected again, on the supposed ground of sectional grievance, and that is, cotton bagging, which receives perhaps as high protection as any other article named in the bill. The bill from the House of Representatives proposes a duty of five cents per square yard on cotton bagging, or any imported substitute. The Finance Committee recommend three and a half cents, the same duty established by the act of 1832. But, inasmuch as this is a bill for the purpose of raising revenue, and as duties are generally raised, I confess I do not see why this article should not bear some addition to present rates as well as other things; and I have not, therefore, concurred in the proposed reduction, although, on the score of protection, I think the domestic producer ought to be satisfied.

In the first place, cotton bagging is an article which is already furnished to a large extent by the home manufacturer. I believe it will turn out from an examination of our statistics that the annual cotton crop of the country requires something like eleven millions of yards of bagging, and our imports in 1840 were short of three millions of yards, leaving for the home manufacturer eight millions. In some years the imports have been less, in others far greater. One would suppose, that if we already furnish eight millions out of eleven, it was evidence enough of a sufficient degree of protection, and that the manufacturer ought not to call for an increase of duty for that purpose. But, on the other hand, it may be said that the increase of duty from three and a half cents a yard to five cents on bagging, would not be a greater proportion of additional duty than is imposed on some other articles; and it might be asked, why should not that bear its portion of the increase of revenue? There might, indeed, be some reason for an additional revenue from it not applicable to other articles. This thing of cotton bagging is not an article which is destroyed at once, like other articles, in the consumption of it. It is used without being destroyed. Not so with sugar, molasses, tea, and coffee. When they are consumed, they are consumed forever. But cotton bagging, after it is turned into the use for which it is bought, is again sold, often for its original cost, and sometimes for more. It is weighed with the cotton which it envelopes and is sold for the same price. I have been well assured by those who use the ar-



ticle of bagging, that when the price of cotton was high there was an absolute profit on the bagging in which it was packed. I understand cotton bagging will weigh something like two and a half pounds per yard, which may be obtained for twenty or twenty-five cents. If it weighs two and a half pounds and costs twenty-five cents, and cotton sells for ten cents, the expense of the bagging to the planter is wholly remunerated. He is not, in fact, the consumer, for he sells it again without any, or if any, very little loss. If the planter obtains what his bagging costs him, he certainly ought not to complain of the duty. If he obtains only three-fourths of what it costs, he is a consumer to the extent of only one-fourth; but it sometimes happens that cotton sells higher than ten cents per pound, and then he is a gainer. When cotton sold at eighteen cents per pound, he had a large profit on his bagging. Whether he would be a gainer on bagging in a long run of years, I do not pretend to say. This all depends on the price for which cotton sells. I have, however, been told that some years ago, when the price of cotton was high, the manufacturer of bagging would have been very glad to furnish the bagging to the planter at the price for which it was to be sold by him, or even considerably less, leaving the planter a premium for the use of the bagging. But of late years the price of cotton has not probably been high enough to render such a proposition safe. Assuming that a portion, if not the whole, of the price of the bagging is returned to the planter, it does seem to me that it furnishes ground of consideration why this small additional duty should not be objected to by the gentlemen of the South. I need not, however, enlarge upon the subject, for it will, no doubt, be fully discussed when that item comes up in its proper place, by those who have not only much more knowledge of it than I have, but who naturally feel much more interested in it.

In relation to the other amendments, I will now only say that, when the details of the bill are gone into, I will endeavor, if it be desired, to explain the motives which have governed the Finance Committee in offering them. Should they be approved of, so far as to render it necessary to return the bill to the House, there will be a few other amendments which I shall submit to the consideration of the Senate. At so late a period of the session as this, I cannot but indulge the hope that the bill may be suffered to advance with as much despatch as is consistent with a proper consideration of the subject. I hope that the pressing wants of the Treasury, the embarrassments of the Government, the peculiarities of the relations under which we labor, the exposure of our public faith, the peril of that reputation which once stood the highest in the world—the reputation of being the only nation which has extinguished its public debt, a debt of two wars against the most powerful empire on earth—the debt of a revolution; I do hope that, for the influence which it will have on our credit, for the re-establishment of our national character, this bill will be matured and passed before it is yet too late to avert consequences which cannot be too deeply deplored, if they come upon us. I invoke the Senate to consider as an important matter of State how much depends at this crisis on its action. In the present condition of public affairs, when that harmony between the Executive and

Legislative branches of the Government unhappily does not exist which is yet so essential for the general welfare, I hope gentlemen will turn their attention, in the genuine spirit of patriotism, to the necessity of the case, and be prepared to act on this subject with the promptitude which the occasion demands. I hope that, before many days are passed, some system to provide revenue from imports, leaving the other question of protection, direct or incidental, for future consideration, if need be, will be adopted. All such discussion may safely be deferred as being uncalled for in the present exigency of affairs. Looking to this bill as one only to provide revenue for the necessary support of the Government, we see it cannot but afford protection, and why discuss protection which comes of itself? Expressing a hope that before many days shall elapse some measure shall have passed, and received the sanction of the Executive, which will supply the Treasury, restore public confidence, re-instate our credit, and reanimate the energies of the country, I shall not detain the Senate many minutes longer from immediately proceeding to deal as its wisdom may direct with the amendments submitted by the Committee whose organ I am on this occasion.

This bill comes to us from the House of Representatives, where, by the express terms of the Constitution, every measure for raising revenue must have its origin. It has occupied many weeks, if not months, of its most anxious and laborious attention, and comes in the shape the immediate Representatives of the People have seen fit to give it. Considering that the Constitution submits this matter primarily to them, where all interests are more fully represented, ought we not to refrain from great and fundamental changes as far as our sense of public duty will permit? Ours has been called a Government of checks and balances, and many regard that as its highest perfection. Recent experience leaves us some reason to doubt whether it will not eventually prove one of its greatest defects. This is, indeed, a Government of co-operation and conciliation, of unity of purpose and harmony of action. Without the concurrence of both Houses of Congress and the Executive, no law can be enacted. Ought we not, therefore, to be cautious of multiplying points of difference, and as far as practicable to yield our concurrence to the action of the other branch?

Public men, in great emergencies, are bound by their duty to the country which has elevated them to the station of administering one department of the Government, to act in that spirit of conciliation and concert with co-ordinate departments which alone can redeem the Government from embarrassment, and without which nothing essential for the public good can be obtained. I do hope that we will be able to perfect this measure without inconvenient delay, and that we may differ as little as possible in the adjustment of its details. When that is done, I hope the co-ordinate department of our National Legislature, seeing that it is the solemn decision of the Representatives of the People and of the several States, will act in that spirit of concert which will be hailed by the whole country with pleasure on finding a question of such moment and difficulty happily and timely settled. To say that public men must occasionally yield opinions they have long cherished, is only to say that the Government must be carried on; for

without some common ground of union, (and surely none can be more necessary and eligible than that now presented,) it is much to be feared that the public service and the Government will be paralyzed, if not stricken down. This common ground is the measure of relief now before us. We must act on it at a time of uncommon pressure; of pressure on the whole People, on the business of the country, on the States, and on the General Government, the discredit of which is the daily subject of our solicitude. We are all sensible of the disgrace which we are liable to for want of some measure of this sort. We are all anxious to replenish the Treasury, to reanimate the energies of the country, and to reinstate the credit of the Government. Let us, then, unite in this patriotic purpose, and, come what will, discharge our duty to the country with a single eye to its honor, its happiness, and its renown. I will not trespass longer on the patience of the Senate than to express the hope that gentlemen on both sides of the Chamber will consent to proceed to dispose of the amendments in the first place, postponing any further debate upon the general subject until the details of the bills have been settled, and that we will then dispose of the whole matter with the utmost possible dispatch.

#### APPENDIX.

From another speech of Mr. EVANS on the same subject.

IN SENATE, August 5, 1842.

\* \* \* \* To return to details: The Senators have both inveighed against the rates in this bill as inordinate. They complain that the rates of duty, though less in fact than in the act of 1828, are in truth more oppressive, because they bear a larger ratio to the value of the articles upon which they are laid. As prices have generally declined since then, duties, they say, have become more oppressive. They refer to salt as an example.

Salt, they urge, is rated at the specific duty of eight cents per bushel, which is much more grievous than ten was in the Tariff of 1828. Salt then cost fifty or sixty cents a bushel, and ten cents duty was but about twenty per cent.; whereas, salt being now fifteen or sixteen cents, a duty of eight cents is about fifty per cent.; and this, they hold, is far more onerous than that of 1828.

Now, the rate is no more than is necessary to make up a sufficient revenue. That of 1828 was two cents on the bushel, or twenty-five per cent. more. The farmer, instead of having ten cents added to the price of his salt, if duties add to the cost to the full amount of them, will have but eight; and I can hardly imagine that any plain unphilosophical man will find a tax of less amount more burdensome than one of greater, merely because the per centage is less. If the simple stating of the gentleman's argument does not answer it, I am willing it shall go unanswered. Is it more grievous to pay sixty or seventy cents than to pay twenty or twenty-five? When prices are high is taxation unfelt?

The Senator from South Carolina, however, declares that this is a bill for lessening, not for raising revenue. That Senator's assertions are cer-

tainly of high authority when accompanied with due proof; which upon this occasion, he has not designed to present, necessary as it was in an argument of this sort. If true, he should have shown it in detail. The loose, general allegation I am not called any further to answer. Nay, the omission to establish it, by entering into particulars, must be taken as an abandonment of that part of the question.

Protection, he asserts, should, at best, be accidental, not incidental. By this he means, I presume, that it shall always be unintended, and shall occur by chance, not choice. In a word, you are not to seek, by the adjustment of the subjects or rate of duties, any possible advantage to your people; but must take special care to lay your imposts with a high statesmanlike absence of any design or calculation whatever, and piously commit the consequences to chance or Providence altogether. This, I can only say, is not the doctrine of Mr. Madison, General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren, or any body else I have ever heard of, except the Senator from South Carolina, and one of the Senators from Alabama, (Mr. BAGBY.)

The same Senator insisted, in another part of his argument, that this bill would bring into the Treasury a redundant income, as did the High Tariff of 1828. Without stopping to compare this assertion with his elaborate attempt to prove that, by having gone beyond the proper revenue points, it must diminish importations and so decrease the income, I can only say that, in the present state of trade and of that limited consumption which the universal diminution of men's means threatens, the soundest and most practical opinions incline generally to doubt whether, after all, this bill will give us revenue enough.

The Senator has spoken, too, of the prosperity which has ensued from the reduction of duties effected by the Compromise Act. Where is it, sir? In what pursuit? In what branch of business? In what period of time? Duties, under that act declined very slightly until 1839. Up to that time duties sufficiently high for protection prevailed. If the country prospered then, it was not under the operation of low duties.

In what period has so great prosperity been witnessed? Will the Senator tell me what interest is now in so prosperous condition as before his epoch of national happiness? Is it the iron business, which we know to be on the verge of general ruin? Is it the grain-growing interest? Is it navigation? Is it the sugar planting? Is it the grazing interest? Is it cotton? or what is it? For my life I cannot discover any one branch of industry which is not suffering grievously. I really cannot imagine what the Senator means when he speaks of the beneficent effects of a measure, since which we have witnessed hardly any thing but a calamity that has been growing deeper and deeper every day.

If low duties confer prosperity, we should now be in the most flourishing condition ever seen: for the rate now actually in force is lower than ever, being only 16 per cent. Where are the glad effects that ought to ensue? Is any branch of business becoming more thriving? Are prices rising? Is employment more easily found or wages

improving? Is labor in demand or capital finding advantageous uses? Yet money is abundant in the large cities; there is more than can find profitable employment or safe investment. Trade, in a word, stagnates; and there is, in the face of all the Senator's theories, no importation, though we have reached the realization almost of the Senator's ideas, and come to a nearly unrestricted commerce.

Compare, on the other hand, this state of things with that which followed the Tariff of 1828, mocking all the prophecies of those who had denounced us upon the country if it should be adopted. Did it ruin the revenue, as was then so confidently predicted? The very contrary: it produced a redundancy. Did it destroy commerce, as it was proclaimed by the Free Trade Philosophers it was certain to do? By no means: our foreign trade was never more flourishing than under it. Well, was it fatal to the manufacturers? No: they, in spite of the South Carolina Senator's axioms on the subject, were ill advised enough to flourish exceedingly. But surely it must have ruined every Southern interest; for these gentlemen seem to hold that every thing which benefits the rest of the country, must be fatal to the South; yet, even the price of cotton was high under it. And this, as I have already said, was under high duties; for the reduction, even under the compromise, was inconsiderable till within the last two years—years of the lowest duties and the deepest distress which we have ever seen!

The Senator speaks as if it were the manufacturers alone who are moving for the sort of protection now claimed: he refuses to see the plainest fact—that the regular manufacturing establishments constitute but a very small part of the great and the diversified interests that ask this indirect assistance. Farmers, graziers, wool-growers, ship-owners, mechanics, artisans, laborers, and the very women that sew for bread, with whole classes of others that I need not name, swell the vast crowd of the suffering industrious who supplicate you for some such measure as this. I may, among these, state a particular case (that of the wool-growers) as less known. Their distress may be imagined, when the fact is told that the entire shearing of 1841 remains yet on hand unsold.

In the system of the South Carolina Senator exports stand as the great measure of national prosperity; and to them he would of course direct all public care. Now, he states the entire amount of those of this country at one hundred millions of dollars. But the productions of the entire active industry of the nation are, it seems, two thousand millions. Thus one-twentieth of what we annually produce is sent abroad. Now, how is it that any other hundred millions of these annual fruits of our labor is not just as valuable as the exports? Does the fact of their being sold to foreigners, to supply some other want, make them better than what supplies yet another want without any such exchange? Why, I humbly entreat to know, is this particular hundred millions more than nineteen times as valuable as each of the others? Is cotton sold at nineteen times as much profit as any thing else? Is that the deplorable condition in which that branch of culture is? Surely (as the Senator says of manufactures) if exported commodities are as valuable as all that, they can take care of themselves; and we, meantime, had

better see what can be done for the remaining nineteen-twentieths of our productions that stay and are used at home. If this is what is called political economy, I wish the Senator joy of what it teaches him.

But if exports be the great aim to which all legislation is to be devoted I can tell the Senator by what easy process ours can be largely swelled. Let us get the price of flour down to two dollars as soon as we can; it will go abroad abundantly at once. So of salted provisions of every kind. Nay, we can export every thing, by giving all away; and, as our exports will thus be incalculably enlarged, we shall certainly be at once the richest, the most prosperous people on the earth.

For my part I never before understood why things were to be sent abroad, or why it is not just as well to dispose of them in a home market of diversified climate and soil. I have thought that if this mere surplus, which makes up our exports, were struck from existence, it would hardly be felt. As to cotton, of which the culture dates only some fifty years back, we certainly once got along without it, and that at a time when our resources were infinitely smaller and less various than now. We fought through the Revolution without it; without it we earned that famous and merited encomium of Mr. Burke upon the hardy, the active, the indefatigable, the indomitable genius of this country, yet in the infancy of all those qualities which then attracted his eloquent praise.

The Senator says that other nations, growing enlightened, "are casting off these trammels of restriction." Yet soon after, I know not how, he told us that "all but savage States were supplying themselves." We, then, I suppose, are in this category of savage States, and are to be supplied by every body but ourselves. But if civilized nations are supplying themselves, it is, I am induced to think, by taking good care that nobody else shall supply them; and, accordingly, as far as I can judge, they are doing any thing else but relax their restrictive systems. Look, sir, at the late results of inquiries by a British parliamentary commission into the comparative consumption of British manufactures in other countries. It seems that each inhabitant of Russia uses seven cents worth of British goods, each Russian fifteen cents worth, each Dane seventeen cents, each Frenchman twenty cent, and each inhabitant of the United States four dollars and two cents worth!

But the Senator says, "the manufacturers ask for high prices that they may be protected." Sir, the manufacturers protect you rather than you them. They confer upon you safety from high prices, from fluctuations, and that influx of foreign commodities which drained you of your gold and silver. It is they who, by steady and uniform supply, maintain equality in your market, and give stability to property and occupations of all other kinds. I will not, however, panegyrize them; nor need I in defending this bill, which is, as I have said all along, not for them nor for any body else, but for your empty Treasury.

The Senator exclaims, however, that "truth is mighty and will prevail." So I think, too, sir. I see it advancing on all sides. On this question a very remarkable change of opinion has of late manifested itself in some parts of the South even. A growing conviction of the necessity of a more national, a more domestic policy, salutes our eyes



throughout the country. A legislation that shall guard our own industry will, I am confident, speedily prevail, not to the injury of the cotton interest or any other, but to the common benefit of every occupation.

From the Albany Cultivator.  
**WOOL AND ITS MANUFACTURE.**

ONE of the best papers we have seen on this important subject, is given in a late number of the Western Farmer, from the pen of Mr Snow of Detroit. He has condensed from McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, and other sources, much valuable information, the mere necessary at this time, as the subject is undergoing investigation in our national legislature, and should be understood by the people. We have abridged Mr. Snow's paper, and added a few facts.

From the earliest settlement of this country, the settled policy of Great Britain was to prevent all manufactures. In 1699, Parliament declared, "*that no wool, yarn, or woollen manufactures of their American plantations, should be shipped there, or even laden, in order to be transported from thence to any place whatever.*" In 1732, a report was made by a Committee in Parliament, stating that in New-England, New-York, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, they were taking to the manufacture of woollens and recommending that "*an early stop be put to their progress.*" In 1734, complaints were made in England, that the colonists made their own woollen hats; the Governor of Massachusetts was written to, and he stated that the citizens were exporting large quantities of their hats to Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. A law was immediately enacted in which the exportation of hats was forbidden under severe penalties; no person was allowed to make hats unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years, and no man was allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time.

Up to the year 1790, there was no woollen factory in this country. In that year, one was put in operation at Hartford, Connecticut, "and President Washington delivered his Inaugural Address to Congress, in a suit of broadcloth from this factory." Mr. Snow traces the course of British legislation on this subject, from the war of the Revolution, to that, of 1812, which found us destitute of the means of clothing our armies, of providing them with blankets, and at once forced wool up to from two to three dollars per lb., and broadcloths from \$10 to \$18 per yard. In the first eighteen months after the peace, woollen goods to the amount of \$17,000,000 were thrown in the United States, and Lord Brougham said in parliament, "that it was worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportations, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those young manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence."

From the period of the last war, the woollen manufacture and wool business of this country has been continually, but gradually increasing in magnitude. In 1830, the number of sheep in the country was 14,000,000. The present number exceeds 20,000,000, and the clip fifty millions of lbs. The following table will show the capital at present engaged in wool in the United States:

20 millions of sheep, \$2.....\$40,000,000  
7 millions of acres of land for pasture  
and hay..... 70,000,000

Care of sheep, clipping wool and transportation..... 10,000,000

Total invested in wool-growing \$120,000,000

In 1840, there was imported into the United States, principally from the Mediterranean and Germany, eight and a half millions lbs of wool.

In 1230, both McCulloch and Marshall estimate the number of sheep in Great Britain at 32,000,000. Average yield per head 5 lbs., making 160 millions of lbs. The same year about 30 millions of lbs. were imported, making the consumption for that year, about 190 millions of lbs. In Great Britain the number of sheep is about two to each person; in France and Prussia, the number is about equal to the inhabitants; in the United States, about one and one-sixth to each inhabitant. It appears that the consumption of wool in the countries named, is as follows:

In England, in 1830.....190,000,000

In France, in 1830.....116,000,000

In the United States, in 1840..... 59,000,000

According to the census, the number of persons engaged in the woollen manufactures is 21,341; those employed in domestic woollen manufactures, 30,000. As these cannot on an average have less than three persons depending on each one for support, the number supported by the woollen manufactures equals 200,000; and at least one million in the agricultural class are interested in the growing of wool.

"Here then the farmer has a home market of two hundred thousand, to supply with his surplus. Each will consume weekly of beef, pork, flour, butter, cheese, milk, eggs, wood, &c., at least 50 cents, which gives \$100,000 a week, or five millions two hundred thousand dollars a year; a larger sum than one half the agricultural exports of the United States to all foreign countries have averaged for the last five years, (excepting cotton,) as the treasury reports fully prove." This question of home consumption is of vast importance to the farmer; and, as a matter of fact, is worth all the abstractions and theories ever engendered.

British economists estimate the consumption of woollen and cotton goods annually in Great Britain, at \$10 per head, for the population. There can be no doubt that the people of this country are as well clothed and fed as those of Great Britain; and this would give \$170,000,000 for this country, at \$10 per head, and at least one half of this is woollens, or 85 millions. Such statistics and facts prove that the woollen interest is one that cannot be lightly sacrificed; interwoven as it is with the prosperity of both farmer and manufacturer.

**THE MULTICAULIS PAPER.**—Dr. Spencer, of Petersburg, has been polite enough to forward to us a quire of his paper, manufactured from the leaves of the *Morus Multicaulis*. We have printed them off with this day's impression of the Enquirer, and they will be deposited in our office for general inspection.

The paper is very substantial, and glossy; and, singular to say, that while it is manufactured of the Chinese Mulberry, it has the agreeable odor of the best Chinese green tea. We are not aware of the nature of the process employed by Dr. Spencer—nor of the time, labor, nor expense, which may be necessary to prepare the leaves for the paper vat.

[Richmond Enquirer.]

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 8.

Office No. 160 Nassau-street,  
Near the City Hall, Park.

NEW-YORK, NOVEMBER, 1842.

{ Price... 25 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

### OF THIS (NOVEMBER) NUMBER:

I.. BRIEF EDITORIALS.....	Page 225
II.. HOME INDUSTRY CONVENTION.....	226
III.. REMARKS OF GEN. JAMES TALLMADGE before the Home Industry Convention.....	227
IV.. SPEECH OF MR. H. MEIGS at the opening of the Fair of the American Institute, October 10, 1842.....	228 to 230
V.. NEW-ENGLAND SILK CONVENTION, held at Northampton, Mass., Sept. 28, 1842.....	230 to 232
VI.. THE RELATIONS OF WEALTH AND LABOR—An Address of Hon. H. G. O. COLBY before the American Institute, Oct. 20, 1842.....	233 to 239
VII.. GOV. SEWARD'S ADDRESS before the New-York State Agricultural Society at Albany, Sept. 29, 1842.....	240 to 244
VIII.. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HON. HENRY and AMES F. GRANGER and others, relative to American Salt.....	244 to 245
IX.. SPEECH OF MR. SLADE, of Vermont, on the Tariff Bill.....	245 to 256
X.. ITEMS relating to MORUS MULTICAULIS Paper.	

¶ We present to the readers of THE LABORER a greater variety this month than at any former issue, while many of the articles have a more abstract and general value than the Reports and Speeches to which we have mainly devoted our former numbers. While the battle between the friends and foes of Protection was imminent, we deemed the thickest of the fray the proper sphere of our efforts; but, now that the ascendancy of Protection has for the time been secured, we feel at liberty to give consideration to topics more remotely connected with the great theme. When the call to action is again sounded, we shall be found in our proper position.

¶ THE ADDRESS OF GOV. SEWARD before the New-York State Agricultural Society at its late Annual Fair at Albany will be most gladly welcomed in our pages by those who have previously read or listened to it. Its theme is the importance and uses of Knowledge to the humblest tiller of the soil; its object the elevation and cultivation of Man. We trust its truths will be treasured and practically enforced by all who live by Labor. Although addressed to Farmers, its principles and views are susceptible of the widest beneficent application.

¶ The Annual Fair of the American Institute opened in this City on the 11th and closed on the 26th of last month. It was a noble and comprehensive exhibition of the richest fruits of American skill and industry. We have not room to speak of the articles exhibited, but have given place to the Annual Address and a casual one by Hon. HENRY MEIGS, which was among the many good things to which this occasion gave utterance.

¶ THE ADDRESS OF HON. H. G. O. COLBY before the American Institute at its late Fair, which we published this month, is an admirable document in the main, and yet susceptible of an application which we should condemn. In all that it says of the proper and mutual dependence of Wealth and Labor we heartily concur. There is no natural or proper hostility between them—not even rivalry. Of course it is also true that any attempt to excite the hatred or jealousy on the part of the Laborer against the Capitalist is wrong and most pernicious. The demagogue who endeavors to excite in the breast of the Laborer a hostility to the Capitalist is in truth a deadly enemy of both.

But if this Address should be tortured into an implication that the present relations between Capital and Labor are the best that could be devised, we should certainly dissent from that implication. We believe that a great change in this respect is desirable, and that it is already on the eve of consummation. The spirit of our institutions requires a relation between Labor and Capital simpler and truer than that which now exists—it requires that the distinction of Employer and Employed shall at least be modified, and that every man shall be made, to a greater extent than at present, the master of his own hours and his own exertions, and the receiver of their full reward. This is a great reform—it is not to be accomplished in a day—still less through party machinery or party convulsion. It must be patiently achieved through the instruction and elevation of the great Laboring Mass of our countrymen, and ultimately of all men. Of the means and the hopes of such a Reform we shall speak hereafter.

An agent of the Port Henry Iron Company, whose works are in Essex county, says that orders have been sent up to put the whole establishment in full blast. They had recently 1000 tons of iron in the city of New York, which is finding a ready sale at \$27 per ton.

A gentleman from New Jersey states that more than 40 mills which had been closed in that State, are to be speedily opened.

The extensive cotton factories at Norristown, Pa., which had been idle for some months, were started again a couple of weeks since; and it is said that 500 persons who were recently unemployed are now busily engaged in the factories in Delaware county.

## Home Industry Convention.

THURSDAY, Oct. 13.

A General Convention of Members of Home Leagues and advocates of the Protection of Home Industry throughout the Country, assembled pursuant to notice, at the Lyceum of Natural History, 563 Broadway. Gen. JAMES TALLMADGE, President of the 'Home League,' and of the Convention in April, took the Chair; Gov. Mahlon Dickerson of N. J. Vice President, L. D. Chapin and N. W. Carroll were Secretaries. A Business Committee was appointed at the morning session, which, in the afternoon, reported in favor of the continuance of the National Home League organization by the choice of officers for the ensuing year; recommended the preparation and publication of an Address to the People of the U. States under the supervision of the Central Committee; and submitted the following Resolutions, which, after considerable discussion, were adopted—viz:

*Resolved*, That the members of this Committee welcome the return of this Anniversary. It brings with it proofs that our labors have not been in vain—that the sceptre of the People is every where extended toward us, encouraging us to maintain sound principles in preference to party requisitions, and promising the ultimate success of what we wish to establish, viz: Protection to American Industry wherever developed, the promotion of our Agricultural, Commercial and Manufacturing interests, and maintenance of Foreign trade on principles of just reciprocity.

*Resolved*, That our first duty as American citizens is a preference to the country which is the land of our birth or the home of our choice, and that we are bound steadfastly to maintain those principles which will advance its prosperity. One of these principles we believe to be that of fostering all the industrial pursuits and useful arts that may tend to our support and independence as a Nation. This Convention, therefore, openly takes the ground that all the revenue necessary for an economical and liberal administration of the Government should be levied by discriminating duties for the Protection of American Industry, the encouragement of the useful arts, and the support of our National Independence.

*Resolved*, That any policy by which adequate Protection to American interests is to be subverted would be a violation of the privileges now accorded to the industrious and enterprising citizens whose capital and labor are involved in the mutual interests of Agriculture, Manufactures and Mechanical pursuits, and would, moreover, be an infraction of that trust reposed in our Government which is so essential to bind the People and the States in the Union.

*Resolved*, That this Convention, in common with the free industrial classes throughout the country, approve the general principle of Protection for the sake of Protection, not incidental, nor horizontal, and least of all, accidental; but a liberal, well digested, and, whatever its imperfections, most acceptable Tariff being now passed, without compromise, by the independent votes of the friends of Home Industry, it will be our determined and most zealous aim to guard it from repeal, or the insidious attacks of hireling presses in foreign interest, and from being sacrificed by sectional or political enemies, or 'base, revolting' friends.

*Resolved*, That as the example of the United States in offering Reciprocal Treaties, upon Free Trade principles, has been counteracted by a narrow system of Foreign policy, favoring some portion of our Home Products to the great disparagement of others, and has been decidedly prejudicial to the general interests of the country, it is due to our National Honor and welfare to be just in regard to our own States as well as friendly to foreign nations; and without abandoning a liberal spirit of international trade, we ought to maintain our own essential rights and foster the growth and Independence of our own country in preference to any other.

*Resolved*, That the protection and promotion of the arts of peace constitute an integral part of the strength and sovereignty of a Nation, and deserve as a defence the patronage of Government as much as Navies or Standing Armies. It is the decided opinion, therefore, of this Convention, that our Country requires the formation of a Home Department devoted to the industrial interests of the Country, including those of Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactories, Mining, the Fisheries and Internal Improvements, which in connection with Commissioners of the Customs, should steadily furnish reports to Congress and the Country at large, by which our Legislators may be enlightened and our citizens generally be benefited.

*Resolved*, That the members of this Convention, representing the united Home Leagues of the whole Country disclaim, as they have ever done, a blind allegiance to any party, but, uniting with the independent and true friends of Home interests of all parties, they seek to advance the general welfare of the whole Country by the diffusion of Patriotic sentiments and the practice of invaluable American principles.

The following are the Officers of the National Home League elected for the ensuing year:

*President*—Gen. JAMES TALLMADGE.  
*1st Vice President*—Gov. MAHLON DICKERSON, of N. J.  
*2d* " " JAS. BREWSTER, of Connecticut.  
*3d* " " JAS. W. THOMSON, of Delaware.  
*4th* " " HARMAR DENNY, of Pennsylvania.  
*Recording Secretary*—L. D. CHAPIN, of New-York.  
*Corresponding Secretary*—T. B. WAKEMAN, of do.  
*Treasurer*—WM. G. LAMBERT, of do.  
*Central Committee or Council*—Joseph Blunt, N. Y. C. C. Haver, N. Y., A. Chandler, N. Y., J. D. Ordgen, N. Y., Samuel Oakley, Brooklyn, C. Campbell, N. Y., Joseph Burden, Troy, Charles S. Morgan, Va., John Riddle, Philadelphia, Wm. B. Kenny, D. Putnam, Mass., Joseph Grinnell, New-Bedford.

FRIDAY, Oct. 14.

The Convention reassembled, pursuant to adjournment. The President, on resuming the Chair after his recollection, made a brief but excellent address, which we give in another column.

The resolutions given below with others were offered in part by the Business Committee and the different Members of the Convention, and were severally discussed in brief, pertinent remarks by different Delegates. The following are the Resolutions adopted:

*Resolved*, That a great change in public opinion having been brought about by the statistical facts and arguments published by the Home League Association, we now urge on the Central Committee the continuance of such publications. We wish Farmers especially, to see the value of our home market for those agricultural products they cannot send abroad without paying from 100 to 1000 per cent. more duties than are levied on imports taken in exchange for them, and we want our citizens generally to understand the fact, that Protection is not for the benefit of monopolists at home, but to defend us against those abroad—for, with our home market secure against excessive imports of such goods as we can and ought to manufacture, every such article, *amply protected*, will become cheaper by the effect of home competition, and thus put an end to smuggling, as well as foreign rivalry.

*Resolved*, That a union of Education and Labor is as advantageous to a young nation desirous to introduce the useful arts, as schooling and learning a trade are among the enterprising young men of an industrious community. The expense of introducing skill and costly experiments to obtain perfection in any mechanical and manufacturing pursuits should be indemnified by those who are benefited by it, and if our country is enriched by successful appropriations of individual capitalists for these objects, it is for its interest to protect them, or at least to pay the cost of learning the trades which enterprising and ingenuity have introduced.

*Resolved*, therefore, That protection is right in principle as well as practice. Every nation that adopts this policy advances in civilization and independence; all who neglect and abandon it, either remain poor and ignorant, or retrograde into barbarity.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to all our fellow citizens who wish to see our own laboring men well educated, well clothed, and well fed, to give preference to fabrics made at home by our own freemen, rather than to use imported luxuries for the maintenance of unfortunate foreign serfs.

*Resolved*, That the interests of Agriculture and Manufactures are one and indivisible, as demonstrated alike by the experience of our own and the history of other countries; that the importance of the home-market created by Manufacturing, is strikingly exemplified by the fact that the prices of Land, of Bread-stuffs and Provisions were doubled during the operation of the Tariff Policy, and although the exportation of the two latter has been diminished by foreign restrictions, the home consumption has vastly increased.

*Resolved*, That while the immense contractions of our currency within the last few years, inevitably causing a reduction of the prices of all products, has necessarily reduced the money prices of Labor, we rejoice to believe and know that, so soon as the new Tariff shall have had time to exert its full and full effect in giving activity to business and steady employment to industry, the general condition of the laboring classes will be sensibly and permanently improved, and the actual reward of labor increased, whatever its money price shall be.

*Resolved*, That it is hereby recommended to the friends of

be Protection of Home Labor throughout the Union, to press the importance of this subject upon the attention of the laboring men of the country in every practicable manner, and to require of the candidates for Congress, especially of the respective political parties, to express an unequivocal avowal of their soundness on this question, and their determination to consider it secondary to no other interest, but to uphold faithfully the principle and policy of Protection.

The Convention at half-past 9 P. M. adjourned to meet steadily in October, 1843, at the call of the Central Committee, or sooner if in the judgment of that Committee the interests of American Labor should require a concentration of effort.

**Remarks of Gen. James Tallmadge,**  
*On taking the Chair of the Home League, after his Relection as President.*

FRIDAY EVENING, OCT. 14.

GENTLEMEN: Before proceeding to business, allow me to express to you my high gratification at the high compliment you have paid me in re-electing me your President. Although I had desired to be excused from further service in this post, and had so informed you, yet, since you have decided to command me farther, I accept the station indicated, and shall endeavor to discharge its duties with zeal and assiduity.

This appears to me a fit occasion for one or two remarks bearing on the principles and objects of our Home League. I feel that our labors for the last year have been beneficial to the Country. We have reared the standard of true American principles, and disseminated truths which will long exert a salutary influence. I feel that our Association should be perpetuated, and that we should urge the importance of forming similar Leagues of the friends of Home Industry in every State, until we shall present an organization complete and unbroken from one end of the Union to the other. Never were our principles more important than now—never was their maintenance more essential to the well-being of the Country.

The time is favorable for asking your attention a few moments to some facts connected with the principles which we seek to establish.

The late Census informs us of the remarkable fact that four-fifths of the entire Population of the Union are engaged in or directly supported by Agriculture. The great Agricultural class are the rulers of the Country. They are essentially sound on this vital subject of Protection. They are right when they act upon it at all. They need but to be awakened to the importance of prompt and vigorous action to secure the decided and abiding triumph of our cause.

Let us turn a moment to the condition of our National Commerce. Our Imports last year, amounted to \$127,000,000; on which we imposed and collected Duties amounting in all to \$14,000,000, or barely 11 per cent. on the aggregate. During the same year, our Exports of Home Products, mainly Agricultural, amounted to \$91,000,000, on which Foreign nations imposed duties amounting to \$133,000,000, or at the rate of 124 per cent. on their total value—or a balance of over one hundred per cent. against the Labor and Production of this country! Can the country bear this?—Ought not all considerations of mere party interest to be made to give way until we can devise a permanent remedy against this enormous injustice? Ought we not to be contented under a burthen of one hundred per cent. imposed on the Free Labor of

this Country in a competition with the vassal labor of Europe, living on a sixpence a-day?

The Commercial Statistics of our Country have only been collected and preserved systematically since 1816. From these the following facts are obtained:

Our Coasting Trade is entirely protected against Foreign competition. Since 1816, our Coasting Tonnage has *quadrupled*, while during that same period our Tonnage employed in Foreign Trade has not augmented at all! During that term our Population has doubled. Why not our Foreign Tonnage? The answer to this question is, that during the term the *British* Tonnage engaged in trade with this country has doubled, while the *German* has *trebled*!

Inquiries made within the last year show that of the heavy Importations into this port *eighty-three* per cent. (*five-sixths* of the whole) were *avowedly* on Foreign account, while of the residue about one-half was nominally imported by Commission Houses, but really on Foreign account also. Here are our own Merchants, Native and Naturalized, driven out of the Trade of their own Country, and forced into retirement or Bankruptcy, because nine-tenths of the business which should be theirs is surrendered into the hands of Foreigners!

The time was when New-York was the Commercial Emporium of our Country: Is it now? Is not our Emporium virtually London or Liverpool? The time was when she had forty ships on the stocks, the time is when she has not one! The external Commerce of the country has passed mainly into Foreign hands, carrying with it our Carrying Trade, our Tonnage, our Ship-building. Is it not time that the country should earnestly resolve to take care of its own interests—to cherish efficiently its own Commerce and its Home Labor? Let us hope that the passage of the New Tariff marks the commencement of such a policy.

Gentlemen, I could wish to present further facts of similar tenor to your notice, but time will not permit. Let us proceed to the business of the evening.

**MORUS MULTICAULIS PAPER.**—We have before us a specimen of paper made from the leaves of *Morus Multicaulis*. It is of a remarkably strong texture, yet light and smooth. The appearance of the specimen before us warrants the belief that the discovery of this use of the *Morus Multicaulis* will prove to be of great importance. Improvements will no doubt be made in the manufacture of the article so as to give it beauty and a better adaptation to the best uses of paper both for writing and printing. The leaves may be had in abundance after the worms have ceased to feed on them—say from the first of August till the fall of the leaf. The use of the leaves therefore for making paper need not interfere with a proper attention to the culture of silk. The sample of the *Morus Multicaulis* paper which has been handed us came from Richmond. [Baltimore Amer.]

**MANUFACTURE OF LARD OIL.**—There are three of these establishments in Cincinnati, which turn out one thousand gallons per day, and give employment to thirty hands, besides the additional work thrown in the way of the cooper, &c. They must be coining money, as the demand is greater than they are able to supply. [Memphis. Enq.]

## SPEECH OF HENRY MEIGS,

*At the opening of the Fair of the American Institute.*

AT NIELLO'S GARDEN, New-York, Oct. 10, 1842.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:* I am summoned to appear before you, at very short notice, and I must crave your pardon if, in the few crude ideas which I have had time to throw together, I have been unable to do justice to that grand and comprehensive subject—home industry! Why, whoever undertakes to speak on the theme must begin to trim his lamp at the fire which ever burns on the altar of patriotism. Our race has hitherto been content to triumph in war, and indeed, I may say, in all the destructive arts; but now she has triumphed in the arts of peace.

Under the savage despotisms of Nero and Caligula, the millions of Roman citizens rushed to the Coliseum to gratify their furious thirst for novelty, by the bloody combats of men against men, and lions against lions, in that famous arena.

The Roman lady turned up her thumb when she was not satisfied that the gladiator had done his duty, and the wretched combatant was slain before her eyes, and his mangled corpse dragged off the arena.

Or, the Christians of that day who said that they came to a benighted world to give light, even that of the Gospel of Jesus, were by Nero—for the amusement of the Roman lady—covered with pitch and sulphur, and while yet alive, and crying glory to God the Father! God the Son! and God the Holy Ghost! were set on fire and made so many torch lights for the orgie of orgies. There was no Institute there!

While these things were done, and fashionably done, we find a Columella—a Roman knight—upon his farm, bending all his energies to the improvement of the agriculture of Italy. Italy then imported three-fourths of all her grain from foreign countries, Egypt, Spain, Sicily, &c. dependant utterly on that import for her daily bread. So that on one occasion Augustus Cæsar—finding that the grain long expected from Egypt had not yet come, and hearing the million cry aloud to him and their gods for bread—presented himself in the temple before them, and uttered a solemn vow that if the grain did not arrive at Rome within three days, he would plunge the dagger which he held in his hand through his own heart.

The farmer Columella pursued his agriculture—he raised large crops of grain, all the fruits then known, made wine, improved the breeds of all useful animals, and so formed in the bosom of Italy, which had then been long deemed a sterile, used up, worn out land, a splendid farm!

Some said, Columella is crazy, he wastes his fortune upon ungrateful soil. Others—the million, said Columella has made a paradise in an old desert, and Columella deals with the Devil!

Rome followed after the Coliseum and its terrible exhibitions, and forgot Columella. Rome has never yet recovered, for she has not had an Institute for the effectual improvement of her home industry.

England remained stationary in arts and agriculture for almost 1000 years after the Romans left her. 350 years ago her cattle weighed 400 pounds, now 4,000 pounds: she imported her daily supply of eggs, chickens and vegetables

from Flanders! She had however, begun to burn coal, and mend her farming. In 1807 coal was prohibited by law from being used in London, but 30 years after that the King set his subjects an example, by ordering 100 quarters of coal for his palace!

In Virginia, in 1671, Sir William Berkley then Governor, says in his answer to the inquiries of the Committee of the Colonies: "I thank God that there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these 100 years! For learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and atttered libels against the Government. God keep us from both."

One might renew the old cry uttered when Faust first printed books. Oh! the Devil and Dr. Faustus!

When a mad fellow from Germany came to Paris nearly three centuries ago, and cried for admission to the presence of the King—he was prevented by the officers of the palace; but still he unceasingly cried Let me see the King! I will show him how to drive his ships and carriages by steam. The fellow was locked up as a maniac. There was no Institute to hear him.

When the British Government passed a law in 1554, that whoever shall wear silk upon his hat, bonnet, girdle, scabbard, hose, shoes or spur leather, shall be imprisoned for three months and forfeit ten pounds, excepting magistrates of corporations and persons of higher rank: and if any person knowing his servant to offend against this law, do not put him forth of his service, within fourteen days, or then retain him again, he shall forfeit one hundred pounds," there was no Institute!

When, in 1795, I saw Eli Whitney in his room, badly warmed, and by no means air tight—without a spare dollar to buy a good pair of cotton stockings—working enthusiastically at his cotton gin, I wondered and admired, and I heard the million cry against him as a poor false enthusiast who would starve himself to death in vain machine speculation. What sum will the millions now please to accept on condition of giving up Eli Whitney's gin and go to picking their cotton in the old way by hand? I have no time for calculation, but I can see clearly enough that all the hard money on earth would be no inducement. There is now an Institute.

I have watched the progress of steam power since 1800; and in 1801, I drew for a friend a specification of the cylinder boiler with the contained flue. I anxiously looked to the results of the genius of the immortal Fulton! I was a full believer in his success, but works, works were yet wanting to justify my faith. I saw his first boat move on our noble Hudson—her speed was just enough to stem the river's current. Then did I believe that the speed would, by more perfect machinery, be doubled. But who believed that it could attain 18 or 20 miles an hour!

Now behold that unexpected wonder has come to pass—that the ocean is crossed in 10 or 15 days with the regularity of a mail. So that the passage from the old world to the new becomes a ferry—and it is high time that proper basins for the ferry boats should be provided, ferry masters to superintend the incoming and outgoing, and to ring the ferry bell at the stated hour, that passengers may not lose their trip.

In 1809, Clinton first opened the first prospect of the grand canal. In 1816 I published essays upon Railroads. The subject was so little understood that I had the misfortune to be called a Quixote, for saying that in less than twenty years steam cars would be driven over our railroads at the speed of 15 miles an hour.

I repeated the same declaration on the floor of the House of Representatives of this State, in 1818. There was not then one solitary voice in union with mine. I declared that the cars would be driven by steam 15 miles an hour, day and night; that they would be provided with the accommodation of steamboats.

I was wrong in a main point, the speed; I did not dream of that which is now done; that a car should fly at the amazing velocity of 60 and even 100 miles an hour.

Now what is the prospect before us? Nicholas the Autocrat of Russia, borrowing money for the construction of a Railroad from the Baltic to the Black Sea; only a small sum—only one hundred millions of dollars, and a road only 1050 miles long!

In 1816 one might have told the nursery tale of Jack and the bean stalk with as much claim of its being considered a truth, as to tell men that in 1842 we should fly 100 miles an hour, and that the rude Russian would make a Railroad of a thousand miles to fly on!

Let the Institute go on to its ultimatum of human ingenuity and human labor. The cry of the million in our land now is, "go ahead!" I have often dreaded lest we got on too much steam, and I have often cried "look ahead!"

An Austrian editor, a few weeks ago, gave his readers a brief sketch of the Railroads of the world. He gave in round numbers, 5,000 miles to the United States, 3500 to Germany and 2600 to Britain. We have indeed gone ahead, and we owe 200 railroads for the roads. But great as has been our work, and mortified as we feel to have thus run ourselves in debt, yet who doubts the value of the work done? Who will vote for taking all the rails up, and filling up the chasms we have made in the hills and mountains? Why, my dear sir, we could not, as a nation, afford to do without our rails for twice the sum they cost. And I do hope and trust that we shall yet be able, by dividing the payments with posterity, to pay every dollar we owe, and thus prove, that while we go ahead with such mighty velocity, justice rides with us in our car of speed; and that among all the inventions of which we justly boast there shall not be fastened upon us that vile modern one of repudiation.

Oh! let us pay, if it be but a dollar a day, all our debts.

So much for the rails. The iron works of our country have always fixed my regard. What stupendous operations are now performed with that most precious of all the metals: With it, said the warrior, I can command all the gold. Now that refractory and difficult metal has become as wax or wood in the hands of our artificers. Iron enters into every thing. Iron will be the chief material in all our works, from the watch spring to the steam engine, from the cambric needle to the Paixhan 100 pound gun!—from the hooks and eyes of a doll's dress, to the 10,000 pound anchor of a 100 gun ship. We now fly upon iron,—we sail in iron; and our neighbor England, over the

ferry, offers iron houses cheaper than wooden ones!—iron houses which can neither burn nor rot—iron houses which would take the bolts of one hundred thunders all off safely to the earth, without hurting the dwellers therein. Iron houses! what is to become of those future rats and mice whose ancestors, for the last 5000 years, have opened through our wooden dwelling their secret passages to our cheese pantries? There was once, it is said, in Amsterdam, a Dutch charge of rat eatege upon iron, but that is considered now as inadmissible.

Cotton! What a theme? When the daughters of the patriot General Greene, quietly residing upon a Georgian sea island, had raised a few black seed cotton plants in *bean pots*, as pretty flowers! what would have been said if it had then been foretold, that in fifty years the fibre of that vegetable would furnish from the United States cloth enough to make a shirt for each of the whole human race, one thousand millions? And yet it is so.

Thirty years ago we went to India to buy a yard of *Hum Hums*, (well named when compared with our cotton shirting,) at thirty cents; now we have for six-pence a shirt worth at least two of the *Hum Hums*.

I am pleased that what we say now cannot go back to our fathers, for assuredly they would repent them that they had ever begotten us. To hear us talk of our steam flights!—our augers to bore *square holes*!—our card machines—our spinning jennies—our lathes for *turning shoe lasts or square blocks*, &c. &c. But one of our yards of cotton sheeting at ten or twelve cents would settle the question, and they would conclude that the end of the world had now come, and that Satan was master of all things—a state of things fully equal to the Devil and Dr. Faustus.

But I desire not to make you run this race with me any longer. I will take a look at one of our most magnificent home manufactures—water, to cool myself. What can exceed the grandeur and merit of the vast work now finished by our noble city—the Croton aqueduct? A work of pure and unmixed good. A fountain of perpetual freshness, clearness, health and pleasure. To behold that shower in the Park, and think that it is the work of engineering, directed to accomplish without any machine or human labor, an everlasting stream.

What must be the feelings of just pride with which the Institute looks at this glorious result of one of her working arms, engineering.

Adieu to the drought or dust of all the summers which stretch in line before us for a thousand years. The Croton river has come to New-York! and as it has run in its ancient bed since the deluge, we have no doubt it will run in its new bed till the next grand convulsion.

I beg you to observe, that in this great triumph of engineers, we owe a vast debt to nature. For there is not on our globe a good seaport which has, within any practicable distance of it, a river of the magnitude of our Croton, so elevated above tide water. So that in this respect our condition is not only the most happy, but it is unique.

My steel pen does not require mending so much as my hand, for I have been going on *currente calamo*, till at least the thumb aches. As for the Institute, it will keep its great movements before the people. It will annually give its peaceful and yet glorious triumphs of industry and genius to the

people. It has had and yet has able and excellent officers. Its work is going on to be more and more valuable to our country and to our race.

I have little inclination to flatter men. I have always liked the *Principia non Homines* better. But I should do injustice to my own feelings if I should fail to say, that of late years the cause of Home Industry has had no friend of higher value than General James Tallmadge. He has applied to the work one of the most sound minds, and with that the most disinterested labor. He is one of our finest specimens of home manufacture!

The following plain statement of a very plain case, comes homes directly to the laboring people of our country. It comes from the Haverhill Gazette:

**THE CASE STATED.**—A powerful stream had run over falls, in a certain neighborhood since the creation. The people on the bank had long admired the stream and fall, but they could not control or use it, having neither money nor skill. The people got their living by raising hops, with a little corn, beans, and potatoes; and poultry was their principal stock, as the land, being mostly a pine barren, yielded a little grass. That which was cultivated was worth only \$6 an acre, and much of it was common, worth nothing.

A B and C came among them, bought a hundred acres of land, including the falls, giving \$10 an acre. They laid out \$30,000 in building a strong dam and factory. They paid \$30,000 to the people for labor, for quarrying stones, making bricks and putting up the factory and dam, and \$1,000 went for nails, glass, &c. They paid \$1 a day for labor, and double for lumber what it ever brought before. The clay and stones were before worth nothing. They paid for labor, as we before said, \$1, when before labor on the spot yielded only 25 cts. worth of hops, potatoes, &c., and when they went out to work among farmers on better soil they got \$13 a month.

After the factory was finished they hired all the young men at \$1 a day, and the young women at 50 cents. Land rose in the vicinity, so that many got \$1,000 for that which was not before worth 100. The farmers round got one-third more for their hay, corn, and potatoes. Vegetables, which were worth nothing before, except to eat, now brought a ready market. The articles manufactured were sold to the people lower than ever before, as they were free of duties and transportation.

At the end of ten years they reckoned all up. A. B. and C. had doubled their money. The land for four square miles was double in value—in the village, eighteen times its former value. Thirty thousand dollars worth of houses had been built from the savings of the laborers, and business continues.

Now we commend A B and C and consider them benefactors. Our opponents call them *aristocrats*, who have feathered their nests out of the *hard earnings* of the laborers, and think they should be taxed and vexed till they stop business and set the workmen free.

A manufacturer in Waterbury, Conn., reports that he has received more orders for goods in his line since the passage of the tariff bill than he had received during the whole of four months previous.

## NEW-ENGLAND SILK CONVENTION.

Agreeably to a call issued by a Committee appointed at a Convention held in Northampton in 1841, Delegates from different parts of New-England assembled in Convention at Northampton, on Wednesday, the 28th day of Sept. 1842.

The Convention was organized by the choice of

HON. EDWARD DICKINSON, Amherst, President.	
HORACE FITCH of Manchester, Conn.	
DR. ARTHUR ROBBINS of Bellevue Falls, Vt.	V. Pres.
A. W. THAYER of Northampton,	Secretaries.
W. A. HAWLEY of do.	
DR. DANIEL STEPHENS of Northampton,	
I. R. BARBOUR of Oxford,	Business Com.
TIMOTHY SMITH of Amherst,	

Mr. Barbour stated that he had a large number of letters, from gentlemen in different parts of the country, in reference to the objects of the Convention, received in reply to the Circular issued by the Committee who called the convention. The Circular proposed various inquiries calculated to elicit information respecting the Silk business. He therefore moved that the morning session be occupied in listening to the contents of these letters, and in hearing the experiences of gentlemen present. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Barbour then proceeded to read the letters, and, with one exception, they gave favorable results, and the writers expressed strong confidence in the success of the silk enterprise. It was then Voted, That gentlemen be called upon to state their experience in the silk business.

Dr. BARDWELL of Whately was first called upon. His operations the past season had been very unsuccessful. His worms were diseased. Out of 400,000, not enough wound to produce two hands full of cocoons. He has lost money by the business for the last three years. He has fed 18 years, and on former years had found the business profitable; otherwise he should almost be disposed to abandon the business in despair. The cause of his ill success; is not known to him. A gentleman at Turner's Falls, Mr. Barten, commenced with the same eggs that he did, and had fine success. Mr. B. in 1841, from 3 oz. of eggs produced 23 lbs. of silk. His success was better this year. He obtained 30 lbs. of silk from two crops of worms. His cocoons were of the Peanut variety. He fed in a small room, 16 by 20, and used artificial heat, keeping the temperature at 75 and 80 deg. Dr. Bardwell is satisfied that lime injures cocoons. His late crops of worms have done as well as those fed early. He feeds with the white and harder kinds of mulberry first, though he is not particular.

Mr. SETH S. ARNOLD of Westminster, Vt. was next called for. His location is favorable. Soil sandy, silicious. Has four acres of multicaulis trees, mostly young—some having stood out over winter. Has a cocoonery, well ventilated. Has fed two seasons. Last year his first crop was pretty good, but the second was a failure. He became discouraged, and thought the business would be unprofitable. He then made inquiries at the best sources of information, and the result of his inquiries was, a determination to go on. He obtained a female well acquainted with the business, to superintend his feeding. Commenced hatching, the present year, about the 11th of July. The first crop of worms yielded 175 lbs. of cocoons. The last crop had been equally successful, and would probably yield as much more. Fed

the young worms on tender leaves, and as they grew older with harder leaves. The weather was unusually cold and damp. Used some artificial heat. Disapproves of the use of lime.

Mr. A. visited other feeders. Mr. Jenison of Vt. fed a good many worms. Uses the white mulberry. His second crop this year was an entire failure. His trees, before the completion of the last feeding, mildewed and turned black.

Mr. SAMUEL WHITMARSH then appeared before the Convention. He made up his mind, long since, that it was out of the question to feed two crops the same year. He could feed but one crop, and commenced about the tenth of June. Leaves late in the season are not good. Would use no artificial heat, but would keep windows open in all weathers. He is satisfied that cold and damp weather does not injure the worms if they are prepared for it by free and uninterrupted ventilation, night and day. In corroboration of the statement that exposure to wet is not deleterious to the worms, he observed, that, at Jamaica, he had a quantity of worms, which, during a rain storm, were washed down a long declivity. As a matter of experiment, he gathered them up, and those proved to be some of the finest and most healthy worms he had. Mr. A. W. Thayer related a similar fact. Some worms got thrown out the window, and they laid on the ground through a cold storm of five days. They were then observed to be lively and to appear healthy. They were taken up, were fine, healthy worms, and produced excellent cocoons.

Mr. Whitmarsh feeds with branches. Chopping leaves is a waste of foliage, and dangerous to the worms. Want of air is the great cause of disease among worms. Those worms most exposed to the air, are always the best and most healthy. Worms should never be shut up. When confined they sicken and die.

At about half past 12, the Convention adjourned to meet again at half past 1, P. M.

#### AFTERNOON.

The Convention assembled agreeably to adjournment. The Business Committee made a report, embodying a series of resolutions for the consideration of the Convention, and the report was accepted. The resolutions were then taken up in their order and unanimously adopted as follows:

*Resolved*, That, in the general progress of the silk business in this country, from year to year, the Convention are happy in seeing ample grounds for augmented confidence in all the great principles on which it is based.

*Resolved*, That, in regard to all agricultural products, there is a broad, and well defined distinction to be observed between *permanent* and *transient* causes of failure; that the *permanent causes* are *climate and soil*—and that wherever these are known to be favorable to any such product, we should never be discouraged by *transient* causes operating against success, knowing that these causes operate in like manner in regard to all such products. The late frosts of the present season, that nipped in the bud the food of our favorite worms, nipped also, with an impartial hand, our vines and our corn; and the unequal weather of August and September, that injured some of our late crops of worms, injured in like manner our late crops of grain, and hay, and fruit.

*Resolved*, That, as American silk, in the state in which the worm leaves it, has long been known to be of first rate quality, it is adequate proof that the

climate and soil of our country are eminently congenial to its culture, inasmuch as these are the permanent causes that control the quality of all agricultural products.

*Resolved*, That the silk culture demands, for its successful prosecution, essentially the same climate, and the same kind of seasons, and the same kind of upland soils, as are required for Indian corn; and, as this crop is successfully cultivated in all the States and Territories of the Union, there is nothing to forbid the co-extensive cultivation of the silk crop.

*Resolved*, That, inasmuch as in America and China the mulberry tree is found in the native forests, it is a manifest indication of Divine Providence, that this country, as well as China, was designed to be a great silk-growing country.

*Resolved*, That we are greatly gratified in beholding the manifestations of a growing public confidence in the essential merits of the *silk business*, and we are herein decidedly encouraged to go forward in the business ourselves, using at the same time all appropriate means to enlighten the public mind, and confirm the public confidence still more fully. For this purpose we will freely communicate to individuals, and to the conductors of the newspaper press, the results of our own experience, and such other information as may be in our power, exercising all due care to keep within the limits of rigid truth.

*Resolved*, That we rejoice in the liberal protection given to the silk business in the new Tariff enacted by the Congress recently closed; and in the fact that this section of the bill excited no opposition from any quarter of the country, we have a pledge that the policy now established will remain undisturbed; and that amendments will be readily secured, should experience prove them necessary. And, further, inasmuch as our Congress has never imposed discriminating duties, except in favor of such products as may be brought forth from our own fields and work-shops, this act is only the expressed opinion of the intelligent body that passed it, that our country can as well make its own silks, as its cottons and woolens, its hats and its shoes, its nails and its axes.

*Resolved*, That, inasmuch as we at present do not, and for some years cannot, furnish our silk manufacturers from our own fields with an adequate supply of the raw material, a heavy duty on raw silk would operate against the manufacturer, and so injure the general business; therefore, the silk-grower must look chiefly to his own State Legislature for that measure of legislative aid and encouragement which, in the infancy of his business, he so much needs; and which great considerations of public policy, so clearly demand that he should receive. Hence—

*Resolved*, That the Legislatures of the several States of New-England, that have hitherto delayed to pass laws granting a bounty on cocoons and reeled silk, be respectfully, yet earnestly, petitioned to enact such laws at their next session; and that those Legislatures that have passed such laws, but which laws are near expiring by their own limitation, be, in like manner, petitioned to extend them; and that the friends of the silk cause in the several States be requested to see that memorials on the subject be duly prepared, and circulated, and presented.

*Resolved*, That our manufacturers and other business men have now every reasonable encouragement to invest, in a wise and careful manner, their funds in this new form of domestic labor—growing and manufacturing silk.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to the conductors of the public press for the essential aid they have rendered the silk cause in collecting and diffusing information on the subject, and that their further co-operation will be highly appreciated.

*Resolved*, That this convention resolve itself into



an annual New-England Silk Convention, choosing a Treasurer to take charge of such funds as may be contributed to promote the objects of the Convention, and a Committee to call the next meeting at such time and place as they judge best.

*Resolved*, That the doings of this convention, together with the numerous letters addressed to it, be put into the hands of a publishing committee, for publication in pamphlet form, as our Report, as they may judge best; and that they draw upon the Treasurer to meet the expenses of the same.

*Resolved*, That a copy of the Report be sent to each correspondent of the convention, and to each editor of the newspaper press in New-England, with the request that he will give its contents to his readers at such times and in such portions as he may judge conducive to the interests of the silk cause; and the remaining copies be distributed among the subscribers to the funds of the convention in proportion to the amount severally subscribed.

The resolutions were discussed by Mr. Barbour of Oxford, Mr. Arnold of Vt. and Mr. Pitkin of Connecticut.

The Convention then proceeded to the choice of Treasurer, and Dr. Daniel Stebbins of Northampton was unanimously chosen.

A subscription was opened to raise funds to defray expenses incurred by the Convention for the general interests of the silk cause.

A few more letters were read, which were received by the afternoon's mail.

The Convention proceeded to the choice of the General Standing Committee contemplated in the 12th resolution, to be composed of one from each of the New-England States, and the following gentlemen were selected:

*Massachusetts*—I. R. Barbour of Oxford; *Vermont*—Dr. Artemas Robbins of Bellevue Falls; *New-Hampshire*—Dexter of Claremont; *Maine*—Luther Severance of Augusta; *Rhode Island*—David Benedict of Pawtucket; *Connecticut*—Horace Pitkin of Manchester.

I. R. Barbour was appointed the Publishing Committee, contemplated in the 13th resolution.

The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to attend to the subject of Memorialising Legislatures, in compliance with the recommendations of the 9th resolution:

*Vermont*—Mr. Ford of Woodstock; *New-Hampshire*—Mr. Dexter of Claremont; *Maine*—Luther Severance; *Massachusetts*—I. R. Barbour; *Rhode Island*—David Benedict; *Connecticut*—Horace Pitkin of Manchester.

*Voted*, That each of the gentlemen on the last Committee be authorized to associate two other gentlemen with him, to aid him in accomplishing the object for which the Committee was appointed.

The Convention was then dissolved.

A better state of things, says the Baltimore American, has succeeded to the previous depression in almost every department of business. It is now considered that a firm basis is established upon which operations may be conducted with assurance as to results. The general feeling in the community is more cheerful and lively than it has appeared to be any time within the last few years. And a correspondent of the United States Gazette, writing from the same place, says:—Business seems to be on the revive—confidence is again taking the place of suspicion and distress. Our merchants are up and doing. The wharves begin to present a lively appearance.

**MORE EFFECTS OF THE TARIFF.**—We learn from the Pittsburg Sun that the rolling mills in that neighborhood show considerable activity just now. The "note of preparation" for commencing business again, is heard on all hands. The men who, a few weeks ago, wore desponding looks, and feared that they should be for a long while kept out of employ, now wear cheerful countenances, and rejoice in the return of prosperity. The coal business there has revived too. Under the duty laid by the new Tariff, the coal dealers will not have to compete in New-Orleans with English coal. The coal interest has long been depressed—it is hoped that it will now revive. The Philadelphia Courier thus estimates the Iron trade of Pennsylvania.

"The slumbering fires of the furnaces are now reviving, and the business is receiving a new impulse in every quarter. We find upon a little inquiry, that the manufacture of iron even exceeds our estimate, as will be found by the following carefully prepared statement. We have ascertained, that out of the 1060 townships in the State, returns in relation to the Manufacture of Iron, have been received from only 669. In these there are 104 air and cupola furnaces, 30 rolling mills, 32 steam engine factories, 19 nail factories, 17 scythe and sickle factories, 64 axe and edge tool factories, 3 cutlery factories, 9 factories for shovels, spades, and forks, 85 gun factories, 482 carriage, and wagon factories, 185 plough factories, sheet iron factories, &c. In these mills and factories, and those in the townships from which no returns have been received, it is estimated that the iron produced, and the additional value given to it by mechanical labor, amounts annually to *twenty-two millions of dollars!* This business also gives employment to 20,000 workmen, so that, with their families, depending on the iron business, there are in Pennsylvania, not less than 120,000 persons."

**SMUT IN WHEAT.**—An old fashioned farmer of some experience, far advanced in years, and who dates from Roxburg, in Scotland, in a letter to the 'Cultivator,' says, 'it should be borne in mind that smut is a very infectious disease; and wheat seed, even after it is pickled, should not be spread out to dry upon a floor, upon which smutted wheat had previously been threshed. Neither should it be put into smut-tainted sacks, for the purpose of carrying to the field.'

He says he has several times tried the experiment of inoculating seed wheat with smut, after the seed has been pickled, limed, and dried for sowing, by taking a sample of it in his hand, and rubbing it with the powder of smutballs, then sowing it apart from the other. The result was, in every instance, smut in the produce of the inoculated samples, and none in the produce of the bulk from which they were taken. Smut is also sometimes taken to the field in unfermented dung, made from the straw of smutted wheat, of the former year's growth. [Farmers' Cabinet.

The Portland Advertiser says that orders have just been received by journeymen shoemakers in that vicinity, who were thrown out of employ by the reduction of duties in the late tariff, to return to Massachusetts, where they had formerly been employed, to engage in their former business.

**THE RELATIONS OF WEALTH AND LABOR.**

*Annual Address before the American Institute, delivered Thursday evening, October 20, 1842.*

By H. G. O. COLBY, of Massachusetts.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the American Institute:*

In the renowned Peninsula which Lord Byron so justly and beautifully apostrophised, as the 'land of lost gods, and God-like men,' on the banks of the Alpheus, and in view of the sea, at the return of every fifty-second month, a festival was celebrated, to the influence of which, all philosophers and historians have agreed in ascribing the commencement and rapid progress of Greece in civilization and refinement. It is certain that the Olympic games reached far back into the dubious light of her early history, where fact and fancy hold a disputed empire, that they continued for more than a thousand years, and at last threw a sad and broken splendor over the twilight of her waning glories. They were adapted to the character and pursuits of an early and imperfectly civilized age in all their forms of observance; and the undying attachment which the people entertained for them, tells us how deeply the love of such festivities is implanted in the nature of man. The Institution whose anniversary you have assembled here to commemorate, is founded indeed upon the same unchanging human nature; but it tells, in its mode of observance, the whole story of the wondrous changes and improvements that Time has effected in the condition, the tastes, and the pursuits of mankind. And if the celebration of games at Olympia, at long intervals, excited such an influential control upon the character and fortunes of a single ancient State, what results may we not expect from an Institution, assembling yearly, in the commercial capital of many mighty States; which draws together its citizens from its outmost borders, not to display their fleetness of foot or strength of limb, or to behold their display by others—but to witness the varied results of industry, from the workshop and the field—the improvements which the year has effected in the mechanic arts—to awake an energetic spirit of emulation, to speed the progress of their country in prosperity, and win an honorable fame by effecting some substantial and lasting good for their race. Nothing can adequately supply the advantages of free personal intercourse in promoting fraternal sentiments, nor the exhibition of models and products, and oral explanation: in the mechanic arts and in agriculture—in diffusing useful information or stimulating industry. The benefits of such festive assemblies have not perished with the statues and altars of Olympia, and to you, therefore, O! people of Elis, who founded this Institution, and to whose guardianship the preparations for its annual observance are committed, may the people of this country be ever ready to pay the debt of gratitude they owe you. May your territory be sacred to the arts of Peace, and your people long enjoy the rewards of their public spirit and generous hospitality.

On an occasion of such general interest and expectation, an older and abler man than myself might well distrust his ability to do it justice. And when I remember that my predecessors in this office have been the most distinguished men of our country, and that the speaker is regarded as of more importance than the speech, I fear that I must ask your utmost

indulgence. They have not only set up a high standard of eloquence, which few can reach and none can hope to pass, but they have selected and exhausted the most pertinent and interesting topics of discourse, and left to those who follow them the alternative of treading, *passibus æquis*, in their footsteps, or entering upon some less inviting field of inquiry. To what subject, then, shall I invite your attention for the hour that we are to pass together? I stand in the midst of a city distinguished for its accumulated *WEALTH*—which meets the eye in every direction and in every form—in its streets and the palaces that adorn them—in the princely mansions that look down from every height or lift their turrets in every grove—in warehouses bursting with merchandise, and in a forest of masts that throng your shores. And I have seen, too, the products of human *LABOR*, in endless variety—from every section of the Union—from the machine that unwinds the delicate thread of the silk-worm, to the gigantic enginery that tosses the planked and iron-spiked ship like a plaything in the air—and before me see the representatives of each class coming up with religious solemnities, and with music and song, to celebrate the Fifteenth Anniversary of their Union. I invite you to consider, then, *Wealth and Labor*, and the relations between them.

And this subject, at all times one of grave and commanding importance, is specially so at this time and in this country, where errors the most pernicious in relation to it very extensively prevail. Many of our people have derived their ideas of the wealthy and the laboring classes, not from a fair and enlarged view of their condition in this country, but from what they have read and heard of them in the old world and in other times. The study of history, to which we are much addicted, is calculated to engender false ideas and strong prejudices upon this subject—and they are not a little strengthened by all the novels, which have so far taken a historical turn, that they profess to give a faithful delineation of men and manners. There is a passionate fondness also for books of travels, and probably they have done much to deepen and refresh these false opinions; and, in short, many good men among us have formed their principles of conduct in reference to the facts which they have thus learned.

And yet the difference between the condition and relation of the two classes here and in the old world, is as wide as the ocean that separates us; but marked and palpable as it is, it is very generally disregarded. Public attention has, indeed, been strongly directed of late to the wages of labor in this and in other countries; and the vastly superior condition of the American laborer has been clearly demonstrated; but the causes and the consequences of this difference, and the duties resulting from it, were secondary objects, and were therefore but slightly considered. In order that we may understand their true condition here, and thus correct our prejudices, if need be, and adopt correct principles of thought and action, let us briefly inquire into the condition of the two classes in some of the European communities.—Let us examine things abroad, that we may obtain a clearer view of things at home.

It is obvious to remark, in the outset, that in almost every country and in every age, though there were diversities of operations, there was the same spirit—the story of the rich and the poor

has always been, like the dreams of Pharaoh, different in form, but in result the same. It is a story written on every page of human history, in fire and blood, with unvarying distinctness and mournfulness. On the one side there have been oppression, profligacy and crime—on the other submission, vassalage and want: on the one side privileges—on the other exclusion from all privileges: on the one side a long catalogue of rights—on the other a long catalogue of wrongs. And this is a strict history of half the ancient and modern states of the old world.

In Republican Rome the people were divided from the first into two classes—the Patricians and Plebeians—and it was not till Marius rose, with his matchless daring and intrepid courage to vindicate the rights of the people, that a consul could be chosen without the ranks of the aristocracy.—But as long as their government endured, throughout its vast extent, it was one of iron rigor toward the laboring classes. Nor was it peculiar to the Roman Empire. In Indostan, for ages past and down to the present hour, the system has existed and still exists in its worst conceivable form. And it is one of the mysteries of our nature, that a system so fraught with injustice and mischief could ever have been established among mankind—that a mere institution of man's device should be able to counteract the impulses of nature and bring the ardent longings, the vehement aspirations of man into such circumscription and confine, "that it would be intolerable even to a mill-horse."

The downfall and dismemberment of the Roman Empire were followed by the establishment of other forms of government, under the names, but marked by the continuance of the same unnatural distinction between the rich and the poor. The feudal system—a complex and iron system of exaction and vassalage—was established every where, by fire and sword, and became so strongly fastened upon every people, where it prevailed, that it has continued up to this time to shape and govern their customs, their laws and their institutions. The sole aim and end of the system was to establish a privileged order, among whom rich and magnificent domains were partitioned, and the inferior classes became their hewers of wood and drawers of water.

In no country in Europe were the effects of this system more manifest and disastrous than in France. The distinction between patrician and plebeian, between noble and base-born, was early established, and unhappily, this privilege descended to all the children, instead of being confined, as in England, to the eldest son. The consequence was a numerous nobility, a complete separation of the higher and lower orders, and the establishment of a wall of partition, which neither talent, energy nor success was able to pass. The greater portion of the land of the kingdom was in their hands; and instead of wondering, as we do, at the breaking out of the French Revolution, and the atrocities which marked its progress, it is rather to be marveled at that it was so long delayed. It was nothing more than human nature asserting its long-lost rights—tortured humanity taking its range—the upheaving, from its lowest depths, of that mighty uncounted mass of men, whose hearts had been ulcerated by ages of oppression. Amidst blazing chateaux, France rung

with the terrible gathering cry, "War to the palace and peace to the cottage"—a cry which will sooner or later be sounded in every nation and kingdom where such an aristocracy can be found. The nobles of France received a solemn warning and fearful foretaste of the calamities that awaited them in the war of the Jacquerie. Far be it from me to excuse or palliate the excesses of the French Revolution—but that terrible tragedy was acted in vain in the sight of Heaven, if men will not learn the lessons which it teaches—that it was nothing but man broke loose from oppression, coming forth from den, cavern and hovel, the memory of a thousand wrongs gathering around his heart, and as the oppressor fell beneath his stroke, lifting up the exulting shout of long-baffled, long-delayed, but never-dying revenge.

In Russia there are but two classes—the noble and the serf who is bought and sold with the land. And in Poland the condition of the peasantry is still worse. A traveler remarks that he never saw a wheaten loaf in any part of North Germany. In Austria the nobles are proprietors of the soil, and the peasants are compellable to work every day for their masters except Sundays. In Hungary the nobles own the land and do no work, and pay no taxes: the laboring classes are compelled to repair all the bridges and highways, and to pay one-tenth of the products of their labor to the church, and one-sixth to the landlord. There are still reckoned, at the present day, one hundred and fifty thousand nobles in the ancient provinces of Podolia and Volhynia, and almost the entire territory of those countries is concentrated in the hands of no more than fifty families. This single fact is quite sufficient to tell us all we desire to know respecting the condition of the inferior classes.

Prussia has long been regarded as the model State in Europe, and her powerful and prosperous condition is owing chiefly to the wise and judicious changes which have taken place in the laws respecting the working classes. Previous to the year 1806, the condition of the peasantry was that of villeinage, with few exceptions.

They were attached to the property of their lords—obliged to give him their service without compensation, and incapable of holding property. They could not change their place of residence, their children could not enter into other pursuits, nor their daughters marry without the consent of their superior. And none but a noble could purchase the estate of a noble. In addition to all this, the land of the nobles was exempt from taxation.

If this policy had been continued to this day, Prussia would not have attained her present prosperity, power and eminence. It was prostrated, not as in most other States, by the revolt of the people and a bloody revolution, but by the wise and judicious reform of one of the boldest, ablest, soundest and most sagacious statesmen that ever sat in a European Cabinet, (Stein.) By the laws of 1806 and 1807, which he proposed, the sale and purchase of land was thrown open to all alike, the relation of villeinage was abolished forever, and the nobles were compelled to contribute like all other citizens to the public burthens in proportion to their means. Not content with the mere removal of restrictions, the Government endeavored to stimulate industry and assure ambition, by prizes, and public

exhibitions of manufactures of all kinds, which have produced the most striking and beneficial effects. Would to God that the Metternichs of Europe had the courage and the foresight of Stein and Hardenberg! or that anything could induce them to follow their illustrious example. Opposed to every species of Reform, progress and improvement, by their resistless influence "all things continue as they were." They are the potent magicians of a darker age, whose spells arrested every living thing, and fixed it in marble stillness. The latter have come into the world, and pronouncing one magic word, a million of gigantic statues have sprung into life and activity, and thus a nation has been born in a day.

Allow me to close this series of illustrations by a reference to that country, with which our acquaintance is most intimate, and whose institutions we best understand—our Father-land. Of all lands, it presents the most striking spectacle of the unequal distribution of property. This inequality owes its origin to the feudal system, but its perpetuation and continuance to her present legislation and policy. The extremes of wealth and poverty are to be found in England in the most appalling contrast. We see, on the one hand, an hereditary nobility—the law of primogeniture, by which the eldest son succeeds to the titles and estates of his ancestors—the law of entail, by means of which vast estates are locked up and perpetuated in the hands of a single individual from generation to generation, and from age to age. Only one-sixth of the population of England are proprietors of the soil, and to the rights and interests of these proprietors every thing bends and gives way, as we may see in their corn laws; or to state the fact more accurately and in the words of Alison, the whole proprietors, who live on the fruits of the soil in Great Britain and Ireland, at this moment, probably do not amount to 300,000, while above three million heads of families, and fifteen millions of persons, dependent on their labor, subsist on the wages they receive.—Another writer remarks that, "in the road which the English laborer *must* travel, the Poor-House is the last stage on his way to the grave." To this I add the startling fact that the annual income of some noblemen amounts to at least \$300,000.—This terrible system is sustained by the potent authority of law, by a close confederacy of those who are alone benefitted by its preservation, and by the whole influence of a strong government.—Should we feel a single emotion of surprise therefore, when we hear of riots, mobs, burnings, tumults, disturbances in this rich and fertile island? The few cannot be thus exalted and privileged and protected, but at the expense of the many, and it is not to be wondered at that they should, in mere desperation, display their disquietude in acts of violence. As one illustration of the rigid tenacity with which they cling to the most odious laws, if they have the charm of antiquity, it may be mentioned, that it was long the law of England, that the land of a person dying could not be taken from his heir to pay his simple contract debts, and that the persevering efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly to alter the law on this subject, were defeated again and again in the House of Lords. And the measure was carried at last only by an adroit legislative *ruse de guerre*; by a bill subjecting the lands of *tradesmen* to be thus taken, which passed

without objection, and it was afterwards extended to other persons.

Such is a brief sketch of the condition of the two great classes into which society is divided, in some of the principal countries of the Old World. It requires but a slight knowledge of human nature to assure us that there neither is nor can be any genuine sympathy between them. And when I assert that "the former history of the world is chiefly occupied with the struggles of Freedom against Bondage, the efforts of Laborious Industry to emancipate itself from the yoke of Aristocratic Power," I employ only the language of a most enlightened and philosophic historian of the present day, Alison. What are the glittering pages of Livy, for the most part, but vivid records of bitter feuds between the Patricians and Plebeians—of tumults, insurrections, secessions, so violent that they were only appeased, at times, by the fact that the enemy were assailing their gates?

Every country in Europe has been witness to frequent popular outbreaks, because of intolerable oppressions. France saw what desperate men would do in the war of the Jacquerie—and she felt, at a later day, that mighty wrongs were revenged by mighty crimes. In England, the much-ridiculed insurrection of Wat Tyler—in Germany, the war of the Peasantry under the gallant Philip Van Artavelde—in Spain, that of the Comuneros, were only the legitimate results of an unnatural policy. Wherever such monstrous inequalities are created and fostered by law, there must in the nature of things be a deep-seated, irreconcilable hostility between the privileged and the unprivileged classes. It may be smothered, for a time, like volcanic fires—it may be kept down by the tremendous machinery of courts and jails, by armies of police officers and regiments of horse-guards, but the feeling exists and will speak out with startling distinctness whenever and wherever it finds opportunity. Imagine to yourselves an obscure citizen, who casts a stolen glance upon his starving wife and children, as he goes abroad to seek *work*—"the most pitiable spectacle under the sun"—meeting the coroneted chariot of some hereditary Noble, and his train attendant—distinguished for nothing but his wealth, his extravagance and his vices. He is gaunt with famine—his sinews are hardened by toil and exposure—his heart is seared by suffering—he feels that he is doomed to a whole eternity of bondage, and he mutters to himself, "His wealth and my poverty are the results of unjust laws." He is a ripe and ready instrument for revolution and mischief. And ten thousand such men are in the heart of every European kingdom,—and their ceaseless agitations are the unquiet heavings of the ocean—the cry of their children, the wail of the sea-bird—that foretell the coming storm.

It has given me no pleasure thus to speak of the condition and institutions of the Old World. Nor has it been done in a spirit of ostentatious pride, to which, it is said, we Americans are prone, but for the purpose of better understanding our own, by making a just comparison between them. But, as a philanthropist, it gives me no pain to foresee or foretell the mighty changes that await these ancient States—in the upward prayers of these enthralled millions. The overthrow of all these cruel and unnatural systems is among the things that we predestinated, and every year is bringing nearer the term of its accomplishment. Barrier

after barrier is giving way, and those massive castles within which ancient Privilege has entrenched itself, will yield at last to never-ceasing assault, like the doors of Reginald Front de Bœuf to the ponderous battle-axe of the unknown knight.

We turn, with joy, from this sad and dreary picture of human degradation and suffering, to a country in which there is nothing antiquated, except the trees of the primeval forest; and, in the first place, to the actual situation of the wealthy classes of society in this country.

In most cases, colonists have carried with them the laws, the institutions, the usages, and the religion as well the language of the parent state;—but our ancestors appear to have acted from first to last by the rule of contraries. It is scarcely possible to conceive a stronger contrast than we present in our form of government, and in all our laws and feelings, in regard to wealth, to our father land. It is a "counterfeit presentment of two brothers." The earliest efforts of Mr. Jefferson in Virginia, were directed to the abolition of entails and the law of primogeniture, and there is not now, I believe, a solitary State in the Union, in which they are permitted to exist. A writer on real property, who has collated the laws of all the States, remarks, "that it is the general, if not the universal policy of the law, to make the whole of a man's property liable for the payment of all his debts, both during his life and after his death." They are as uniform, too, in prohibiting the perpetuation of property in families by any other form or instrument. The general rule is that all restraints upon the alienation of property, that exceed the life of a person living and twenty-one years after, are utterly void. After death, the property which a man leaves is first appropriated to the payment of his debts and then distributed equally among his heirs. The unrighteous preference of males over females, in the distribution of our estate, which prevails elsewhere, has shared with us the fate of other relics of barbarism. The privilege of making wills and disposing of one's estate as he pleases, with some restrictions, still remains, and may it ever remain; but such is the influence of public opinion, and so universal the diffusion of correct principles and feelings on this subject, that the instances are rare in which it has been attempted to make a grossly unequal distribution. Here there is no hereditary nobility—no transmission of titles—no acknowledged distinction of classes.

These laws and customs have been in existence among us for more than a hundred years, and have exerted their legitimate influence upon the people. And what have been their effects? The result, is, that though there have been estates in the hands of a single family that would make a dozen German kingdoms, they have nearly all disappeared. Under such laws as ours, it is almost impossible that a fortune can remain in the same family for three generations: It is impossible that it shall remain of the same magnitude. So notorious is the fact, that it has passed into a current proverb. So deep, pervading and certain is the effect of this system, that the most enthusiastic champion of perfect equality has been able to desire nothing beyond it, except the wild project of distributing all property, on the death of the owners, among the whole community. Our experience assures us, however, that the most princely fortunes revert to the common stock quite fast enough

without any other contrivance than such laws as I have stated, and that great leveler, who comes sooner or later to all men, and places all on a perfect equality.

There are instances, it is true, in this country, of enormous individual wealth—frequent instances of independent individual fortunes. But who are they that possess them, and whence did they derive them? From some old ancestors, who won broad lands and proud titles in the field of battle—or in the Senate—at the bar—or the counting-house? If you look for such inherited fortunes as these, you will discover that they were long since dismembered—that with every revolution of the seasons they are diminishing—and in very few instances can one of their descendants call the roof-tree of his father's house his own. No!—These are the fruits of individual industry, skill or enterprise. And you can seldom trace their history farther back than to find them commanding a trading sloop to the West Indies, purchasing fur in small quantities on the frontier, or selling excellent groceries at a first-rate stand for business. They are self-made men—the architects of their own fortunes; and I yield a thousand-fold more respect to such as they, than I can ever feel for one who owes his wealth and his standing in the world, to the mere accident of birth; and I feel too, when their names are uttered in the marts of commerce, and the country rings from side to side with the story of their success, that though we have no titles higher than that of *Captain*, which is given to the President—no others except those that glitter upon the azure folds of our national flag, that this is the country—not for the poor man—not for the rich man—but for MAN.

A very important and striking feature in our political and social system, which is indeed the inevitable result of our institutions and laws, is, that there is no aristocracy among us—not even an aristocracy of wealth. An aristocracy cannot exist without peculiar and exclusive privileges and rights, recognised, sanctioned and upheld by law. There cannot be, in this country, even a confederacy or combination among the rich men to acquire peculiar privileges. They have none to defend. There is no clanship, no esprit de corps among them. They are not like the hereditary nobles of Europe, whose names are enrolled in a heraldic college set apart from the rest of mankind, designated by titles, marked by badges of honor, bound together by intermarriages, by a community of interests and of feelings, a distinct order in the State; nothing of all this, and they are as mutable besides as the motes that float in the summer air. Death is ever busily at work in dismembering all overgrown fortunes. Misfortunes, too—and, alas! they have rained thick and fast during the last twelve years—do their share in the ceaseless work of diffusion. The rich man of to-day is the poor man of to-morrow. And while from these causes, multitudes are passing out, thousands are, in the land, passing into this charmed circle, from those who commenced life with no inheritance but poverty. If a line could be drawn between the two classes, at any given moment, and then five years pass away, I doubt whether the smaller portion could be recognized as the same. Hundreds on hundreds would be found to have changed places. And to speak of a clan of men thus constituted as an aristocracy, is

as sound and sensible philosophy as to point to the insects of summer as emblems of eternity.

The condition of the laboring classes in the United States, which we are next to consider, is universally admitted to be better than in any other country in the world. They are already in that position which the laborers of other countries are struggling to attain. The rate of wages is incomparably higher than in any other country—the means of comfort, not to say wealth, more easily accessible. Owing to their vast numbers, and to the possession of all political rights, their influence in the Government is controlling and resistless, and all legislation is shaped in promotion of their interests rather than those of any other class. Without having examined the laws of all the States, which would be an Herculean task, I dare to affirm, that not a statute can be found in force, in any one of the States, which establishes or recognises any inequality of right or privilege between them and other persons; or if such a statute can be found, it is their fault that it remains upon the statute-book a single year. They have but to speak the word and it is done—to command, and it is repealed. Nay, the universal sentiment among American statesmen is that the legislation and policy of the Government should be such as to lend aid and encouragement to the poorer classes, and leave the rich to take care of themselves. They have accordingly been extremely liberal in granting acts of incorporation, by which men of small means may combine and compete with the richest capitalists in any branch of industry. By the late Bankrupt Law of the United States, in case of insolvency, the wages of the laborer, up to a certain amount, are preferred and are to be paid—a wise and humane provision, which was borrowed from Massachusetts. With the laws of that State I profess to have some acquaintance, and in their general bearing and character I suppose them to be similar to those of other States. And I challenge any man to put his finger upon a statute there, that gives to the man of a million one jot or tittle more of right or privilege than to the laborer that ploughs his field, or the needy knife-grinder that spins his wheel at his door.

What magic words were those which have been for years upon the lips of statesmen, to which the People have responded, as deep calleth unto deep? Not the Protection of American Wealth, but the 'Protection of American Industry.' And what are all the Societies and Institutes, that are established in almost every State, and sustained at great expense, but the voluntary efforts of the People, who can afford it, to stimulate American Industry? This great and splendid Institution which I have the honor to address is itself a noble practical illustration of American policy. Here are the 'merchant princes,' the capitalists, nay, the very 'aristocrats' of New-York, giving freely of their time, of their influence, of their wealth, not to obtain special privileges for themselves, but to stimulate and encourage art and industry, and to spread through the length and breadth of the Union, broad-cast, these improvements in agriculture and the arts, which skill, thus stimulated, has made. There is not a laboring man, in the most distant and sequestered nook of this far-spreading country, who is not or may not be benefited by its patriotic efforts.

Yes, ye laborers, there is no land like yours. It is yours to possess, to enjoy. Here is a fair field for all to labor, in whatsoever vocation they please, and the rewards of diligence are ample and secure. There is not an avenue to wealth or distinction which is closed—not a post unattainable. When I see an American youth, of whatever condition, not repining at the accident of a humble origin, not wasting his bright hours in idle regrets or envious murmurs, but fully awake to the felicities of his situation, girding up his loins to run the race set before him, I behold in him an image of that bold and manly spirit whom one of our poets has painted, bearing a banner in his hand, upon which was blazoned that proud and aspiring motto of this Empire State—so truly descriptive of her past history, so prophetic of her future destiny:

"The shades of Night were falling fast,  
As through an Alpine Village passed  
A Youth, who bore, mid snow and ice,  
A banner with the strange device—  
"EXCELSIOR!"

"Beware the Pine tree's withered branch!  
Beware the awful avalanche!"  
This was the Peasant's last Good-night,  
A voice replied, far up the height—  
"EXCELSIOR!"

If I have succeeded in presenting a correct view of the condition of Wealth and Labor amongst us, it will not be a difficult task to point out their relations and duties. They follow inevitably as conclusions from the admitted premises.

In the first place there is not only no ground for any hostility or unkindness of feeling between the rich and the laboring classes, but the strongest reason, on the contrary, for mutual friendship and the most cordial union. It may well be questioned whether they should ever be spoken of as *classes*, since the term presupposes a line of demarcation, which cannot here be drawn. Both are striving with the same eagerness for the same object—some portion of Wealth—and both are interested in the Protection of Property. Does any man believe that by destroying the Rich, or diminishing the securities of Property he can better his own condition or that of his children? Instead of this discordant outcry which sometimes salutes our ears—"down with the Aristocracy"—"the Rich are leagued against the Poor,"—let us expend our sympathies upon the millions of other lands, who are groaning beneath the weight of an iron bondage—our indignation upon those who maintain it in its iron rigor. But let us rejoice that here we may all unite—and that the cause of Industry is the cause of the whole People. This cry may do well enough in the kraals of Ireland and in the depths of Hungary; but it should have no place in the American vocabulary.

The fact cannot be disguised, however, that a feeling of prejudice and hostility does exist between the wealthy and the laboring classes, even in this country. It arises in part from the indulgence of envy against the successful—from that sourness of spirit which is engendered by misfortune, from not making the distinction between this and other countries, but it has been extended and aggravated chiefly by that worst pest of human society, the demagogue. Fully persuaded, in his own mind, of the truth of Hooker's celebrated remark that "he who goes about persuading men that they are not so well governed as they ought to be will never want adherents,"—he appeals,

with practiced skill, to these inflammable passions, and becomes for a time the champion of popular rights—the favorite of the multitude. He recounts the oppressions which the aristocrats have practiced upon the poor in every age, and easily persuades them that the rich men of this country, who rose to wealth but yesterday, and whose children will return to labor at his death, are their legitimate successors, and have their principles and feelings. Inequality of fortune is produced by ten thousand causes—over which man has no control; it has always existed and always will exist—until the laws of nature are changed: “The poor we have always with us.” And all that human Institutions can do for man is to give free play and ample encouragement to human INDUSTRY, by protecting its acquisitions.

If the people of this country, who have been deluded and often betrayed by the charming catchword, would look to the quarter whence it issues with their native keenness, they would estimate it at its true worth. Does it come from the hard-working, the industrious, the thrifty sons of toil? Never! It issues from those patriotic spirits whose real grievance consists in this; that they cannot live without work quite so splendidly as those who do work; who declaim in bar-rooms upon equal rights when the only species of equality they desire is that the loafers shall share the wages of the laborers. Let them put their hands and their heads to the same exacting labor—let them pursue the same career of tireless industry and rigid self-denial, day after day, and year after year, which they have whom they traduce and vilify, and if they then fail of success, and can point to any thing but inevitable misfortune as the cause of their failure—let them sound the trumpet and armed men will spring up from the earth to aid them. I know that misfortune and disappointment are the common lot of man—that the language of Burns may be addressed to every child of mortality:

“For care and trouble set your thought,  
E’en when your end’s attained;  
And a’ your pains may come to naught,  
Where every nerve is strained;”

but I know too that our holy religion teaches us not to vilify and envy those who have escaped them—but to bear them with manly fortitude. If the condition of American laborers be such as I have represented, and they are acting nevertheless upon the belief that there must be perpetual hostilities between the rich and themselves, they clearly fall within the category of what Sheridan declared to be the extreme of folly. One may run his head against a wall, by accident, but this is the building a wall for the express purpose of running one’s head against it.

The people of this country will tolerate any honest use of riches. There is a deep feeling with the many, that a man may do as he pleases with his own, and they rarely speak of extravagance and ostentation in any other terms, than those of commiseration. But they will not tolerate, in foreigner or native, the lordly patronising and condescending airs of asserted superiority. They are fond of giving and receiving titles, but they will not endure haughty deportment. And this is the glaring fault in the manners of wealthy families. We have no aristocracy indeed, but we have a clan amongst us who ape the airs, and set up the pretensions of all the Howards, and who may be in

fact as offensive and injurious as the haughtiest nobility that ever existed. I can conceive how an hereditary noble, who bears a name of historic renown, whose halls are hoary with ancestral glories, who is “native and to the manner born,” should inspire a feeling of loyalty and love among the tenantry of his estate, or even the inhabitants of a kingdom. And I can conceive as easily, how one, who has mingled with his fellows in the dusty conflicts and remorseless rivalries of business, and risen to affluence, should inspire, not disgust merely, but deep, relentless hate, when he assumes rank and state, and tells his old associates, by his deportment, that he belongs to a higher order of beings. It is a common remark, that there is scarcely a family that can trace their lineage back for three generations, without running against a lap-stone, or an anvil, or a work-bench.

And let it not be imagined that this subject of manners is one of little importance, or the discussion of it unsuited to this most important occasion. A great political philosopher has remarked, that manners are more important in a Republic than laws; for they exert an hourly and all-pervading influence upon universal society. Insult is more keenly resented than injury. The pride of nobility is more difficult to tolerate than all the exclusive advantages which they possess. “Numerous and serious as the grievances of the French nation were,” says the ablest of the royalist writers, “it was not they alone that occasioned the revolution. Neither the taxes, nor the lettres de cachet, nor the other abuses of authority, nor the vexations of the prefects, nor the ruinous delays of justice, have irritated the nation; it is the *prestige* of nobility which has excited all the ferment.” It converted a nation of gentlemen and cavaliers into a nation of assassins and her sunny fields into a vast aceldama. The insolence of the privileged orders gave a character of ferocity to the prolonged and fearful conflict which ensued, that has never been paralleled in the history of the world. And a far-sighted philosopher, seeing the spirit which existed among the people, might, years before, have uttered a startling prediction, which sprang from the lips of Anthony:

—“This spirit raging for revenge,  
With Ate, by its side, came hot from hell,  
Shall, in these confines, with a monarch’s voice,  
Cry havoc—and let slip the dogs of war.”

Much, very much, can be done to remedy this unhappy state of things by the laboring classes also; and had I the action and utterance, words and worth, I would exhort them, for their own sakes, by the consideration of the immense benefits they will reap by uniting their energies and their numbers to those of capitalists, which more than doubles their powers, to let nothing be wanting on their part to harmony of thought and action. What might not be accomplished by a cordial union between them in enterprises of great pith and moment? Those who profess to be their champions and friends are the assailants, and the rich are compelled to stand upon the defensive; and they cannot fail to look with an evil eye upon those who make them the objects of vindictive and incessant attack. Let them disdain the counsels of those false friends, until they can show some real grievance. Let them scout this misplaced clamor about the poor and the rich; it belongs not to our country. They are too ready to take offence; prone to construe mere inadvertence “the

malady, if not marking," into premeditated insult. It is not wise to employ a microscope at our tables, to examine even the purest of elements; it is more foolish still to employ a mental microscope in our social intercourse. If they exact courtesy from others, they must be ready to repay it in kind. The law of true civility is a law of reciprocity. If, instead of spending so much time and energy in mutual quarrels, they would join heart and hand in all great and good undertakings, the one contributing means, the other the skill and labor, they would accomplish more for themselves and their country in one year than by fifty years of dissension. And this result can be effected by the observance of that simple precept, which, as a regulator of social intercourse, may well be denominated the golden rule:

'Be to their faults a little blind,  
Be to their virtues very kind.'

We should not forget that there are those who grace and gladden our festivities by their presence—who do not mingle with us, indeed, in the walks of business, but who exert a more potent influence upon the affairs of men than we are always willing to acknowledge—whose empire is absolute over the world of fashion—whose appearance in the midst of dissensions is like the radiant bow that spans the storm. If their smiles do sometimes kindle dissension, they oftener allay it; and I would invoke their gentle influence in the work of reforming the national manners. If they would bestow more of their kind regards upon those athletic and manly forms that make our hill-sides and valleys laugh and sing with the wealth of golden harvests, and less upon those whiskered and bedizened apes that infest the drawing-room, we should love them better, and our country would indeed regard them as her jewels.

There is one duty more, of the highest importance, to which, in conclusion, I invite your attention—the duty of holding in just esteem all the occupations in which men are engaged.

What honest vocation can be named that does not contribute, in a greater or less degree, to the enjoyment of man? It may be humble, indeed, but it goes to swell the mighty aggregate; it may be the rill that trickles from the mountain-side, but it diffuses fertility through the valley, and mingles its drops at last with the ocean. The true American motto is and must be—marked upon our foreheads, written upon our door-posts—channeled in the earth and wafted upon the waves—**INDUSTRY—LABOR IS HONORABLE**, and idleness is dishonorable,—and I care not, if it be labor, whether it be of the head or the hands.

Away with the miserable jargon of the political economists, who write so complacently about the producing and non-producing classes. It has no foundation in nature or in experience. Whitney, whose cotton-gin doubled the value of every acre of land in the South, raised more cotton with his head than any other man ever raised with his hands.

Let me exhort those of you who are devoted to intellectual pursuits, to cherish, on your part, an exalted and a just idea of the dignity and value of manual labor, and to make that opinion known in your works and seen in the earnest of your actions. The laboring men of this country are vast in number and respectable in character. We owe to them, under Providence, the most gladsome spectacle the sun beholds in its course—a land of cultivated and

fertile fields, an ocean white with canvass. We owe to them the annual spectacle of golden harvests, which carries plenty and happiness alike to the palace and the cottage. We owe to them the fortresses that guard our coasts—the ships that have borne our flag to every clime, and carried the thunder of our cannon triumphant over the waters.

That demon steed, which leaps the valley and dashes through the mountain, pursues his fleet career over roads which they have constructed. The vast city which surrounds us, the august temple in which we stand, are the works of their hands; and when I look upon these gigantic achievements, I say, honor to the laborer! We laud and magnify the hero who has stormed a city and driven the ploughshare of ruin over its habitations: let us here laud and magnify the heroes of our country, who have made the wilderness blossom like the rose, and the solitary place glad with the fires of a thousand happy homes.

And let them, on their part, not forget that they owe one thing to the heads which conceived and planned, and to the Capitalists who furnished the means to execute these great undertakings. I beseech them to banish forever from their thoughts prejudice and jealousy of men engaged in any honest vocation, and hold vice and idleness alone in deserved scorn. Let them treat the evil spirits who would array them against what they call the non-producers, as all evil counsellors deserve to be treated. The village school-master, who devotes the years of his youth or his manhood to the exhausting drudgery of instruction—who moulds the character and fixes the principles of an advancing generation—is as eminently useful, though he sink at last into the grave unhonored and unsung, as the demagogue whose presence is greeted in caucuses, or whose voice is heard in the halls of legislation, discussing the constitutional power of Congress to buy a penknife.

The Physician, who, in some far and sequestered retreat, treading ambition beneath his feet, devotes his life to relieve the pains of the Rich and soothe the anguish of the dying, is entitled to the regard of all good men. The Lawyer, who stands forth, often alone, but never dismayed, the champion of the weak against the strong, who knows, in combating for the right, no distinction between Rich and Poor—who is above the miserable trickery of the tricksters of the profession—who feels when he enters the Temple of Justice that the robe of a solemn ministry is upon him—is an eminently useful laborer, and may rank with any man in good service to his Country. The Ministers of our Holy Religion—whose first act is a voluntary renouncement of much that the world holds dear—who, for a scanty support, labor on to their lives' end, amid discouragement and reproach, in training immortals for the skies—on bidding farewell to the delights of home and the securities of law, journey, by land and sea, to the savage island, the inhospitable climate, the idolatrous city, and lift up their fearless voices amidst unsheathed daggers and glaring eye-balls—verily, they have their reward hereafter. But why multiply illustrations—of which there would be no end—or speak of the hard-working Editors of our Daily Press, or our larger Periodicals—of a thousand others who act their part in the infinite, ever-changing drama of life—since I can say of all, in the words of a poet, whose memory we venerate: "Act well your part, there all the honor lies."



## GOV. SEWARD'S ADDRESS

*At the Annual Fair of the New-York State Agricultural Society.*

At the Capitol, Albany, Thursday, Sept. 29.  
[Reported for *The Tribune*]

FELLOW CITIZENS: The display of animal and vegetable productions, the expositions of culture and the trial of implements of tillage, under the patronage of the New-York State Agricultural Society, are completed; and it only remains to confer the civic prizes which have been so honorably won. Shall scenes so animating though so peaceful, so instructive though so simple, pass without comment?

If our country has a citizen imbued with the philanthropy and learned in the philosophy of agriculture, eminent in political wisdom and transcendent in eloquence, here are his forum and his theme. Such a citizen you have expected to hear. Let my temerity in assuming the place he has left vacant and others have declined, find an apology in the gratitude which the abundant kindness of my fellow citizens has inspired.\*

In that time-worn Tower which tells many a deed of treachery and tyranny, the British Government exhibits the armor and arms of Kings, Nobles, Knights, Soldiers and Seamen who have borne the standard of St. George around the circumference of the Globe. France, with pride more refined, displays in the galleries of the Louvre, the chefs d'œuvre of her artists with what she yet retains of the productions of the pencil and the chisel of which Napoleon despoiled the nations of Europe. These monuments excite admiration, but they leave generous and grateful sympathies unmoved; while the benevolent mind recognizes in the axe, the plow and the loom, agents of civilization and humanity, and exalts them above all the weapons that ambition and rapine have forged, and even above all the embellishments of social life that arts merely ornamental have ever produced. Nor need we overvalue our agricultural inventions, or bestow exaggerated praise upon their authors. Admitting the inferiority of our schools to the Universities of Europe, and the deficiency of our artisans in learning and experience, we may yet maintain that all scientific acquirements here, and all inventions, pass immediately to the general use and contribute directly to the general welfare. Such are now our means of diffusing and preserving knowledge; that no really useful invention can either be lost or fail to be employed in every region of our country. Let this festival,

—————"Pastorally sweet  
And rurally magnificent."

be preserved, and the increasing emulation of our yeomanry and mechanics maintained, and the effect will be seen not only in the improvement of Agriculture, but in the amelioration of the character of the People. Thirty years before the Revolutionary war, at a celebration in Massachusetts, the Matrons and Maidens of Boston appeared on the Mall, each industriously plying the spinning-wheel. Need it then excite surprise that our sister State now excels with the shuttle, and extorts wealth from the floods, the ice and the rocks? The character of a people may be studied in their amuse-

ments. The warlike Greeks fixed their epochs on the recurrence of the Olympic games. The husbandmen of Switzerland at stated periods celebrate the introduction of the vine. Well may we, then, continue ovations in honor of Agriculture, which, while they give expression to national rejoicing, promote the welfare of our country and the good of mankind.

FARMERS OF NEW-YORK—you do wisely in collecting from every district and every region the various species of plants and adopting such as find our soil and climate most congenial; in introducing new branches of culture and mechanic industry; in choosing out of domestic and foreign stock the animals which propagate most rapidly, with the least expense of subsistence, and yield the largest returns for the husbandman's care; in stimulating invention to the discovery of new principles of tillage, machines and implements, for increasing the fertility of the soil and the productiveness of human labor. But these efforts, well conceived and beneficent as they are, do not fulfil the responsibilities of the American Farmer. Similar exertions, though less effective, have been made by the tillers of the earth in every age, however benighted, and in every country, however subjected. The God of Nature has given us a territory stretching through fifty degrees of longitude with almost the breadth of the temperate zone, embosomed numerous lakes and traversed by capacious rivers.—Every variety of soil north of the tropics, and every mineral resource, with mountain, forest and plain, are abundantly supplied. We stand in relation to this wide territory not unlike the progenitor of our race in regard to the earth over which he received dominion from the Almighty. He has permitted us to learn wisdom from the rugged experience of almost sixty centuries and establish a system of government new and peculiar, which, while it effectually secures personal rights and domestic tranquillity, does not favor war, and is not adapted to aggression, which chastens avarice and represses ambition, which favors equality, subdues individual power, and stimulates, strengthens and combines the power of the mass—a system resting on the consent and kept in action only by the agency of the governed. To these advantages is added a social organization which rejects in every form the principles of involuntary or reluctant labor and gradation among the members of the State, and by offering equal rewards calls forth the equal industry and enterprise of every citizen.—These peculiarities of our political and social condition indicate an era in civilization and inspire a generous confidence that it may be our privilege to open for our race a way to a brighter and better destiny than has yet been attained. Hitherto civilized men, enslaved or oppressed, have doubted whether advancement from the savage state of existence was a blessing, and have struggled for liberty as if mere liberty was the end of human achievement. But we have learned that civil liberty is only one of the conditions of human happiness, and is desirable chiefly because it favors that social advancement which is the ever-fulfilling destiny of mankind. In every stage of that advancement hitherto, Agricultural improvement has been last, though it should always be first. By Agriculture, nations exist; it supports and clothes mankind; it furnishes the resources for protection and defence, and the means even of moral im-

\* The Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER was expected to deliver the Address.

prevement and intellectual cultivation. Portions of a Community, Cities, and even States, may exist by exercising the mechanic arts, or by going down to the sea in ships, but there must nevertheless be some where, some larger Agricultural community to furnish the productions and fabrics indispensable even in such forms of society. The necessary minerals, iron, lead, copper, and others, are beneficial only because they are employed in aid of Agriculture, or in preparing its productions for our use; and even the metals which by consent of mankind are called precious, have no value except as representatives of the fruits of industry. Other interests may rise and fall, and other masses may combine, dissolve and recombine, and the agricultural mass be scarcely affected, but the whole body politic sympathises when this interest is depressed and this class suffers.

"Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,  
A breath can make them, as a breath has made:  
But, a bold peasantry, their country's pride—  
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

It is an obvious responsibility of the American People to restore the natural and proper order of social improvement, by renovating Agriculture—for this is the tendency of our institutions. It is a maxim in other countries that society necessarily consists of two classes—the ruling few and the governed many. The latter are designated under the most liberal forms of government as "the laboring poor," in the polished countries of the South as "Peasantry," and in the ruder North as "Serfs." Here we know not as a class, Serfs, Peasantry or Poor; and the laboring many constitute society. Whether designedly or not, they who apply to our condition analogies derived from monarchical or aristocratic States would mislead us, and those deceive themselves who expect that our government will operate otherwise than for the security and benefit of the masses. The Legislators of our country are its citizens; and since the predominating mass of citizens consist in tillers of the soil, the American Farmer is the American Statesman. The government, therefore, necessarily tends to sustain and promote Agriculture.

In Europe the cost of land fit for tillage is twice or three times greater than here; the price of labor here is more than double that in Europe. Our land is therefore cultivated imperfectly, and its productions are seldom equal to one half its capacity. Thus one of our great advantages is counterbalanced by a deficiency of physical force. Notwithstanding our population augments with unprecedented rapidity, by domestic increase and immigration—yet such is the demand for labor and service in commercial towns, and in the improvement of roads and rivers, and so attractive are our new settlements in the West, that the deficiency of labor continues the same, and its value under ordinary circumstances constantly increases. The condition of society in Europe favors emigration. The nations are reposing after long and exhausting wars. The masses increase in disproportion to their territory and subsistence; and although a democratic spirit is abroad, slowly renovating their institutions, there is still a restless desire to participate in our social advantages and enjoy our perfect liberty. But with the sturdy, enterprising and virtuous immigrants, there will also arrive on our shores, the infirm, the indolent and the depraved,

while a change of home and country is always liable to be attended by accident or misfortune.—These circumstances increase the charges for public charity and justice in our populous cities, and hence their inhabitants often regard immigration as itself a calamity. But, aside from all questions of humanity—if we compare this incidental misfortune with the addition to the national wealth and strength derived from the one hundred thousand immigrants who annually disperse themselves over the country, and take into consideration the increase of our physical strength by their descendants, we find every principle of political economy sanctioning the policy of our ancestors, which freely opened our ports and offered an asylum to the exiles of every land. Nor need I urge before such an enlightened assembly that prejudice against immigrants, and apprehensions of danger from their associations, are as unwise as they are ungenerous. The experience of mankind has proved, that mutual intercourse and the most intimate relations between the various branches of the human family are indispensable to the progress of civilization and humanity.

The Agricultural Interest, though the last to suffer, is always slowest in recovering from any national calamity. Associations in other departments deranged may be renewed. Capital destroyed may be supplied, and masses overborne may recover. But Agriculture, once embarrassed, is with difficulty restored. War, however justifiable or necessary, or however it may stimulate production for a season, is always a national evil, and in its least desolating form is destructive of agricultural prosperity. To cultivate the disposition and the arts of peace, and to guard against domestic disturbance and civil discord, are important, therefore, not merely to the improvement, but to the prosperity of Agriculture.

Agriculture can never flourish where its rewards are precarious or inferior in value to those obtained in other departments of industry. Perpetual care is necessary to diminish the burthens to which it may be subjected. Hence the necessity of an economical conduct of public affairs—of improving those land communications which serve for the conveyance of agricultural productions to places of exchange and consumption, and of such commercial regulations as secure advantageous markets either at home or abroad. But these considerations are so familiar that they need not be dwelt upon, notwithstanding their acknowledged importance.

The preservation of equality among the People in regard to constitutional and legal rights, and perpetual adherence to the policy which by laws regulating descents, devises and trusts, prevents the undue accumulation of estates, are indispensable to agricultural prosperity. It is this policy, cooperating with the mutual advantages of our position, which has made the Agricultural class here a community of freeholders, in contrast with the systems of other countries under which lands are cultivated by tenants, the rewards of whose labor pass to the benefit of landlord's.

Not only was the 'primal curse' of labor universal, but acquiescence in it was wisely made a condition of health, happiness, wisdom and virtue. This condition, however, implies that equal rewards are allowed to mankind, while equal labor is exacted from them. Whatever institution, then,

on any pretext, relieves any portion of a community of the necessity of labor, or withholds its incentives or excludes them from equal competition for its rewards, not only is unequal or unjust, but, by diminishing the whole amount of social labor, increases the burthens of those on whom the subsistence of society depends. We are all accustomed to recognize this important truth in the operation of domestic servitude. But every form of unequal legislation, every custom and every prejudice which causes any mass or any portion of a mass to abate their efforts to secure independence and wealth, operates in the same manner, although to a less extent.

While the patrons of Agriculture will keep steadily in view these principles, their most strenuous efforts must be exerted for their diffusion of Knowledge. To knowledge we are indebted for whatever of ease or security we enjoy; and the safety and happiness of every civilized community not overborne by foreign oppression are exactly in proportion to its intellectual cultivation. So also, as a general proposition, individuals prosper and exert influence according to the standard of their attainments. This truth applies also to masses in a community. The Agricultural class, here, as well as in every other country, notwithstanding their numbers, enjoy comparatively inadequate compensation and abated influence, because they have a lower standard of education than other classes. There is not, as is often supposed, a certain amount of knowledge which it is profitable for the farmer to possess, and dangerous to exceed. Learned men sometimes fail in this honorable pursuit, but not in consequence of their acquirements, and the number of such is vastly less than those who fail through ignorance. It is a fact, which, however mortifying, cannot be too freely confessed or too often published, that an inferior education is held sufficient for those who are destined to the occupation of Agriculture. The standard established for them is seldom as high as the full course of instruction given in our common schools, and consists in an ability to read, but scarcely with pleasure or advantage, to write without facility or accuracy, and to perform simple processes in the art of numbers. Higher attainments than those are allowed to all other classes. The mechanic and the artisan are at least instructed in the nature and properties of the substances which they use, and in the principles and combinations of the mechanical powers they employ, while each profession jealously guards against the intrusion of any candidate who, however skilful in its particular mysteries, has not completed a course of scientific or classical learning. There is no just reason for this discrimination. The domestic, social and civil responsibilities of the farmer are precisely the same with those of every other citizen, while the political power of his class is irresistible. The preparation of the soil to receive a germ, the culture of the plant, its protection against accidents, and the gathering of its fruit—each of these apparently simple operations involves principles of science more recondite than do the studies of the learned professions. Every other department of industry has willingly received aid from science. In mechanism the laws of power and motion are so well understood that achievements to which human energy was once deemed inadequate, are easy and familiar. The hand is now

almost unnecessary in the fabrication of cloths. Animal power is beginning to be dispensed with in locomotion on the land, and the intercourse between nations separated by seas, heretofore so difficult and uncertain, is rendered speedy and regular by the use of steam. But Agriculture is regarded as involving no laws of nature, requiring no aids, and capable of no improvement. Physical power is considered the only suitable agent, and that power is not wastefully expended. Admitting the beneficent effects of the cotton gin, the improved plow, the cultivator, the threshing machine and other implements which have been instrumental in effecting a slow advancement in agriculture, it must still be confessed that while other arts are more rapidly improving, this of human arts the first and last, whose cultivation leads to plenty and is cheered by health and contentment, remains comparatively unassisted and stationary. But, independently of the aid which mechanical science owes to agriculture, if the principles of economical geology, of agricultural chemistry, and of animal physiology, which have been laid open by Lyell, by Priestley, by Davy, Liebig, Johnson and Dana, and our own Buel, were universally known and applied, the productiveness of the soil would be incalculably increased. Regarding the education of the agricultural class, then, only in the light of economy, its importance cannot be over-estimated. But this is its least interesting aspect. Education is necessary to elevate the agricultural masses to their just eminence, and to secure their enlightened action in the conduct of government and of the various interests of social life. Praises of Agriculture and acknowledgments of the purity, patriotism and wisdom of those who pursue that most peaceful calling are the never-failing themes of all who court their suffrages. Yet it is a sad truth that the interests of Agriculture and of those who subsist by it are often considered subordinate and sometimes injuriously neglected. The avenues to preferment are open to all, but they are seldom traveled by the Farmer. Questions of peace and war, of revenue, of commerce, of currency, of manufactures, of physical improvement, of free and foreign labor, of education, are too often discussed and decided without just consideration of their bearing upon the interests of Agriculture. The reason is obvious. The art of Agriculture is learned by imitation and habit. Those who are destined to that pursuit, are not early instructed in the principles of the government, or its relations to other States, in their own legal rights, their civil duties, the pathology of the human constitution, the nature of the substances with which Agriculture is concerned, or their properties, or the laws regulating their development, or even in the simple art of tracing geometrical lines and calculating their contents, not to speak of the range of physical and exact sciences, history and ethics, classical learning, the philosophy of language and the art of eloquence. These attainments, though open to all, are reached exclusively by other classes, and the Farmer, in mature years, is sent to the Press for political instruction, and to the Clergy he must yield implicit confidence, and must depend upon the Lawyer for the defence of his simplest rights, upon the Physician for information whether he is diseased, upon the Professor for explanations of the properties of the soil he cultivates, and upon the Civil Engineer for

even the measurement of his acres. When such dependence upon these various classes is established, can it be a matter of surprise that precedence is conceded to them in the various departments of society? Let me not be misunderstood. I depreciate not the influence of the learned classes, and I would promote by every proper means their higher improvement—nor would I excite jealousy against them, or in the least diminish the respect or confidence they enjoy—but I desire to see the Agricultural class equally elevated, and for that purpose I would stimulate them to corresponding attainments. This is the true theory of republican institutions. When it is carried into practical and complete operation, and not until then, shall we enjoy a regular, safe, equal and enlightened administration of civil government.

Your task, then, is nothing less than social revolution—a revolution, however, which, like all your pursuits, will be peaceful and beneficial. You aim no blows at the Government of the country, or the power, the prosperity, or the influence of any class of its citizens. On the contrary, you will render them all the aid and all the support they need. Nor will you justly encounter the opposition of any class, for all are equally interested with yourselves in the great work you have undertaken, and upon which depend the stability and permanence of our institutions and the hopes of mankind.

The agency required in this great work is already prepared and awaits your adoption. The primary schools, the voluntary religious establishments, the academic seminaries, and the universities which you require are already founded, and liberally endowed. In our school district libraries an auxiliary is furnished, whose efficacy is scarcely surpassed by the invention of Cadmus, of Faust, or of Fulton. With pride and pleasure I add, that this agent was called into action by a farmer of New-York, JAMES WADSWORTH. These libraries, which are placed at almost every angle of our thoroughfares and by-ways, and contain treasures richer than those the world lamented in the destruction of Alexandria, may be made the vehicles of not merely the literature which adorns, but of the science which elevates, and of that moral and political wisdom which gives beneficent direction to the human mind.

Little remains for you but to guide the rising generation to the improvement of these facilities, nor will that task be difficult. Science, though repulsive to the ignorant, is attractive to the initiated, and its attraction increases just in proportion as truths are presented which are adapted to the comprehension and satisfying to the curiosity of the young mind. In the dark ages, the system of instruction was so contrived as to present to faculties undeveloped the deductions of science without their explanation, and recondite truths without their illustration. Whatever was simple and easy of apprehension was thought unworthy to be known, and the philosophy which explains the formation of the earth and its perfect adaptation to the subsistence and happiness of our race was not then conceived. Something of this strange error still remains, but a change has commenced, and we may soon hope to see a system of education which will lead the mind by an easy and natural process through the truths of eternal nature,

to the mysteries of mind and the study of the SUPREME AUTHOR.

Let it be your effort to hasten this change, and thus divest knowledge of its repulsive features, to excite the emulation and stimulate the patriotism of the young by making known to them the attainments of which they are capable, the advantages they may require, and the responsibilities they are to assume. The desire for knowledge once excited will increase, and will find ways to continue its pursuit. Then the youth destined to agricultural occupations, instead of being employed in perpetual labor, will be allowed to acquire the knowledge which renders those occupations cheerful, dignified and successful; and parents, instead of hoarding their gains to be divided among their offspring, to relieve them from the necessity of enterprise, will devote their wealth freely in bestowing that better patrimony which cannot be lost. Need I point out to such an audience how this work shall be commenced? Let it be the task of individual effort to awaken the attention of our fellow-citizens to the importance of keeping the Common-Schools open during a greater portion of every year, of a more careful regard to the qualifications of teachers, of the introduction of the natural sciences into the schools, of allowing the children of the State, at whatever cost, to persevere in the course of education commenced; and, above all, of removing every impediment and every prejudice which keeps the future citizen without the pale of the public schools. The State has been munificent to the rising generation. She has not only founded a system of universal instruction, but she has at great cost explored the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms and exposed their mysteries. The benefits of these discoveries though diffusive, will be experienced in an eminent degree by Agriculture.

You have already wisely employed the agency of association, but the principle is susceptible of more varied and comprehensive application. Be not content with organizing a State Society and County Associations, by which you excite the efforts of the few who least need improvement, but organize an Agricultural Society in every School District, and thus secure the co-operation of all our citizens.—Such Associations, while they would promote agricultural fellowship and vigorously second efforts immediately tending to improvement of the art, would apply themselves diligently in exciting an interest in the important subjects which have been discussed and in circulating treatises upon proper studies and watching over the interests of education and of agriculture in the Schools, in the primary action of Society, and in the Legislative Councils.

But, gentlemen, in whatever direction your efforts may be made, you will encounter difficulties and discouragement. You will be opposed by that contented spirit which regards every improvement as innovation, and which perpetually, though falsely, complains that mankind degenerate without making an effort to check the progress of error. You will be regarded as visionary by those who consider skill in acquiring and success in retaining wealth as the perfection of human wisdom; but you will remember that such as these seldom bestow their countenance upon the benefactors of mankind, nor does Fortune always distinguish them by her favors. ROBERT MORRIS, the finan-

cler of the Revolution, died a bankrupt. CHRISTOPHER COLLES, our most efficient advocate of inland navigation in the last century, was interred by private charity in the Stranger's burying ground. The essays of JESSE HAWLEY, which demonstrated the feasibility and importance of a continuous canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson river, were sent forth from a debtor's prison; and DE WITT CLINTON, whose name is written upon the capital of every column of our social edifice, was indebted to private hospitality for a final resting-place. It is the same generous and patriotic spirit which animated these philanthropists, and sustained them in their struggles with the prejudices of the age in which they lived, that I desire to invoke in favor of Agriculture. This spirit, wisely directed, cannot fail, for it has been irresistible in every department it has hitherto entered. But let us all remember that the only true way to begin reform is to find the source of error; and that if we cultivate MAN, the improvement of the animal and vegetable kingdoms will surely follow.

**Mr. Clay and the Friends of Protection at Syracuse.**

**INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.**

SYRACUSE, (N. Y.) Sept. 10, 1842.

HON. HENRY CLAY: Dear Sir—It having recently become known among your friends in this town, that one of our citizens had received a request from you to purchase and forward to you a quantity of Onondaga Salt, for use upon your farm, at Ashland, a large meeting was immediately assembled, at which it was resolved to ask your acceptance, free of charge, of a small invoice, containing specimens of the various kinds of Salt manufactured from our saline waters.

The undersigned were appointed a committee to advise you of the shipment, and to express to you, in behalf of the meeting, the high estimation in which your character and public services are held.

We now take great pleasure in advising you of the shipment of twenty-three barrels, to the care of January & Son, Maysville, Ky. with instructions to deliver to you free of charge. You will find specimens of Common and Solar Salt, Ground and Refined Dairy Salt, which, we venture to say, will prove equal to the best quality of the imported article.

A very large number of friends, as will be seen by the enclosed list of names accompanying the invoice, have shared in the gratification of exhibiting this small but sincere manifestation of the grateful sense which they entertain of your unwavering devotion to the great interests of American Industry in all its branches.

Indeed, Sir, those whose sentiments we are instructed to communicate, feel that your public services have laid them under a weightier debt of gratitude than they can express by this imperfect mark of their respect and esteem. Connected as they are, immediately or remotely, with this important branch of Domestic Industry, they know that their own prosperity and happiness vitally depend upon the maintenance of the principles which have guided your public life. They gratefully remember, that in the councils of the nation you have ever been the constant friend and eloquent advocate of American Labor. While others have sought the prostration of the Salt manufacturing

and other great interests now grown into national importance, you have always been found in opposition to the attempt. Your voice has ever been on the side of Protection to the Industry of your own country, against the blighting competition of Foreign Labor, controlled by foreign capital.

The saline waters of Onondaga are believed to be inexhaustible, and sufficient capital has already been invested in the manufacture of Salt from them to furnish half the quantity consumed in the U. States. Under a system of just protection, that capital was profitably employed, and thousands of Laborers in this and other dependent branches of Industry, received a comfortable subsistence.

But under the late existing laws this important interest has just reached its lowest point of depression. Capital is without its return, and Labor without its reward.

For the future, we hope much from the recent legislation of Congress in establishing a Tariff of duties upon foreign products, affording, as is believed, a fair measure of Protection to Domestic Industry.

But we cannot forget that the war-cry of *Repeal* has already been sounded.

At such a crisis, when that great system of which the honor of being the founder belongs to you, and which it was your ambition to establish upon a sound and permanent basis, had been suddenly prostrated, and when dangers are again thickening around it, your eminent services in the public councils in behalf of that beneficent system, cannot but be justly appreciated. The eyes of the nation again turn to you.

In conclusion, Sir, we beg leave to express the hope that your life may be long spared your country.

We are your friends and obedient servants,  
AMON P. GRANGER,  
JOHN G. FORBES,  
GEO. F. COMSTOCK.

**MR. CLAY'S ANSWER.**

ASHLAND, Sept. 24, 1842.

GENTLEMEN: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your friendly letter of the 10th inst. transmitting an invoice of twenty-three barrels of Salt and one box, embracing all the varieties manufactured at Syracuse, and a list of my friends who have done me the favor to contribute it. In consequence of my experience in the superiority of the Onondaga Salt, in the preservation of meat, and in all other uses to which that article is applied, I requested my friend Mr. SPENCER, to have forwarded to me a small supply. I had not the slightest expectation that my request would have attracted any other than the usual attention, much less that it should have elicited a present so liberal, and which comes recommended to me by so many flattering and friendly circumstances. I am advised this morning of the safe arrival of the Salt at Maysville, and it will reach this place in a day or two.

I know not how to express, in terms corresponding with my feelings, my great obligations for this acceptable present. I request you to offer for it, to those who contributed it, collectively and individually, my cordial and grateful acknowledgments.

They have done me the honor to send it to me as a testimony of their confidence and esteem, and especially in consequence of my devotion to our

American and domestic interests. I can never cease, gentlemen, to regard it as a duty, not to be neglected by the General Government, to afford efficient protection to those interests. The form of that protection is a question of subordinate consequence. That is best which commands the most satisfaction and promises the greatest durability. I had supposed that no man would controvert the power and the duty of Government, in imposing duties for revenue, to make liberal discriminations for the benefit of domestic industry. About the period of 1824, when the power of affording direct protection was first strenuously contested, that of incidental protection was freely and unreservedly conceded. But nothing can conciliate or appease the spirit of visionary Free Trade. And we now behold the dawn of opposition to all protection, either direct or incidental. The Tariff of 1832 was framed under the hope that it would quiet all discontents and produce general reconciliation. It moderated the pre-existing duties. The Tariff of 1842, recently passed, provides a scale of duties generally lower than that of 1832. Yet it is scarcely passed before the war cry of Repeal is raised against it. The party opposed to the Whigs, during the progress of the bill, with the land clause, through Congress, professed to be animated only by opposition to that clause. The bill passed, and then the Veto was applied. A majority of the Whigs adopted the painful but patriotic resolution to make a temporary sacrifice of the principle of distribution, to secure the passage of a measure demanded alike by the necessities of the People and of the Treasury. How did their opponents meet them?—Here was a fine opportunity to manifest the truth and sincerity of their profession that the Land clause was the exclusive cause of their dissatisfaction with the bill. But when stripped of that clause we find them, with but few exceptions, as unrelenting and determined in their opposition as ever. And when they cannot invoke the aid of 'Veto and ditto,' they fulminate denunciations of Repeal; As if the country were to be kept in a state of perpetual agitation, and no repose or security was to be allowed to its great business concerns!

I trust that the cooler reflection of these gentlemen will prompt them to abstain from any attempt totally to repeal the law, and limit their exertions to its improvement, by suitable amendments, if any shall be found necessary. But if they should persevere in their announced purpose, the People are competent to apply the proper corrective.

In my humble opinion there is no just objection to the Salt tax. Its equality is undeniable. All consume it, and pay in proportion to their consumption; the rich who use most paying the most. Its tendency, moreover, is to equalize the price of the article between the inhabitants of the seaboard who use marine or foreign salt, and those of the interior, who use that of our salines. And the competition between the two descriptions is sure to keep the price within reasonable limits.

Wishing a revival and long continuation of the prosperity of the Salt manufacture of your town, and health and happiness to yourselves and those whom you represent,

I am faithfully, your friend and obedient servant.

H. CLAY.

Messrs. Amos P. Granger, John G. Forbes, and George F. Comstock, &c. &c.

## PROTECTION...WOOL AND WOOLENS. SPEECH OF MR. SLADE OF VT. ON THE TARIFF BILL.

Delivered in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union July 11th and 12th, 1842.

MR. SLADE said it was not his intention to obtrude himself long upon the attention of the Committee. He had had the honor at an early part of the session, to address the House at considerable length on the subject of a protecting Tariff, and did not deem it necessary to go again into the general subject. He rose mainly for the purpose of calling the attention of the Committee to the subject of wool and woolens, and of urging it to such action as should give efficient protection to these great interests. Before proceeding to this, however, he would take the liberty to dwell for a few moments, upon one or two points having a more general connexion with the subject under discussion.

I have been surprised, said Mr. S. to observe how harshly the word 'protection' grates upon the ears of many gentlemen here. Sir, what is this protection, about which so much is said, and the bare mention of which so much excites the sensibilities of gentlemen? It is such an exercise of the power of this government "to lay and collect duties and imposts," as shall interpose a check to the importation of the productions of foreign skill, capital, labor and machinery, to the end that the skill, capital, labor and machinery of our own citizens may be shielded from ruinous foreign competition, and have full and profitable employment in supplying our own wants. This is *protection*. The fathers so understood it more than forty years ago, and talked of it and legislated upon it with as little doubt of its constitutionality, as they had of the constitutionality of declaring war and making peace.

The necessity for this kind of protection was, as every body acquainted with the history of that period knows, one of the leading motives for the formation of the Constitution; and the moment the Government came into existence, the people turned to it for the fulfilment of this great purpose, with an instinct as strong and unerring as that which draws the infant to its mother's arms for nourishment and protection. Their distresses under the exhausting process of "Free Trade" with Great Britain, and their sense of the Constitutional power of this Government to afford relief, and of the indispensable necessity of its interposition, were fully and clearly expressed in petitions of numerous "tradesmen, mechanics and manufacturers" of Baltimore, New-York and Boston, which I read to the House on the occasion of addressing it on this subject in the early part of the present session. The speech in which I embodied the substance of these petitions was published in the Globe of the 14th and 15th of March; and I beg to refer all who may desire to see a plain, convincing, common-sense argument for the existence of the power of "protection" in this Government, and the absolute necessity for its exercise, to those petitions, as there presented. To my mind, they carry with them more force, than all the labored reasonings I have ever heard or read upon the subject.

I need not say that these petitions met with a cordial reception by the first Congress. Its ear

was open to their prayer, and its legislation came promptly to the relief of the petitioners in an act to which it affixed the true, and honest, and constitutional name of an act for "the *encouragement and protection* of manufactures."

I speak of "protection" as being clearly constitutional; not because there is in the Constitution any express grant of such a power, but because it forms, of necessity, an essential element of the Government. The power granted in the Constitution "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States" necessarily implies the power to do it for *this purpose*, because such is the purpose for which it is universally exercised, by every authority which can be called a Government; and because the only means of doing it—the imposition of duties on imports—has been wholly transferred from the States to the Government of the Union. The inference from this, of the power of protection is irresistible. Nothing but an express *prohibition* to exercise the revenue power for this purpose could negative the inference; and every one who should, for the first time, come to look at this subject and hear the right of protection denied would instinctively ask—where is the *limitation*?—where in the Constitution is the *prohibition* to exercise a power so plainly inferrible from the expressly granted power of laying and collecting duties, to provide for the common defence and general welfare, and, at the same time so indispensable to the discharge of the appropriate functions of a Government?

What is a Government worth unless it has the power of protection? And what case can be imagined, in which its exercise is more indispensable than in this? What! A people subjected to a commercial intercourse with foreign nations exhausting their resources, and paralyzing their industry as certainly as the withdrawing of the atmosphere from an exhausted receiver extinguishes animal life, and yet no power in this government to apply a remedy?—no power of "common defence" against such a process of draining the life-blood of the country! The framers of the Constitution must not be reproached with the weakness and the folly of having formed a Government possessing no self-protecting energy; a Government which leaves the country, in regard to all its commercial relations, helpless at the feet of foreign powers. We raise armies and build navies to defend our soil from the tread of hostile invaders; and yet when the Government is called on to give that protection to industry which can alone make the soil worth possessing, it is instantly struck with a constitutional paralysis, and stands powerless and defenceless—a monument of republican imbecility and folly!

Sir, this power of protection which is so much denounced, is a great trust, committed to this Government by the people of the United States; and we are solemnly bound to execute it, as the wants and interests of the people of this Union shall require. The Government would manifestly fail of accomplishing one of the leading purposes of its creation should it become recreant to this trust. The oath, indeed, which we have taken to support the Constitution, rightly understood, binds us to its faithful execution.

So clear is the constitutional power of protection, and so just and strong is the claim of the

people for its exercise, that it is impossible long to neglect it without greatly and dangerously weakening their attachment to the Government and the Union. Whenever this leading purpose of the Union shall have been abandoned; whenever the solemn decision shall have been made that "*protection*" forms no part of the constitutional duty of this Government, then will a blow have been struck at this Union which will shake it to its deepest foundations. The strength of the Union is not in the parchment on which its Constitution is written. It is in the conscious enjoyment by the people, and the whole people, of the benefits and blessings which it was intended to secure and perpetuate. Throw them back to the "Free Trade" which preceded its adoption; expose them to a return of the dreadful paralysis which it produced, and from which the first revenue law, enacted expressly for "the *encouragement and protection* of manufactures," was the signal for their deliverance, and you produce a sense of *abandonment* which will be insupportable, and from which you can expect none but the worst consequences to the Union.

But, sir, we are to have no such results, because we are to have no abandonment of the protective policy. The thing is impossible, unless the whole structure of our Government shall be changed, and the people shall cease to be sovereign. Protection may be denounced here, and this Congress may abandon it; but if the people are to rule—if *party deception and party machinery* shall be unavailing permanently to bind them to their true interests, they will fill these halls with men who will fairly represent those interests,—men who will bring here the intelligence and the spirit of the Congress of 1789; and who will, with that Congress not hesitate to lay duties with the boldly and honestly avowed purpose of "*encouraging and protecting*" the industry of our country. Such a result as this is certain, because the evils of a want of protection must necessarily, in the progress of time, come home to the business and bosoms of all, and produce manifestations of feeling and opinion by the people, to which visionary theorists, and worse than visionary politicians will be forced to yield. Indeed such manifestations of opinion and feeling have been already made—manifestations to which "Northern men with Southern principles" will do well to take heed.

But we are met with the "*compromise*." Protection, it is said, has been *surrendered* by the "*compromise*." The constitutional objections seem to be abandoned, and the opponents of protection are taking shelter under the "*compromise*," as a sort of supplemental constitution.

And what is this compromise, which it is claimed has surrendered forever, the principle of protection? It is supposed to exist in a law of Congress passed in March 1833, by which it was enacted that one-tenth of the excess of duties under the existing laws, above 20 per cent. should be taken off, biennially, commencing with the 1st day of January, 1834, until four tenths of such excess should come to be deducted, on the 1st of January 1840; and that three of the remaining six tenths should be deducted on the 1st of January 1842, and the remaining three tenths on the 1st of July 1843; after which time the duties should be levied in ready money, and be assessed in the form of a *per-centum* upon the home value, and to an amount

necessary to an economical administration of the Government.

It is assumed that, since this law provided that all duties should be reduced to 20 per cent on the first of July 1842, therefore the amount necessary to an economical administration of the Government was to be raised by *one* rate per cent of duty applied *indiscriminately* to all importations—that is, that discrimination above 20 per cent for the purpose of protection was virtually prohibited. So far as the act itself is concerned. I admit that if 20 per cent would raise an amount sufficient to supply the economical wants of the Government, there could be no discrimination above that, for purposes of protection, or for any other purpose; but I deny that, if an excess over 20 per cent should be necessary to supply such wants, that excess must be uniform on all importations.

But whatever may be the meaning of the law, like all other laws, it is subject to repeal or modification. This is what the friends of protection contend for; while its opponents maintain that the law is *unalterable*. This unchangeableness they contend results, not from any intrinsic quality of the law—which, in itself, is neither more nor less than any other law, a simple emanation of the legislative will—but from something extraneous to it. The law was founded, they assert, in a *compromise* between the North and the South, which is claimed as a sort of guaranty that the law shall be perpetual; making its binding force to consist, not in the law itself, but in the circumstances attending its enactment.

And what was the history of its enactment? Shortly this. South Carolina became dissatisfied with the rates of duties imposed for protection, and nullified the revenue laws. "*Our resolve (said her Convention in December 1832,) is fixed 'and unalterable, that a protecting Tariff shall 'no longer be enforced within the limits of 'South Carolina.'*"

To save the conflict of this threatened resistance, the law in question was passed; whereupon South Carolina desisted. And now what does she claim? Why, very modestly, that, for refraining to carry into execution her threat of resistance, and acquiescing in a delay of the reduction of duties to 20 per cent on every thing, until the 1st of July 1842, the duties should, thenceforth and forever remain at that rate; or if increased above it to supply the wants of the Government, that that increase should be uniform on every thing—that is, without discrimination above 20 per cent for the purposes of protection.

What a compromise! On one side resistance to the laws then in force (not the claim of a right to resist and nullify) was given up. On the other, protection forever after the 30th of June 1842, except so far as it might result from a horizontal Tariff of 20 per cent. The magnitude of the supposed surrender is sufficient to show that no such surrender could have been intended, or thought of. The thing is impossible.

But if it were possible, who was authorized to make the surrender? Suppose every manufacturer in the United States had been here and consented to a surrender in the most solemn form—whom would it bind? The people of the United States in 1842?—the manufacturers, the mechanics, the farmers, the shepherds, and the laborers who now

need and claim the protection which this Government alone is competent to give them? No, sir, no. It is too absurd to obtain the slightest countenance. The idea is revolting to common sense.

And besides, let it be considered with what precipitancy the "compromise" act was passed. The whole scene of its enactment is fresh in my memory. On the 25th day of February 1833, it was introduced into this House after 5 o'clock P. M. with a motion that the Committee of the whole of the State of the Union, to which had been referred a bill to reduce and otherwise alter the duties on imports, be instructed to report it as an amendment to that bill. The motion was forthwith carried, and within an hour, the amendment was reported to the House. Preparatory to the action of the House on the question of concurring in the report of the Committee of the whole motions were successively made, for a call of the House—to adjourn—to postpone to to-morrow—and to adjourn,—all of which were *promptly negatived*; and then the House concurred, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed. This was all done in the space of not more than two hours. On the next day the bill was read a third time and passed *under the previous question*.

Such is the history of the passage of this claimed-to-be *permanent, unalterable* revenue bill, through the people's branch of the National Legislature. And this is what President Tyler denominates, in his late Veto Message, "*the solemn adjustment of a great question.*" It was truly a "great question;" but as to its adjustment, there was any thing but *solemnity* in it, unless it was the solemnity of dragging a reluctant victim, with indecent haste, to the altar of sacrifice.

To speak of an act *thus* passed through this House as involving a perpetual surrender of protection, is the extreme of presumption and absurdity.

But Mr. CLAY, it is said, made the surrender in behalf of the protected interests. Without admitting that he, or any body else, had power to surrender any interest in the future, I affirm that he made no pretence of such a surrender, but that he expressly disclaimed it in the face of the Senate. I find that in the debate on the bill in that body Mr. Clay said

"He did not fear any misconstruction of the pledge contained in the bill; and he hoped that the manufacturer would go on and prosper, confident that the abandonment of protection was never intended, and looking to MORE FAVORABLE TIMES for a renewal of a MORE EFFICIENT TARIFF."

And now, sir, what was really the "compromise" on the part of the protected interests? It was simply a consent to *try the experiment* of descending in the scale of duties by the biennial process I have described, for the purpose of ascertaining how far, with the benefits of increased skill and improved machinery, and modes of production, the duties might be reduced consistently with PROTECTION. It had been claimed by the South that the duties had been unnecessarily high for a reasonable protection; and finally, that there should be no protection at all. The *latter* there was no pretence of admitting in the compromise. "The abandonment of protection was never intended," said Mr. Clay in the face of the Senate. The *former* was to be determined in the process of the experiment of reduction, looking to *more favorable times*, for a satisfactory and a right adjustment of the Tariff.



Such, it seems to me, was the whole of the compromise. The experiment has been tried; and we are now called on to consider, and decide, not whether the settled policy of forty years shall be overturned, and protection abandoned, but what rates of duties are necessary, and upon what principles they shall be passed, in order to form an "Efficient Tariff," for the protection of all branches of our industry.

Mr. Clay encouraged the manufacturers to look to "more favorable times," for the adjustment of a protective Tariff. He was too sagacious not to perceive that the process of reduction would inevitably bring the country to a point where there would be forced upon it a conviction of the indispensable necessity of the protective policy, and when the hostility to it, which was then wrought up, under accumulated excitement, to the madness of resistance, would yield somewhat to the influences of intervening causes.

That time has arrived. The indispensable necessity of protection is felt throughout the country; and South Carolina, if she is disposed to carry out her resolution of 1832, that "a protective Tariff shall not be enforced within her limits," will find, in place of the co-operation which then gave countenance to her resistance, a gradually growing conviction, even in the South itself, of the necessity of protection to sustain the true interests of the whole country. Nothing is more obvious and striking in the present aspect of things than the fact of a diminished repugnance at the South, to the protecting policy,—indeed I may say, an increasing conviction there of its great importance and necessity.

There is nothing which stands in the way of a satisfactory and permanent adjustment of the Tariff upon the great *protective principle* avowed in the revenue law of 1789, but the Cotton Interest, with its *unnatural Northern party alliance*. How long that *Northern alliance* will be able to sustain itself, it would be well for its leaders to enquire.—Public opinion is pressing upon them with a force which they begin to find it inconvenient to resist. The People of the North, the Middle and the West are fast coming to see the extent of the tribute which an alliance with the Cotton-growing interest will impose upon them. And what is its demand? Why, sir, it is neither more nor less than this,—that the rest of the country shall *stand still*, while it raises cotton, transports it to Europe, purchases the products of foreign capital, skill and labor, transports them to our shores, and spreads them out in all their inviting forms and colors to draw from an unemployed people (unemployed without protection) their last dollar in payment for them. This is the demand! It was the demand in 1832; and it was because the other portions of the country would not consent to be thus tributary to the cotton and foreign manufacturing monopolies combined, that South Carolina nullified. It was the power of that combined monopoly aided by the recreancy of "Northern men with Southern principles," that forced upon the North a misnamed compromise; and it is the same power that now claims the compromise to be everlasting, and would fasten it upon the country throughout all generations. But it is too late in the day to set up such a claim as this. The compromise has been submitted to, until it has reached the point where a revival of the whole

system of duties was contemplated; and now, the people are awaking to their true interests. They demand a Tariff—a *protecting Tariff*—protecting to the interests of all—protecting, in the broad constitutional sense in which the great idea was introduced into the preamble to the first revenue law, and in which it is henceforth to be understood, and carried out in the legislation of the Union.

I now come, Mr. Chairman, to the execution of my main purpose in rising to address the Committee. It was, as I announced, to vindicate the claims of the wool-growers to greater protection than the bill on your table gives them. I stand here as the representative of a constituency who have a deeper interest in this branch of industry than any other constituency in the country. Of the 20,000,000 of sheep, according to the returns of 1840, there were in my District, 532,737—more than one-fortieth part of all the sheep in the United States. About 3,000 of these constituents of mine have sent to me their petitions for a protective Tariff, which are now on the table of this Committee. They furnish an illustration of what I have before had occasion to remark here, that the interest of a protective Tariff extends far beyond the 791,000 "manufacturers and artisans" who, certain gentlemen have argued, were the only portion of the country to be benefited by protection, and that at the expense of all the rest. But a very small portion of these 3,000 petitioners are "manufacturers or artisans." They are farmers—the lords of the soil, which they cultivate with their own hands. Besides the 530,000 sheep, producing 1,330,000 lbs. of wool, they produced in 1840, among other things, 80,000 head of neat cattle, 30,000 swine, 70,000 bushels of wheat, 250,000 bushels of corn, 50,000 bushels of rye, 295,000 bushels of oats, 215,000 tons of hay, 1,082,000 bushels of potatoes, 540,000 pounds of sugar, and \$394,000 worth of butter and cheese.

Such are the people who have, through me as their representative, laid their petitions on your table, for protection. And such are the people of VERMONT, who come here through a united delegation and ask protection at the hands of this Government for their agricultural interests. See what the whole State returned of the above production in 1840. Sheep, 1,632,000—wool, 3,700,000 pounds—neat cattle, 384,000—swine, 204,000—wheat, 496,000 bushels—corn, 1,120,000 bushels—rye, 230,000 bushels—oats, 2,220,000 bushels—hay, 837,000 tons—potatoes, 8,870,000 bushels—sugar, 4,648,000 pounds—and \$2,008,000 worth of butter and cheese.

Standing here as the Representative of farmers, and especially of wool-growers, I trust I shall be excused if I manifest some zeal in their behalf. I leave for the present the support of other interests to those whose relations to them demand their special attention, and come to the great interests which I particularly represent.

The Bill before us makes a distinction of ten per cent between the duties on wool and woolsens—the former being fixed at 30, and the latter at 40 per centum ad valorem. Against this distinction I deem it my duty to protest, as contrary to the established policy of the Government, and tending to the great injury of an agricultural interest which sound policy demands that we should cherish as of the highest national importance.

Let me recur, Mr. Chairman, for a few moments,

to the origin and history of our protecting legislation in regard to wool and woollens.

The leading grounds on which the protective policy has been advocated, from the first Messages of President WASHINGTON, and the debates in the first Congress, down thro' all the Presidents to General Jackson, and all the Congresses to that of 1832, is, that it is essential to our National Independence, and especially to our independence of foreign countries for supplies of clothing, and instruments of defence in time of war. The war of 1812 furnished an occasion of testing the correctness of this position. With all the encouragement which had been given to manufactures, we suddenly found ourselves dependent upon our very enemy for many of the articles necessary to the clothing of our armies, and essential as means of annoyance and defence. The extent to which we were supplied with goods, especially woollen goods, by an illicit intercourse with the enemy is well known; and the enormous prices which were paid for them, will not soon be forgotten. I have before me a statement taken from official reports made to Congress showing the amount of blankets, cloths, and other woollen goods of foreign manufacture purchased for the use of our Army and Navy in the year 1813, at the then current high prices. They were

For the use of the Army.....	\$471,815
For the use of the Navy.....	121 361

\$593,076

Nearly six hundred thousand dollars expended in one year by the Government in the purchase, for the use of our Army and Navy, of the products of the workshops, mostly, of our enemy!

It was thus that a conviction of the indispensable necessity of fostering our manufactures, and especially the manufacture of woollens, as essential to our real independence, was forced upon Congress and the country. The experience of the war laid the foundation for the protecting legislation which followed, and which gave us the Tariff of 1816.

Previous to that time the duty on woollens had been five per centum ad valorem. To this had been added, by an act of March 26, 1803, two and a half per cent, on account of the Mediterranean fund, which was continued by successive acts to the 3d of March 1815. From 5 per cent, as the duty stood on the 27th of April 1816, the Tariff Act of that date raised woollens to 25 per cent; while wool, which, up to that time had been free, was subjected to a duty of 15 per cent. By that act the duty on woollens was to be reduced to 20 per cent, on the first of July 1819, while the duty on wool was to remain at 15 per cent.

The policy of encouraging the production of wool as a raw material was clearly indicated in this act. To give the needed impulse to the manufacture of woollens, the importation of wool, for three years, was permitted upon a duty of ten per cent less than the duty on woollens; after which the difference was to be but five per cent. Congress evidently anticipated that, within three years, the capacity of the country to supply the wool needed for its consumption would be so increased as to justify a difference of only 5 per cent between the manufacture and the raw material.

The policy of encouraging the protection of wool was still more clearly indicated in the Tariff law of 1824. By that law the duty on woollens was

raised to 30 per cent, until the 30th of June 1825, and thereafter, to 33½ per cent. At the same time the duty on wool was raised to 20 per cent until the first of June 1825—25 per cent until the first of June 1826, and 30 per cent thereafter—with the exception of wool costing 10 cents and under, which was admitted on a duty of 15 per cent.

Wool—excepting coarse wool—was thus gradually raised from 20 per cent in 1824 to 30 per cent in 1826—a point within 3¼ per cent of the duty on woollen in that year. Nobody can mistake the policy of this gradual approximation of the duty on the raw material to the duty on the manufactured article—a policy founded on a just and enlightened view of the great national importance of encouraging the wool husbandry of the United States.

This policy was continued in the Tariff of 1828. By that act woollens were put at a duty of 40 per cent, until the 30th of June, 1829, and 45 per cent thereafter—with graduated minimums of 50 cents, \$1.00; \$2.50, and 4.00; that is to say—cloths costing under 50 cents were to be deemed and taken to have cost 50 cents—cloths costing over 50 cents and under \$1.00 were to be taken to have cost \$1.00—cloths costing over \$1.00 and under \$2.50 were to be taken to have cost \$2.50, and cloths costing over \$2.50 and under \$4.00 were to be taken to have cost \$4.00; and the duty of 45 per cent was to be assessed upon those artificial values. By the same act, wool was subjected to a duty of 40 per cent ad valorem, and 4 cents per pound; the ad valorem to be increased 5 per cent annually until it should amount to 50 per cent. The specific duty of 4 cents would be equivalent, on wool costing say 40 cents, to 10 per cent; making the duty 60 per cent. This would appear to be higher than the duty on woollens, which rose under that act to 45 per cent. The effect of the graduated minimums, however, was to raise the duty on woollens considerably higher, on an average, than the maximum duty on wool.

The Tariff of 1832 reduced the duty on both wool and woollens, but in no wise indicated an abandonment of the policy of protecting wool by a duty equal to that on woollens. By that act the artificial valuations of woollens were abolished, and the duty was fixed at 50 per cent on the real value—excepting on “plains, kerseys or kendall cottons” costing less than 35 cents a square yard, on which, for the benefit of the slave owners—the principal purchasers of these coarse goods for the use of slaves—the duty was reduced to 5 per cent, but was subsequently raised to 50 per cent by the compromise act of 1833.

On wool (excepting wool costing 8 cents and under, which was made free) the duty was fixed by the act of 1832 at 40 per cent ad valorem and 4 cents per pound. The 4 cents specific was equivalent, on wool costing 40 cents (which was probably about the average value of the importations at that period) to 10 per cent of that value; so that on wool costing 40 cents, the whole duty amounted to 50 per cent—the same as on woollens.

It thus appears that it has been long the settled policy of the Government to encourage the production of wool, and to protect it, after it has been produced, from ruinous foreign competition; and that the duty on woollens has been generally the measure of that protection, except under the acts of 1816, and 1824, when the supply of domestic

wool was limited, and it was necessary, in order to encourage the establishment of the woolen manufacture, to admit foreign wool upon a duty considerably less than the duty on woolen goods.

It was under the combined stimulus of a moderate duty on wool and a higher duty on woollens, under the act of 1816, that our flocks began to be improved by the importation of Spanish sheep. That improvement was increased under the act of 1824, by which the duty on wool approximated nearer to the duty on woollens; and was finally consummated under the protection of the acts of 1828 and '32 by which the duty on wool was made about equal to that upon the principal articles of its manufacture.

It is thus that the quality of our wool has been improved, and the number of our sheep increased, until we have, now, in the United State probably more than *twenty-five millions* producing annually, some *sixty millions* of pounds of wool, of qualities suited to the manufacture of cloths of any fineness which the wants of our country may require.

And now Mr. Chairman let me ask—why abandon the policy in regard to the relative protection to wool and the manufactures from it, which has long been established in our protecting legislation? The bill before us fixes a duty of 40 per cent. on woolen cloths and cassimeres, while it reduces the duty on wool to 30 per cent. Why this difference? They have hitherto been placed, as I have shown, upon a footing of equality; at least ever since the capacity of the country to produce the quantity and the qualities necessary for our consumption has been developed. I ask those who would now destroy that equality to give a reason for it. I do not deem it necessary to go into a minute calculation, to show that equal protection to the wool-grower, and the manufacturer, requires an equal duty on wool and woollens. It is enough for me to say that an equality of duties has been established by the legislation of Congress, and to put it to those who would disturb that equality to give reasons for it. Until reasons are given, strong and overpowering, I must insist that the equality be maintained. And I insist upon it the more urgently, because of the great amount of capital which has been invested in the wool-growing business, and the embarrassment and distress which will be produced among a very numerous and meritorious class of our people, by the sudden change in regard to the protection of wool which this bill contemplates.

I stated, on a former occasion, that the capital invested in the wool-growing business, including the land for the subsistence of 20,000,000 of sheep, and the investments necessary for the support of those engaged in the care of the sheep, the clipping of the wool and its transportation to market, amounted to \$130,000,000. That estimate was, probably too low, including as it did, the land at twelve dollars only per acre, when it should I am inclined to think, upon more full information, have been estimated as high as twenty. Taking the latter estimate, and allowing for the increased number of sheep since the enumeration in 1840, and the whole investment probably falls but little short of *two hundred millions of dollars*.

Now, sir, it should be remembered that every dollar of these investments will be affected by our legislation. They have been made in the con-

dence that equal protection to wool and woollens would be continued. And now it is proposed to establish a difference between them of ten per cent. Have we considered the sacrifices which will result from this change of policy? Have we computed the portion of this vast amount of capital which will be sunk under its operation? And it is capital, let it be remembered, that has not been accumulated by a single turn of good fortune, but by years of patient care and labor. There are causes which have depressed, and which will probably continue to keep down the price of wool, and reduce the profit of the capital employed in its growth, which are independent of the amount of protecting duties, and which are sufficiently embarrassing to the wool-growers, without superadding the diminution of duty which this bill contemplates.

The Committee who reported the bill may have deemed the diminution necessary in order to enable the woolen establishments to recover from their prostration, and resume their operations with a reasonable hope of success—a success indispensable, it is admitted, to the maintenance of a profitable market for our wool.

It was necessary, in the infancy of our woolen manufacturing establishments, to make a difference between wool and woollens. By the Tariff of 1816, that difference was 10 per cent. But it was founded mainly on the fact, that the supply of domestic wool of *suitable qualities* was not adequate to our wants. Our woolen establishments had, moreover, to be *created* and carried along through the perilous period of infancy. The case is now different. They are in existence. Their machinery is perfected. The skill to use it has been acquired; and there is in the country, an ample supply of wool, of the finest qualities. That supply it is believed amounts, at this moment, to one hundred millions of pounds, while we have, probably, twenty-five millions of sheep for future production. All this is, obviously a sufficient guaranty against such exorbitant prices of wool as shall prevent the resuscitation of our manufacturing establishments and the placing of them upon a stable footing.

No intelligent manufacturer can, it seems to me, ask that the duty on wool shall be less than the duty on woollens; and so far as I am acquainted with the views of the manufacturers of my own State, they claim no such distinction. They ask, indeed, and urge, that they may be protected; not however, by a difference of ten per cent between wool and woollens, but by such a duty on the latter, as shall enable them, while they pay a remunerating price for wool, to compete successfully with the manufacturers of foreign countries, and maintain their establishments upon a firm basis. And this protection, it is hardly necessary to say, is essential to the protection of the wool-growers themselves, since it is evident that no duty which can be laid on wool will be of any avail to them, without a market; and that, to maintain this, adequate protection to the manufacturer is indispensable.

Let the manufacturer be protected; set his spindles and looms in motion, and let him feel a reasonable assurance that no whim of legislation or revolution of parties shall prostrate the barriers which we may erect against the flood of foreign importations,—and the wool-grower will as certainly feel the benefit of the protection as the revolutions

of the manufacturer's water-wheel will give motion to the pond from which it is supplied; provided we take care that this protection be not counteracted by an unrestrained admission of foreign wool. Against this we must also erect barriers; and as I contend, of equal height with those by which the manufacturer is protected.

The embarrassment and depression of our woolen establishments, have not resulted from the fact that the duty on wool has been as high as the duty on woollens; but from the financial embarrassments growing out of political experiments upon the currency of the country—(which have depressed every branch of industry) and from the reductions of duties in the latter stages of descent under the compromise.

With regard to the experiments, "*the end is not yet!*" Their disastrous results it is to be feared, are not yet fully wrought out. No legislation of ours can immediately arrest them. The wool-grower, the woolen manufacturer, and all the industrial interests have suffered, and will continue to suffer, from them.

The reductions of duties under the compromise has had a disastrous influence upon our woolen manufacturing establishments, by increasing the importations of woolen goods. The extent of that increase since the 30th of September last cannot be stated—no returns of importations subsequent to that time having been published. The influx, however, must have been much augmented after the 1st of January, by reason of the great reduction of duties which took place on that day. For the five years previous to the 30th of September, the importations were as follows:

1837.....	\$5,150,018
1838.....	7,579,485
1839.....	11,550,038
1840.....	6,683,828
1841.....	7,513,517

The heavy importations of 1839 have, of course, extended their depressing influence over the succeeding two years. The average of the three years is \$8,582,461—nearly \$3,500,000 more than the importations of 1837. The Custom-House returns do not, however, show the full value of the importations. The duties being a *per centage* upon the *foreign* value, the ascertainment of that value has been so affected by fraudulent invoices and false oaths as to reduce the amount of duties collected, and present in our Custom-House returns, an apparent value considerably below the true value of the importations. Our manufacturers have suffered more from these frauds than the wool-growers, because a considerable portion of the duty on wool has been a specific duty per pound, which, of course, is not affected by fraudulent valuations.

It is evident that the present stock of woolen goods in the United States, is very large; and that the depression of our woolen manufacturing business, must consequently continue for some time to come, whatever duties may be now laid. The wool-growers, then, must continue to feel the double influence of slowness of increase in the demand for wool, and the excessive supply now in the country, amounting, as I have stated, probably to one hundred millions of pounds. It would be a great aggravation of the pressure of this state of things upon the wool-growers to seize this occasion to reduce the duty on wool, one-fourth below

the duty on woollens, as is done by the bill on our table.

As to the duty on woollens, I think the 40 per cent in the bill before us, is sufficient, if that per cent on the *real* foreign value can be collected. The bill contains new and important safeguards against frauds, which, if it becomes a law, I hope to see thoroughly executed, so as to make the nominal protection which we give to the great woolen interest, the real protection. If there are to be new evasions to meet these new enactments, then will there be imposed upon Congress the necessity of new legislation to carry out the purposes of that which I hope to see consummated by the passage, with some modifications, of the present bill. One of these modifications I have sufficiently indicated. It is the addition of at least ten per cent to the duty on wool; and this should be in the form of a specific duty in addition to the *ad valorem* of 80 per cent now in the bill.\*

I have proceeded, in this argument, upon the assumption that it should be a cardinal principle in our policy to give ample protection, by direct duties, to the raw materials for our manufactures. I regret to see, in any quarter, a disposition to overlook this principle, and to regard the whole question of protection as absorbed in the interest merely of the manufacturer. Such is the view taken of the matter by the minority of the Committee of Manufactures in their elaborate report upon the subject, made at the present session.

"If (say the majority of the Committee) the manufacturer of wool, iron and leather, are really in the distressed condition in which they are represented to be, we may, without destroying the factories, give them essential relief by reducing the duty on the *raw material*."

Again in reference to protection to the cotton manufacturer, and the impracticability of aiding him by a reduction of the duty on cotton wool, which will not affect its price, the minority of the Committee says—

"Then the relief to be afforded to him (the cotton manufacturer) must be by other means than by reducing the duty on the raw material. The other mode which presents itself is, by a *reduction in the price of labor*."

It is strange that the minority of the Committee should have so entirely mistaken the true character and aim of the protecting policy. It is not merely to sustain the manufacturer and give increased profits to his capital, that this policy has been adopted; but it is that the productive power of the *whole community* should be stimulated, by furnishing a demand for *labor* at good wages, and a market for all the productions, including every description of *raw material*, which our soil is capable of producing, at prices which will give competence and comfort to our people;—such competence and comfort including, of course, the means of education, as industrious freemen ought to enjoy.

The woolen and cotton manufacturers of my State, will not thank the minority of the Committee for their discovery that the manufacturers may be protected by a *reduction of the duty on wool*, and a *diminution of the price of labor*. It would be no satisfaction to them thus to prosper at the expense of the wool-growers and laborers, by whom they are surrounded, and with whose pres-

\* A duty of three cents per pound was subsequently added. See the wool clause of the bill, at the end of these remarks. The three cents is equivalent to 10 per cent on wool costing 30 cents—the average cost of the importations of dutiable wool for the last three years. On wool costing 20 cents it is equivalent to 15 per cent.

perity and happiness their own are deeply identified. Such an argument better suits the latitude where capitalists own the laborers, than it does that where the laborers own themselves, and are a part of the community.

Recurring again to the question of the amount of duty required for the protection of wool, a remark seems to be due to an argument of the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, in his speech at the opening of this debate. Alluding to the depressed price of wool, he inferred that it could not be the result of a diminished duty, because the amount imported for the last three years had been but "little over half a million of pounds annually—an amount (he says) certainly quite too small to affect the general price."

On looking to the Custom-House returns I find that the amount imported of dutiable wool, though not much over half a million of pounds per annum, has gradually increased during the last four years,—being,

In 1838.....	417,237 pounds.
1839.....	526,654
1840.....	594,748
1841.....	596,646

It thus appears that though the importations have been "small," they have been gradually increasing, notwithstanding the diminished consumption of wool by our enfeebled manufacturing establishments.

If, however, it be admitted that the quantity imported has been "too small to affect the general price," the inference which the Chairman of the Ways and Means would draw from it, namely, that the 30 per cent duty in this bill is a sufficient protection—by no means follows. It should be remembered that the comparatively small importations of wool were during a period of great depression of woolen establishments, owing to the derangement of our currency, a general shaking of confidence, and a descending duty on woollens, aggravated by frauds in their valuations. The effect of all this was, of course, a diminished demand for wool,—a diminution which, while it invited but a limited importation from abroad, left the production of our own flocks to accumulate to a complete glut of our market. The duty on wool, moreover, during these years was from 10 to 12 per cent higher than this bill proposes. It is very evident that we cannot reason from such a state of things to a future, in which the woolen manufacture shall revive—as we may hope it will, under the provisions of this bill, *fairly executed*—and in which, the demand for wool shall of course, be increased. Nobody can expect that such an increased demand will not, under a diminished duty of 10 to 12½ per cent, be supplied from abroad, to an extent very far exceeding the importations of the last few years. It would, surely, be most incongruous *protective* legislation, to increase the demand for wool, and at the same time invite the supply of it from abroad by diminishing the duty. Equal justice demands that, while we stimulate the manufacture of wool by a duty of 40 per cent, we give the benefit of that stimulus to our own wool-growers, by an equal duty.

But there is another view of this subject. The *dutiable* wool imported—averaging, for the last four years, but little over half a million of pounds—is not the only wool which is to be taken into this account. It should embrace all wool which is of a

fineness: to come in competition with our own; and a considerable amount of such wool has been lately introduced *duty free*, by a process which I will proceed to describe.

By the Tariff of 1832, wool, the value of which, at the place of exportation, should not exceed eight cents per pound, was to be admitted free of duty. The intention of this provision, as all know who were familiar with the history of its introduction into the act, was to admit free of duty, *coarse* wool which *did not come in competition with the wool of our own flocks*. The word *coarse*, however, was not used in the act. The question as to the *quality* of the wool to be admitted free of duty, was left to depend entirely on its "value at the place of exportation." It was supposed that wool which should really cost eight cents or under, must, of necessity, be so coarse as not to compete with the productions of our own flocks. Its admission therefore free of duty, was permitted, for the sake of encouraging the manufacture of coarse cloths, carpets, &c. which would otherwise, be supplied to us by foreign manufacturers, for the benefit of foreign capital and labor.

Such was the intention of Congress. That intention has, to some extent, been defeated—first by the general reduction in the price of foreign wool, which has thrown below the eight cents' point, wool which formerly ranged immediately above it; and secondly, and more especially, by such a change in sheep husbandry in South America, as to produce wool of considerable fineness at an expense no greater than was formerly incurred in the production of *coarse* wool. This operation has taken place principally in Buenos Ayres. I have before me specimens of wool imported from that country duty free, which are of a fineness equal to much of the half-blood merino of our own flocks, and some even of higher grades: This is not the wool of the native South American sheep, but is produced by crossings of that breed with the full-blooded merino.

Information having been communicated to me that these crossings had been effected by merino bucks exported from the United States, I have examined the Custom-House returns of our exports, to see whether they would throw any light on the subject. I have looked through the returns for the last ten years, especially in reference to Buenos Ayres, whence the principal part of the *fine* wool, admitted duty free, because costing less than eight cents, has been imported—and I find that the only exports of sheep to that country during that period, were in the years 1837 and '38, as follows:

1827	300 sheep—value \$6,000—equal to \$20, each
1838	801 " " 4,565 " " 5,70, each

The value of these 1100 sheep, thus sent to Buenos Ayres, shows, conclusively, that they were merino bucks. The purpose of sending them cannot be mistaken; and the results, or rather specimens of them, I now hold in my hand, being the specimens which have been sent me, of the wool imported, duty free, from that country. The climate of Buenos Ayres is favorable to the health and longevity of sheep. "They may (says the Boston Cultivator) graze the year round in cheap pastures, and are, consequently, less subject to disease, and seldom die except from severe storms and old age."

I learn from other sources that the flocks in that

country are very large, ranging, by thousands and hundreds of thousands, over rich and extensive plains, and sustained at an expense of land and labor vastly below that of any portion of the United States.

It must be obvious to every one that, in such a country, with such facilities for raising wool, and with such improvements in its flocks as may be made by judicious crossings, an amount of fine wool may be thrown upon our market which will prostrate the wool-growing of this country, unless it is protected by efficient legislation. We claim that our manufacturers and laborers shall be protected against the abundant capital and the pauper labor of Europe. This is right. But have not the wool-growers an equal claim to protection against this cheap process of raising fine wool, which may, without protection, drive them from the great market which it has, for five and twenty years, been the policy of this Government to secure to them?

But I may be asked—what amount of wool has been imported from the country you have been describing? And has it increased since the exportations to it of the sheep to which you have referred? I have looked into this matter, and here is the result, in the importations for the last six years from Buenos Ayres, of wool costing eight cents and under, and of course free of duty.

No. of Lbs.	Aggregate cost.	Cost per Lb.
1836.....2,256,827	\$162,838	7.21 cents.
1837.....2,108,582	154,277	7.31 "
1838.....2,515,884	157,296	6.25 "
1839.... 683,535	47,465	7 "
1840.... 566,468	38,920	7.37 "
1841.....8,880,799	531,025	6 "

It will be observed that there was a great falling off of the importations in 1839 and 40. This was produced by the French blockade of Buenos Ayres during the whole, or the greater part of those years. The result was, an accumulation of the stock of wool, which helped to swell the importation into the United States during the following year, to near nine millions of pounds. The diminution in the cost of the importations of 1841, was doubtless attributable, in some degree, to the excessive accumulation of wool in that country during the years of the blockade.

I have been told by some, to whom I have presented the fact of the immense importation of the last year from Buenos Ayres, that it was the result merely of the raising of the blockade which gave vent to the accumulations of the previous two years; and that, that cause having expended its force, the importations will henceforth return to the average amount of former years. This conclusion might be correct, if the average importations of the two years of blockade, and the succeeding year, did not so greatly exceed the average of the preceding three years, as to show that there were causes in operation, which if not checked, would probably continue the importations in the increased ratio of the last three years. The aggregate of the importations from Buenos Ayres, of wool costing eight cents and under, in the years 1836, '37 and '38, was 6,881,353 pounds. Annual average, 2,293,784. The aggregate importations of the years 1839, '40 and '41, were 10,126,802 pounds. Annual average 3,373,600. Excess of the annual average of the last three, over that of the previous three, years, *one million, seventy-nine*

*thousand, eight hundred and sixteen pounds;* being an increase of about forty-seven per cent.

What produced this great excess? The answer is obvious. Yankee ingenuity had discovered that, by crossings of the merino and South American sheep, *fine* wool might be produced as cheap as the coarse; and might be imported free of duty, if it should cost not exceeding eight cents per pound. Yankee enterprise, as usual, was not slow in trying the experiment. Eleven hundred merino bucks were exported. A large production of *fine* wool was, of course, the result; and the eight-cent duty-free clause in the act of 1832, drew it in large quantities, to the United States. The same cause will probably continue to produce the same effect, unless it is counteracted by our legislation.

The same operation, there is reason to believe, has been carried on in another South American country (Montevideo) from which the importations of nominally coarse wool, costing eight cents or under, have risen from 5,983 pounds in 1837 (the first year in which there were any importations of wool from that country) to 665,879 lbs. in 1841.

It may not be unimportant in this connexion, to state, that the whole of our importations, from all countries, during the last five years, of wool costing eight cents, or under has been as follows:

1837.....	9,480,195
1838.....	6,551,126
1839.....	7,398,519
1840.....	9,303,992
1841.....	14,399,764

It is worthy of remark that, while the aggregate importations of "eight cents wool" have thus rapidly increased, especially from the year 1840, to 1841, there was a falling off from the former to the latter of those years, in the importations of that description of wool from Turkey, Italy, Morocco and the Barbary States of one half—that is, from 6,223,288 to 3,179,276 pounds.

In estimating the extent to which wool other than coarse wool, has been introduced into the country free of duty, it should be further considered that, at whatever point the maximum of duty-free wool is fixed, there will be a perpetual effort on the part of importers, by various devices, to get the wool imported by them, invoiced below that point, for the purpose of avoiding the duty.

Thus for example, an importer of wool from South America, in making up a mixed cargo, say of wool and hides, will give a little more than the market value for the hides, upon condition that the wool, which he may purchase with them shall be sold to him, and included in the invoice, at the price of eight cents or under. A case similar to this has been stated to me as having actually occurred in the wool trade with Smyrna; and I have no doubt the device is resorted to in the trade with South America and other countries.

It is true that such frauds might be corrected by our Custom-House appraisals; if the appraisers always possessed means of ascertaining, with perfect accuracy, the true value of the wool at the place whence imported, at the time of its purchase. But such means they do not always possess; and, in cases where it is doubtful as to whether the invoice-value is the true value, the appraisers will, it is presumed, be inclined to let the wool pass, as invoiced, for the sake of avoiding a legal contest with the importer. Such, indeed, I

am informed, is, to a considerable extent, the actual operation, at the Custom-Houses, in cases of doubtful invoice valuations.

But there are yet other modes by which fine wool has been imported free of duty under the eight cent clause of the act of 1832. One mode is to mix fine with coarse wool, in the same bale, or package, and invoice the whole at its average value—adjusting the proportions between the fine and coarse so as to bring the *average* to eight cents or under. Thus for example, a bale of wool weighing 200 pounds, may be mixed in the proportion of two thirds, of the value of three dollars per hundred, amounting to \$4, and one-third, of the value of eighteen dollars per hundred, amounting to \$12; for 200 pound \$16.

Thus the whole contents of the bale may be fairly invoiced at eight cents per pound, while it may contain 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  pounds of wool worth, at the place of exportation, eighteen cents per pound, and which, paying no duty, may after being separated from the coarse wool with which it is mixed, come in competition with much of our fine wool.

This kind of evasion was attempted to be prevented by the provision in the act of the 11th of September last, by which that part of a bale or package of wool worth more than eight cents, was subjected to a duty of 20 per cent. But this involved the necessity of an assorting by the appraisers, of every bale containing wools of different fineness; which would require an amount of labor that would probably prevent a thorough execution of the provision. And besides, it imposed a duty on the wool thus found, on separation, to have cost over eight cents, inadequate to the protection of our wool of the same grade.

The true and only effectual remedy would be by a provision which I hope to see proposed by the Committee of Ways and Means as an amendment to this bill—by which, when wool of different kinds of sorts, is imported in the same bale, bag or package, the contents of the bale, bag or package shall be appraised at the value of the finest or most valuable of the whole.

Another mode by which wool really worth much more than eight cents, is imported as costing eight cents or under, is to purchase it with the dirt and filth and burrs which become mixed with it in the progress of its growth, and by which it is reduced, perhaps one-third, or one half or more in its value per pound. Thus it is easy to see, that wool, worth, at the place whence imported, if cleansed to an extent not greater than our river washing before shearing, twelve or fifteen cents, may have really cost eight cents or under, and, with a small expense of cleaning may come in competition, free of duty, with much of our wool. The expense of separating the *burrs* which would seem to be a formidable item in the process of cleaning, is, I understand, reduced to a mere trifle by burring machines, which are in successful operation in those establishments in which South American wool is principally manufactured. There are, also, in operation, I understand, machines by which the long and coarse hairs which are, to some extent, mingled with fine wool fleeces, are separated, with astonishing facility, thereby augmenting the value of the fleeces, as it is augmented by the separation from it of burrs, dirt and other impurities.

There is a provision in the act of 1832, and

also in that of the 11th of September last, declaring that, "if any fine wool be mixed with dirt or other material, and thus be reduced in value to eight cents per pound or under, the appraisers shall appraise said wool, at such price as, in their opinion, it would have cost had it not been so mixed; and a duty thereon shall be charged in conformity with such appraisal." But this provision has been rendered ineffectual for its true purpose, by its application in practice (sanctioned, I believe, by judicial decisions) to cases only in which the "dirt or other material" has been mixed with the wool by an artificial process, for the purpose of reducing its value. The bill before us should be altered—as I hope to see done upon a proposition of amendment from the Committee of Ways and Means—so as to fix the appraisal upon the basis of the value of the wool, without the dirt, material or impurities accumulated in the process of its growth—placing it, as near as may be, upon a par with the river-washed wool, before shearing, of our own sheep.

The facts I have stated in regard to our wool trade with South America (and the same process of obtaining fine wool below the eight cents point, may be carried on in other countries) show, I think, very clearly, that our legislation should be altered to meet this new state of things. In two or three particulars, I have suggested the changes which I think ought to be made. I will add, what must be obvious to all, that the eight cents maximum should be reduced. The maximum of six cents would probably admit, upon the nominal duty of five per cent in the bill before us, about the same quality of wool as was intended to be admitted, under the eight cents proviso in the act of 1832. An additional, and, if fairly executed, a very important safeguard would be the limiting of the five per cent privilege to wool declared by the act, to be *coarse*, as well as *inferred* to be so by the maximum of its cost.

The facts to which I have adverted, in regard to the increased facilities for introducing fine wool from abroad, at a cheap rate, have an important bearing, not only on the provisions touching the admission, upon a nominal duty, of coarse wool, supposed not to compete with our own, but upon the question as to the amount and kind of duty to be levied on other wool. The bill on your table fixes that duty at 30 per centum ad valorem—being ten per cent below the duty of woollens, and to that extent, at least, as I have shown, a departure from the settled policy which has long protected the wool-growing and wool-manufacturing interests, by equal duties. That the duty on wool should be raised to at least 40 per cent, cannot, I think, admit of a question. The extensive introduction from South America, at a *reduced valuation*, of wool of at least medium fineness, suggests the importance of having the addition to the 30 per cent in the bill, consist of a *specific* duty. I would prefer the union of the ad valorem and specific duties in the proportion fixed in the bill reported by the Committee of Manufactures—namely 26 per cent ad valorem and 4 cents specific, which would be equivalent on wool costing 30 cents, to 40 per cent, and more than that, on wool costing less than 30 cents. If, however, the Committee should insist on a different proportion, then let there be simply an addition of three cents specific duty, to the 30 per cent ad valorem, agree-

ably to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which would be about equivalent to the 26 per cent, and 4 cents; in the bill of the Committee of Manufactures.

The specific duty, being equal in its amount on each pound of wool, whatever may be its cost, would give, what the cheapened process of raising fine wool demands—a duty irrespective of that cheapness—compensating, in some degree, for the depressed valuation of the wool, by an increased *per centum ad valorem* upon it—in other words reaching, and acting upon, *the wool*, in its just relation to our own wool, with which it comes in competition, rather than upon *its value in the market from which it is imported*. I hope, therefore, to see an addition of a *specific* duty to the 30 per cent. in the bill before us.

In reviewing the history of our protecting legislation, I have been impressed with the remarkable difference between the protection extended to the Woolen and the Cotton interests. By the Tariff of 1816, every square yard of cotton cloth, without reference to its quality, was declared to be of the value of 25 cents, and a duty of 25 per cent. was assessed upon *that value*. The effect of that mode of assessing the duty, as all know, has been to exclude coarse cottons from our market, and give it entirely to the American manufacturer. The *minimum* valuation, as it is called, was strenuously advocated by Mr. CALHOUN, who was a zealous supporter of the principle of protection in 1816, which he thus fully carried out, *in regard to the fabric manufactured from the great Southern staple*. That same minimum, and that same duty, be it remembered, were steadily maintained through all the Tariff changes, from 1816, to the passage of the act of 1832, when the duty of 25 per cent. was continued upon a minimum valuation increased to 30 cents—the effect of which was an increase of the duty.

Now, how has it been with woollens? Up to the year 1828, the duties by which they were protected, were laid in the form of a *per centum* on their real foreign value—not an artificial value as in the case of cottons. The Tariff Act of that year fixed, as I have already stated, a graduated scale of minimum upon woollen cloths—being the same principle which had been, and still is, applied to cottons; but, by the act of 1832, that principle was abandoned in regard to woollens, and the levying of a simple *per centum* on their value was substituted.

Under the steady application of the minimum principle, cottons have not only enjoyed the benefit of a duty, amounting to prohibition on the coarser fabrics, but the additional benefit of an exemption, to a great extent, from the effect of fraudulent invoices; while the woollens interest has suffered, and is still suffering, greatly, on account of such frauds. These frauds should have been, and should now be, prevented by either a specific duty on every square yard, or by a combination, as in the case of wool, since 1828, of a specific and an *ad valorem* duty; or by an *ad valorem* applied to a minimum valuation, as in the case of cottons, or a series of minimum valuations, as in the case of woollens, under the law of 1828.

It must be obvious to all, that if the *minimum principle* had been applied to woollens by the act of 1816, as it was to cottons, and had been as steadily maintained ever since, the wool-growing

and wool-manufacturing interests would not have suffered the reverses to which they have been doomed under a less favorable policy. They would have enjoyed a *steadiness* of protection, which is indispensable to success in any business depending in any considerable degree, on protecting legislation for support.

I have been the more impressed with the injustice of this distinction, and have been led to reflect more upon *the policy which originated and has continued it*, by a passage in the report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures, made in March 1816, preparatory to the enacting of the Tariff Law of that year. Referring to a report made by the same Committee in February preceeding, in favor of sustaining the manufacture of cotton, the Committee said—

*"Every reason then urged for sustaining the cotton manufacturing establishments, applies with equal force in favor of the woollen. The Committee, influenced by the same reasons, feel bound to accord the same justice to the manufacturers of wool."*

Why was not *"the same justice"* accorded to the manufacturers of *wool as of cotton*, by the act of 1816, and by subsequent Tariff acts? I need not say, Mr. Chairman, that if either should be favored above the other, by our legislation, it is the woollens interest—an interest which has always been regarded as among those most deeply identified with the independence of our country, at all times, and especially in times of war. And it is an interest deserving our regard, not only because it gives a stimulus to manufacturing industry and those branches of labor which feed the manufacturer and convey his goods to market, but especially because it involves the protection of a *raw material* of immense importance to the country.

There is no single branch of Agricultural production, capable of such a universal diffusion of benefits, as that of wool-growing. Every diversity of the soil and the climate of this vast country is favorable to it. The culture of cotton is confined to a few degrees of latitude. That of tobacco is also limited; and there are large portions of the country where wheat cannot be raised to an amount sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. Cotton and tobacco, moreover, are exhausting crops, returning nothing to the land from which they draw their nourishment; while sheep greatly enrich the soil on which they graze, inasmuch that they will, in a few years, entirely restore lands which have been worn out by planting.

Virginia, and Kentucky with all the States south of them, may, so far as soil and climate are concerned, successfully compete, especially in the mountain regions, with any of the States, in the production of wool. Indeed, if they would turn their attention to wool-growing, and *change the character of their labor*, they would soon make rapid advances in wealth and prosperity. Their mild climate, in comparison with the severe and long winters of New-England, gives them, in the expense of wool-growing, a great advantage, which, properly improved, would be sensibly felt in the competition it would produce with the wool-growing of other portions of the country. Of that competition I have no jealousy. It would, no doubt, affect the price of our wool. But of that we should have no right to complain. I say to our Southern and Western brethren—go on with your sheep husbandry. What you gain in climate, we, at the North, will make up in industry and econo-



my. As you advance in the production of wool, you will plant your woollen manufacturing establishments by the side of your flocks; and thus this great country will ultimately clothe itself, and have a surplus of woollen cloths, as it now has of cottons, to swell the amount of its export trade with other nations.

I cannot close these remarks, though protracted already far beyond my original intention, without dwelling a moment upon the importance of the protecting policy as a *Bond of the Union*. While this policy protects us from the competition of the abundant capital, and starved labor, and governmental bounties, of other countries, it throws us upon our own resources; stimulates the industry of every part of our country; creates a demand, in every part, for the productions of every other; promotes an active commercial intercourse, with its harmonizing influences; cherishes a sense of mutual dependence; and produces a community of interest and of feeling, without which we cannot be "*one people*." And while our Union is thus cemented, we are, also cherishing those great elements of national strength which consist in the solid wealth, and the moral energy connected with universal and well rewarded industry.

The extent of our territory is sometimes regarded as an element of weakness, which must prove fatal to the Union. And so it will, inevitably, if the policy of protection is to be abandoned. The chain which binds us together *must not run through the workshops of Europe*. There must be a strong golden chain of direct commercial intercourse—conducted upon the avowed principle of helping one another—of giving, by free exchanges of the products of the skill, the labor, and the varied soils and climates of our country, the highest possible development to the capacities of each and all of these sources of national prosperity and independence. The vast extent of our territory, with its great diversity of skill, and labor, and soil and climate, may be thus converted into an element of strength, and a pledge of permanency to our Union. It is thus, and thus only that we can realize, in regard to this Union, the beauty and force of the application by a sacred writer, to another union, of the delicate and admirably fitting dependence of the various members of the human body upon each other—neither being able to say to another, I have no need of thee, but each dependent on all the rest, and all, though greatly diversified in form and in office, constituting one body, "*compacted by that which every joint supplieth.*"

How strong is the power of attraction of the AMERICAN SYSTEM! and how perfectly does it harmonize with the leading purpose of the Constitution, as expressed in its preamble: "*To form a more perfect Union!*" That was the purpose; and here is that purpose carried out in the *American System*—a system whose influence, like the great principle of gravitation in the material universe, counteracts the tendencies to dissolution, binds the otherwise discordant portions of this great country together, and makes them one harmonious whole.

#### NOTE.

The following are extracts from the Tariff of 1822—from the bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means and from the bill as it finally passed and has become a law! The subject of coarse wool, as discussed in the foregoing,

may be made more intelligible by a comparison of these extracts.

#### ACT OF 1832.

"Wool manufactured, the value whereof at the place of exportation shall not exceed eight cents per pound, shall be imported free of duty; and if any wool so imported shall be fine wool, mixed with dirt or other material, and thus reduced in value to eight cents per pound, or under, the appraisers shall appraise such wool at such prices as in their opinion it would have cost had it not been so mixed, and a duty thereon shall be charged in conformity with such appraisal."

#### BILL REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE.

"On wool manufactured the value whereof, at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, shall exceed eight cents per pound, there shall be levied a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem.

"On wool unmanufactured the value whereof, at the last port or place from whence exported to the United States shall be eight cents or under, per pound, there shall be levied a duty of five per centum ad valorem. *Provided*, That when wool of different qualities is imported in the same bale, bag or package, and the aggregate value of the contents of the bale, bag or package, shall be appraised by the appraisers at a rate exceeding eight cents per pound, it shall be charged with a duty of thirty per centum ad valorem. *Provided further*, That if any fine wool be mixed with dirt or other material, and thus be reduced in value to eight cents per pound, or under, the appraisers shall appraise such wool at such price as, in their opinion, it would have cost, had it not been so mixed; and a duty thereon shall be charged in conformity with such appraisal."

#### THE BILL AS IT FINALLY PASSED.

(The amendments of the Committee's bill, indicated by italics.)

"On coarse wool, unmanufactured, the value whereof at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, shall be seven cents or under per pound, there shall be levied a duty of five per centum ad valorem; and on all other unmanufactured wool, there shall be levied a duty of seven cents per pound, and thirty per centum ad valorem. *Provided*, That when wool of different qualities, of the same kind or sort, is imported in the same bale, bag or package, and the aggregate value of the contents of the bale, bag or package, shall be appraised by the appraisers at a rate exceeding seven cents per pound, it shall be charged with a duty, in conformity with such appraisal. *Provided further*, That when wool of different qualities and different kinds or sorts is imported in the same bale, bag or package, the contents of the bale bag or package shall be appraised at the value of the finest or most valuable kind or sort, and a duty charged thereon accordingly. *Provided further*, That if bales of different qualities are embraced in the same invoice, at the same price, the value of the whole shall be appraised according to the value of the bale of the best quality. *Provided further*, That if any wool be imported having in it dirt or any impurities other than those naturally belonging to the fleece, and thus be reduced in value to seven cents per pound, or under, the appraisers shall appraise said wool at such price as in their opinion it would have cost, had it not been so mixed with dirt or impurities; and a duty shall be charged thereon in conformity to such appraisal."

EFFECT OF THE TARIFF IN ALABAMA.—The Huntsville Democratic Herald (Loco) says:—"We understand that arrangements have been made by which several Bagging and Rope Factories, will in a short time be put in operation in Jackson county in this State. Four factories have for some time past been in operation in this county, viz: Messrs. B. S. Pope & Co., and Mastin & Brothers, near this place, and ——— Woodall, and another, (name not recollected) in New Madison."

SILK IN ARKANSAS.—The editor of the Little Rock Gazette mentions the receipt of 500 skeins of silk, manufactured by Mrs. Smith of Hempstead county. These skeins are dyed a variety of colors, all very brilliant. The texture of the silk is very fine and even; and for strength, finish and brilliancy of colors, it will not suffer by a comparison with most of the foreign silk sold in the stores in this country.

At the Mattewan factory 400 hands, it is stated, have been set to work; and the establishment of Mr. Tech, at Haverstraw, which employs over 200 persons, is about to go into operation.

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I...Number 9.

Office No. 100 Nassau-street,  
Near the City Hall, Park.

NEW-YORK, DECEMBER, 1842.

{ Price., 75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

### OF THIS (DECEMBER) NUMBER:

I..BRIEF EDITORIALS.....	Page 257
II..THE EFFECT OF THE TARIFF—(Editorial)	258
III..DISTRESS IN GREAT BRITAIN—(Editorial)	258 to 259
IV..UNION OF THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC OCEANS, &c.....	259 to 260
V..EFFECT OF THE TARIFF, HEMP, AMERICAN SHEET IRON, &c.....	260
VI..PROTECTION THE CAUSE OF ENLIGHTENED PHILANTHROPY—By H. GREELEY, (in reply to Hon. GERRIT SMITH).....	261 to 262
VII..SPEECH OF MR. HUDSON, of MASS., ON THE POLICY OF PROTECTION.....	263 to 271
VIII..AN ARGUMENT FOR FREE TRADE. By S. G. ARNOLD.....	271 to 277
IX..REMARKS ON "FREE TRADE"—(A Reply to the foregoing)—By E. GAWELTY.....	277 to 281
X..THE DUTY ON WOOL—By Hon. H. EVERETT.....	281 to 282
XI..THE SUGAR CULTURE.....	282 to 284
XII..STEAM NAVIGATION, HINTS TO FARMERS.....	284
XIII..HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTS.....	285
XIV..COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.....	286 to 287
XV..ANTIQUITY OF THE EARTH.....	287 to 288
XVI..SIX HOSTILE TARIFFS IN TEN MONTHS...	288

¶ We have endeavored, in this number of **THE LABORER**, to close up, so far as possible, the argument in support of the Protective Policy. With this view we have given place to a Reply written by the Editor to an essay by Hon. GERRIT SMITH in favor of non-resistant Free Trade on the ground of its alleged conformity with Christian Philanthropy, and the asserted hostility of Protection thereto. We know that the argument of Mr. Smith has exerted an influence on many minds, and we trust the friends of Protection will see fit to circulate the antidote, if they deem it efficient, as widely as possible.

We have also published the first Speech delivered in Congress last winter by Hon. CHARLES HUDSON of Mass. in advocacy of Protection—a most able, lucid and convincing argument, which we trust is already familiar to most of our readers, but which they will, on that very account, gladly welcome to the pages of **The Laborer**. Many who have wished to refer to its familiar but strong illustrations, have been unable to find the paper in which they read the Speech. In **The Laborer** it will be always at hand.

We have also made room for "An Argument for Free Trade," long and well put, by Mr. S. G. ARNOLD of Brooklyn. We trust our readers will give its positions a careful consideration, and then look over those taken by us in reply. These essays were both originally published, some time since in Hunt's 'Merchant's Magazine,' a Commercial Monthly of decided interest and value.—

As they embody the elementary views on both sides of the great question of Protection, we have inserted them, that our readers may have the subject before them at a glance. Many who would not read an argument for Protection only may be induced to consider a work in which both sides are presented. Perhaps some of our 'Free Trade' friends may thus be induced to examine the argument for Protection.

Beside these, we have found room for a great number of shorter articles, relating to Household Economy, New Inventions or Processes, the Sugar Culture, and Industrial Improvement generally. We hope the number will be found interesting. Hereafter we shall probably have room for a larger amount and variety of matter relating to other subjects than the policy of Protection.

¶ CONGRESS réassembles on the first Monday of this month, and its proceedings will be regarded with interest. We do not think any material change in the Tariff this winter is to be apprehended. There will doubtless be attempts to amend it in some of its details, especially where holes have been picked in it by the ingenuity of those intent on its evasion. We presume little more than this will be done at the short Session near at hand. When the next Congress assembles we apprehend a violent struggle for the subversion of the entire Protective System. Be ready!

¶ Hon. WALTER FORWARD, we hear with regret, will probably retire from the Cabinet early in the present month. The friends of Protection sustain a loss in his retirement, whoever may succeed him. There is no more ardent, enlightened, determined champion of the Protective policy in the Nation, and his aid in maturing and sustaining the Tariff at the last Session was timely and important. We look for his forth-coming Report with strong interest, and expect to publish it in the next **Laborer**.

¶ We regret to learn that the result of recent Elections has led many to doubt the stability of the Protective Policy, and has checked the tendency to a revival of Manufacturing activity, leaving thousands still without employment who are able and willing to work. Can it be that the Country meditates an abandonment of its Independence?

### The Effect of the Tariff.

COAL AND IRON.—If the Pennsylvanians expected to promote the interest of their two great minerals—Coal and Iron—by the new Tariff, they have so far been disappointed. The Tariff has put an end to the importation of Goods generally from Eng and, and the consequence is, that vessels which have gone out with cargoes, find so heavy a back, and are compelled to ballast with whatever is heavy and cheap. Salt, Coal and Iron possess these qualities, and have been brought in such abundance as to overload the market. Coal is cheaper than before the Tariff bill passed, and Iron but little dearer, and quite unsaleable.

¶ The above appears in the *Journal of Commerce* of Saturday. Nothing can equal the audacity of that paper. All summer we have been proving that an increase of the duties on Foreign Products consumed in this Country would by no means increase correspondingly the cost of those articles to the consumer. The Free Trade economists have all along asserted the contrary, or more commonly assumed it as a fact undeniable. Well, the 'Black Tariff' has been passed, laying heavy duties on 'Salt, Coal and Iron,' and which theory stands the test of experience? Was Coal ever before so cheap at this season? Are not Iron and Salt low enough for any man of conscience? Are not all sorts of Manufactures nearly as cheap as, and many of them cheaper than, they were before the Tariff? Most certainly. The Tammany Hall lies about this or that manufacturer making \$50,000 to \$100,000 by the rise of his goods, consequent on the increase of duties on the rival Foreign fabrics have had their day and done their office. Here are nearly all things as cheap as ever, and many cheaper, while many of our factories, mines and forges have been put in operation, and two hundred thousand of our own people restored to Employment and Wages of which the reduction of Duties had deprived them. In other words, our Producers receive more, while our Consumers pay no more, than they did under comparative 'Free Trade.' How does the *Journal of Commerce* meet this staggering fact? Why it has hunted up the explanation that, because we buy less European Manufactures, therefore the ruder staples are coming over to us as *ballast*, and at such reduced freight that the price to the American consumer is no greater than before. Well, Sirs, have it so if you will. So long as you admit the essential fact, you are welcome to rack your inventions for a plausible apology.

But you must not misstate the expectations of the friends of American Industry merely that you may declare them 'disappointed.' Our side has all along held that an increase of the duty on Foreign Coal, &c. would not increase the average price of those articles to the American consumer; they are your expectations, not ours, that are 'disappointed.' We say that Coal, Iron, and other staples will ultimately be lower under an efficient Protective Tariff than under Free Trade; while the Representatives of Tammany Hall in Congress and its demagogues out of Congress have been whimpering over the taxation and robbery of the Poor of our City by the duty on Coal in order to swell the profits of the miners.

Do not the present prices of Coal, &c. strikingly expose the flimsiness of their statesmanship or the hypocrisy of their lamentations?

We have the most undoubting conviction that a duty even of \$50 per ton on Iron and \$5 on Coal, so far from increasing the cost of those articles to the American consumer, would diminish it essentially. This might not be the immediate effect of so large an increase; but the moment the Home production had adjusted itself to the demands of the increased consumption—which it very soon would do—the price would begin to decrease, from the effect of eager competition, improved processes of manufacture, and the comparative steadiness of the market. An Iron Company which should be sure of a demand for 5,000 tons of the metal annually could make it much cheaper than with a precarious market for 1,000 tons this year and perhaps 100 next. Does any practical man need evidence in support of so plain a proposition?

### Distress in Great Britain.

¶ The *Evening Post*—which has never a tear to shed for AMERICAN manufacturers and artisans—thrown utterly out of employment by the pressure of unequal Foreign competition—which never raises its voice against the depression of AMERICAN production (especially Agricultural) by Foreign restrictions, or at least professes or favors no efficient opposition to them—is greatly distressed at the depression of British Manufactures consequent on our new Protective Tariff. To its wailings on this head we reply:

1. For every spindle or loom stopped in Great Britain or elsewhere by our Tariff one is set in motion here. Now we have no objection to giving employment to British Laborers if our own were well employed, well paid and well fed. But such is notoriously not the fact. We have thousands of honest, capable, deserving workmen and women who have even yet no employment, although the Tariff has set to work two hundred thousand who but for it would now be famishing in constrained idleness. If we wish to be charitable to other Nations in this respect, we must first so adjust our policy as to give ample and advantageous employment to all our own people, and then we shall be able to buy liberally from others and will buy of their products.

2. It is cheaper for us to make our Carpets, &c. here than to have them made in England, no matter what the relative money price may be. It will take no more men to weave our Carpets. Cloths, &c. here than in England, while here it will be far easier for us to feed and pay them. There were lately thousands of men manufacturing for the American market in Europe whose whole recompense therefor did not amount to a peck of wheat for a day's labor, (many worked for less than half a peck.) Under a good Protective Tariff, these men will be attracted here to do this

same work, and will here receive from half a bushel to a bushel and a half of wheat for every day's labor, because our prices of labor, under a steady Tariff, will command so much. Here these laborers and their families receive not merely bread enough to keep the breath of life in their bodies, but good clothing, houses, schooling, &c. for their labor, with a share in the enjoyments and comforts of life. At the same time we shall get our Cloths, &c. cheaper than before—possibly not for fewer dollars, but for less produce, because the cost of transporting and shipping it to another continent will be saved, and divided between the producers of Cloths and Food respectively. Then our Fruits, Vegetables, &c. &c. which our Farmers can now hardly sell at any price, and our English cloth-makers cannot afford to eat, will bear a good price, finding a ready market with our manufacturers, who new in England must go without them. Protection to American Manufactures is thus the cause of universal beneficence. It benefits directly our own people, and ultimately those who now manufacture for us in foreign Countries, though these may for a time suffer inconvenience from it, while the gradual transfer of Manufactures from Europe to this Country is in progress. The British Landed Aristocracy, Church Establishment and other non-producers may suffer some diminution of incomes from this policy, but not the mass of the People.

**MECHANICS' GARDEN.**—Every mechanic in the country towns should have a good garden. More exercise in the open air is needed by that class of mechanics who occupy the shoe-shops of the country villages. Here may be seen eight or ten men crowded into a small, dirty shop, with less space for the whole number than is often allowed for a respectable horse in his stable.

It cannot be possible that health should long prevail where there is no wholesome air. Yet these shops are sought for by our young men in preference to the open fields of the farmer where health is wafted on every breeze. It would be well for every mechanic, whose business is in a tight room, to labor at least one hour in the day in the open air.

How agreeable it is to many to raise their own apples, their peaches, and their cabbages? All the vegetables for a family may be raised on a small lot of ground. But then our delicate young mechanics might injure their complexions by exposure to the sun. Cannot a veil of leather be drawn over their faces to preserve the complexion and yet admit a little fresh air to their lungs?

So many farmers have left the plough for the awl and the peg that their wages are reduced to the minimum. This business, however, will find its level without any special legislation. But we admire to see a mechanic who has a family possess a garden also to employ his leisure hours, to call him out into the fresh air, and to give employment to his children. [Massachusetts Ploughman.]

**CORN STALK SUGAR.**—In France the manufacture of Sugar from corn stalks has been commenced: an examination of it by scientific men has resulted in the conviction that it is identical with that of the cane; and that it is more productive than that from the beet.

#### UNION OF THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC OCEANS.

—The company chartered by the Government of New-Grenada to construct a Ship Canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans have completed their surveys, made a road over the Isthmus, and are proceeding to make the Canal. An authentic account in the Cincinnati Chronicle says:

The company having completed a temporary or provisional road from the Bay of Charera, on the Pacific, to the town of Chagres on the Atlantic Ocean, is not only freed from the necessity of requiring additional time, but the Republic of New-Grenada could not refuse it without violating its engagements, since the company has completed its contract before even the expiration of the time limited for the construction of any communication whatever. Besides this, it has caused the whole country through which the projected canal is to pass, as well as all the rivers and water-courses which must contribute to it, to be thoroughly explored.

These explorations, conducted with great talent by the engineer, Merel, have demonstrated that the Isthmus of Panama, instead of being a ridge of rocks, as many geographers have described it, is, on the contrary, a valley, from four to thirteen miles in width, and scattered over with conical heights of from twenty to sixty feet elevation, which on the east and west rest upon low chains, varying from 110 to 415 feet in height. Among these small conical heights wind in all direction various streams and rivers, which descend from the termination of the Andes and unite in two principal channels. The one, which is the river Chagres, throws itself into the Caribbean Sea; the other, called the Rio Grande, flows toward the Pacific Ocean. The dividing country between these rivers has an elevation of only thirty-seven feet above the highest known level of the sea, or sixty-four feet above low tides; the flood tides sometimes attaining a height of twenty-seven feet.

The excavation or cutting necessary to unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by means of the river Vine Tinto, Bernardine and Faxfan, is only twelve miles and a half; the fall will be regulated by four double locks of 188 feet in length. The whole of the projected canal will be 49 miles in length, 135 feet in breadth at the surface of the water, and 55 feet at the bottom, 20 feet in depth, and will be navigable for vessels of from 1000 to 1400 tons. All the rivers which are to serve as parts in the canal have, at the lowest water, a depth varying from 8 to 15 feet; they will be swept and excavated to a depth of 20 feet, and kept at that depth by means of two guard locks. The country through which the canal will pass, presents a clayish and costly soil, with no rock except at the mouth of the Chagres, where the formation is so slaty that it will present no obstacle.

Although the construction of the canal of Panama will require no purchases of land and no outlay for stone, lime or cement, all which materials are to be found on the spot, still the company has not hesitated to estimate its cost at the highest rates of constructing such works, as those, for example, of the Caledonian Canal of Scotland, and the Louisville Canal—the rate of 352,900 francs, or about \$66,157 per mile; so that the 42 miles of canal, properly so called, will cost 14,821,800 francs, or about \$2,778,615. In these estimates are included the cost of four steam tow boats, two

folding bridges of cast iron, 140 feet in length, and several smaller ones.

This junction of the two oceans, by bringing the islands of the Pacific, China, Japan, Australia, Borneo, Sumatra, &c., some 4,000 leagues nearer to us, by rendering the navigation of the ocean less dangerous, less expensive and more expeditious, will effect a great revolution in the commerce of the whole world, a revolution of which America will experience the benefits before all other nations

#### Effect of the Tariff.

We met on Tuesday a citizen of Peru, just from New-England, who was at Salisbury, Conn. when the news of the passage of the Tariff Bill reached there. This is a manufacturing town, and there are in the vicinity a number of wool-growers.—Under the operation of the Compromise Act, the manufactories had been suspended; wool had consequently decreased in price, and none of this year's clip had been able to find a market. Some producers had endeavored to trade off small lots, in payment of debts, at 25 cents a pound, but without success. In ten days after the passage of the Tariff Law, it was all bought up at an advanced price—the factories were again set in motion—workmen who had been idle were again employed at fair prices—while others who had hired out on farms at from eight to ten dollars a month, resumed their former vocation at double and treble those prices.

Notwithstanding these facts, which belong to the history of every manufacturing village, some of the papers even in the manufacturing States are abusing the Tariff, and asserting that *the wool-growers will be ruined with it!* They openly avow that the next Congress will repeal it if they can get a Free-Trade majority. Nay, the very men who are clothed and fed by this beneficent measure *will vote for legislators who would repeal it!* There are thousands of these men in Illinois, and our own County has its share—men who are for a Tariff, and yet voted at the last election for members of the Legislature, who will choose a United States Senator to vote for its repeal!

[Peoria (Ill.) Register.]

**HEMP.**—A specimen of water-rotted hemp, from the farm of Mr. James Moss, Clarke county, Mo., has been left at our office. This specimen is equal, if not superior, to any which have been presented to us. We are informed that Mr. Moss has about 120 acres of hemp, about twenty tons of which he has water-rotted. The specimen left with us is said to be not so good as other portions of his crop.

From all the specimens which have been left at our office, we have come to the conclusion, that if our farmers fail to furnish such an article as our Government will buy, it will not be from any defect in the article raised, but because of the absence of proper machinery to clean it, and the want of proper care and attention in handling it. We have seen but few specimens that, in our judgment, (which, by the way, is not worth much in such a matter) would pass inspection with the Government. When the growers attempt to deal with the Government, they will be surprised at the strictness and closeness of the inspection. The article must be not only first-rate, but it must have been handled and put up with great care and neatness. We have thought proper to make these

suggestions, because we think many growers are not fully apprised of what will be required to make their hemp marketable with the Government; and we are forced to this conclusion from a comparison of the hemp raised here with specimens of imported hemp, such as has heretofore been used by the Government. There is no question, we believe, about the production of the raw article, of a quality every way equal to the best imported; and if there is any failure in the experiment now making, we believe it will result from the curing and handling of it. At least, it will be well for all growers to be on their guard in this respect.

**AMERICAN SHEET IRON.**—The article of sheet iron is so general and important in its uses, that any improvement in its manufacture is of interest to every body, and it is with much pleasure that we have any improvement to notice, extraordinary in its kind. The best qualities of sheet iron have always been brought from the shops of Russia.—Neither England, Sweden, nor any of the European iron-manufacturing countries have been able to acquire the secret of its beauty of finish, color, or fineness, or to produce any thing like it, although every effort of skill has been exhausted to attain that object.

We have seen specimens of sheet iron made by the Messrs. Wood, of the Juniata iron works, Pennsylvania, which imitates very nearly the Russian article, both in color and beauty of finish.—The sheets have the spring or warp of the American rolled sheet, and on being worked were found to have the usual attributes of good American iron, that is, it worked better across the grain, in turning seams. Of course, it being rolled, left the fibres lengthways of the sheet, a defect which may be overcome, now that the secret of the polish and color is obtained. We saw two or three articles made from it at the stove and furniture store of Rosboom & Co. in Market-street, which compared well with that of the Russian material.

The perfection of this article by our countrymen will be an invaluable acquisition to the resources and wealth of the nation, and we hail this as the sure precursor of that perfection. [S. Mec.]

**CALIFORNIA WHEAT.**—This wheat has been introduced into South Carolina and Georgia. One man has sowed a little on 7 square rods of ground, the 1st to the middle of last October: of this about 1,000 bunches grew, which produced 20,000 heads, averaging 150 grains each. The grains are very large, of a beautiful yellow tint, rich and sweet, and no doubt will make the best of flour. The product of the 7 rods is equal to 100 bushels per acre—and yet while the common wheat of that section was greatly injured and much entirely destroyed by rust and smut, the California wheat has been free from either.

**RUST IN WHEAT.**—Mr. Hathaway, an agricultural writer, and the Committee of the New Jersey Agricultural Society, appointed to investigate the cause of rust or mildew in wheat, come to the conclusion, that at the critical period of wheat being in the milk, damp and hot weather forces it too rapidly; the juices run up the stalk faster than the head can receive it, bursts the scarf-skin, sores out and turns brown: the stalk is then said to be struck with the rust, and the consequence is, that the kernel is not filled with insipidated juice, and on drying is found light and shrivelled.

From the Northern Light.

**PROTECTION THE CAUSE OF ENLIGHTENED PHILANTHROPY.**

BY HORACE GREELEY.

A friend recently called my attention to an article by GERRIT SMITH, in a former number of this journal, arguing the impolicy and injustice of protective legislation, on the assumption that it conflicts with the dictates of an expansive, all-embracing philanthropy. As my own researches upon this subject have been patient and protracted, and have led me to conclusions directly opposite to those which Mr. Smith so complacently assumes as the basis of his argument, I must ask the favor of a brief space in your pages for a reply.

What does protection contemplate? To determine this, let us look at the state of facts antecedent to its adoption.

A band of industrious citizens bid adieu to their old and thickly peopled mother country,—England, for instance,—and make their homes in a new and distant region—we will say Illinois. Having the earth to subdue, buildings to erect, roads to open, &c., with land cheap, fertile and abundant all around them, it inevitably follows that labor will be dearer with them than in the country they have left, or other countries in a similar condition. This superior demand and price for labor will continue for a long, indefinite period—probably, unless there shall occur seasons of severe pecuniary embarrassment, until the condition of the new country has become nearly assimilated to that of the old. While it continues, at any rate, and probably for some time afterwards, this state of things will be presented: the old country will produce an excess of manufactures, or those products comparatively small in bulk in proportion to their value, whereof labor is the principal, and land the subordinate, element of production; while the new country will produce a corresponding excess of agricultural staples, and these will be exchanged between them respectively. This is the state of things, the indefinite continuance of which Mr. Smith regards as so desirable, that to interpose any obstacle by legislation is nothing less than a national sin—a churlish denial to the people on both sides, of a just and fair participation in the bounties of Providence, and enjoyment of the fruits of their own industry. Let us examine:

There is no doubt at all that, in the entire absence of imposts or other obstructions, this exchange will continue for ages, or even centuries, because even after the time has arrived when the new country can manufacture for itself at cheaper money prices than it can buy, it will be prevented from so doing by the vast manufacturing capital concentrated in the old country, which capital, perceiving that a large and profitable market is about to be closed against its products by home competition, will glut that market at prices even below cost, for a time, in order to crush or cripple its infant rival. This has already been done more than once in the history of our country. Many will readily remember that, after the peace of 1815, when the manufacturers of Great Britain found their market in this quarter disputed by our own establishments, which had grown up under the protection of the war, they fairly deluged our ports with their fabrics at prices ruinously below

cost, publicly advertising to sell them in Boston at 'pound per pound'—that is, what had cost \$4.44 in England, for \$3.33 in Boston. Here was an immediate loss, but it was doubtless more than counterbalanced by the ultimate gain, through the destruction of a rivalry, which tended to limit their present profits, and threatened ultimately to destroy the American market altogether. Their conduct was precisely in accordance with the policy of Great Britain, as expounded by Chat-ham, Cobbett, Brougham, and other competent authorities.

Let me give another illustration on this head: The mineral zinc, which is now extensively used among us, has been sold in New-York as low as five or six cents a pound; it now commands ten cents. Inexhaustible mines of it exist in New-Jersey, from which the country would readily be supplied at six cents per pound. Yet no one undertakes the working of the mines, because the moment this should be done, the foreign producer in the absence of any duty, would throw down the price of the article to five, and perhaps to three or four cents, thus ruining the American miner, and destroying the thousands of capital invested in the enterprise. It costs little or nothing to import the German article, it being brought over as ballast to the more costly silks, cloths and toys, which we take in exchange for our agricultural staples; and the large capital, cheap labor, long experience and superior facilities of the foreign miner, would doubtless enable him to undersell and ruin the worker of the Jersey mines, if they were driven to undertake it. But let a protective duty of two cents per pound be imposed, and I have no doubt that our country would be supplied with the article henceforth at a rate much cheaper than in the absence of such duty. Can it be wrong in us thus to 'provide for our own household'?

But to return to the original illustration: I have premised that, in the absence of all import duties on either side, and in the actual condition of each, with regard to the prices of land and labor, Illinois would buy her cloths and other manufactures mainly of England, sending her wheat and corn in return. This is the spontaneous course of industry and trade; but is it therefore the most advantageous? I think clearly not. Do you ask why? Because, though cloths may be transported from Birmingham to Springfield or Peoria for less than two per cent. of their value, and thus may be sold there at a lower money price than if made in the State, yet their purchase from England by Illinois imposes the corresponding necessity of exporting the grain of Illinois to England; and of this process the cost is not two, but two hundred per cent, which must fall upon the producers either of grain or cloth, or both.

Am I understood on this point? Let me venture a still farther illustration: the average price of wheat throughout the world, is about one dollar per bushel. It is of course above this wherever the consumption is much greater than the neighboring production; it is very far below it where the production is in excess and any adequate market for the surplus is remote or reached with difficulty. Thus in central Poland and on the inland plains of Southern Russia, it is usually below fifty cents a bushel, as in central Indiana or Illinois; at Dantzic it is ninety, and at Odessa about eighty cents; and, allowing something for a proba-

ble rise in case the British Corn Laws were abolished, it would probably be worth in Liverpool, on an average, not more than one dollar and twelve cents per bushel. Now, admitting that we are to buy our cloths mainly of Europe, as we naturally would in the absence of any Tariff on either side, it is certain, that we must produce a large surplus of grain and export it, and that we should find no adequate market for it out of England. To England, all will agree, a portion of our grain must then go, as it has gone, and is now going, in the face of the corn laws. This, then, is a consequence as inevitable as fate; that the usual price of grain throughout this country, especially in its grain exporting sections, must be the price in England, less the cost and charges of transporting it hither. In other words: Wheat being worth \$1.12 in Liverpool, must generally be worth about 90c. in New-York, 75c. at Buffalo, 65c. at Chicago, and 25 to 35c. in the grain-growing heart of Illinois and Indiana. This is not hypothesis; it is justified by undoubted and daily occurring facts. At this moment Illinois merchants are in New-York seeking to contract for the sale of wheat at 90 cents a bushel, stating that they can buy at home abundantly at 80 cents, while the cost of transportation to New-York is about 60 cents.

I am now ready to make a concession which every careful observer of prices will consider liberal—viz: that the same broadcloth which, in a state of absolute Free Trade, would be imported from England and sold in Illinois for three dollars a yard, would, under a protective Tariff so high as to secure its manufacture in this country, cost the Illinois consumer four dollars a yard. I am confident this disparity is greater than facts will warrant, however high the duty; but let it pass. Here is the difference in the price of cloth, and, regarding this only, the free traders assert it as an obvious truth, that protection taxes the farmer a dollar a yard on his cloth for the benefit of the manufacturers! But, regarding at the same time the price of grain, the fallacy of this assertion is obvious. The same policy which raises the price of cloth, creates at the same time a vast home market for grain at Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, and in every junction and waterfall throughout the entire country. The farmer has no longer to send his grain by a devious and oft interrupted navigation some four thousand miles to the mouths it has to fill; they are all around him; he is amongst them; and by a law resistless as gravitation, the price of wheat throughout our own country rises to the average of the world; and, instead of having a distant, fluctuating, doubtful market for his wheat, at a price which nets him thirty or forty cents a bushel, he can readily obtain sixty cents to a dollar a bushel for it at his very door. And thus, while his cloth may for a time cost him twenty-five per cent more, nominally or in money, it really costs him less labor, less wheat, or whatever he has to sell, by forty to seventy-five per cent than he would have paid for it under free trade. And yet he is told, and sometimes made to believe, that protection taxes him for the special benefit of the manufacturer!

Let me state this result in another shape, which perhaps will come nearer the position and the sympathies of Mr. Smith: The starving English workmen say: 'We want bread; buy our cloths and give us grain in return.' The friends of the

protective policy reply: 'It is idle to think of relieving your necessities, so long as of every ten barrels of flour we pay for a piece of cloth, five are taken by the forwarders, shippers and merchants for transportation and profits, two more by your government for duties, and one by your aristocracy and established priesthood in satisfaction of rent and tithes, leaving but two to you. But we want cloth, and are willing to pay you for it more liberally than we now can; do you come here and make it, and we will protect you against the depressing competition of the Old World. Come and settle among us; you can make as much cloth here as where you are; for water power is cheaper than steam, while wood, ashes, oils, cotton, and many other articles used by you are also cheaper, and will longer continue to be. Come to us, then, and follow your vocations, and we will save between us the enormous sums now swallowed up annually in the bottomless gulf of transportation and complicated traffic; and while you receive treble the grain for your cloth, we will receive double the cloth for our grain that we now do, and a vast diminution of non-productive labor and useless taxes upon industry be effected.' Such is the spirit, such the aim of protection; Mr. Smith may condemn them as churlish, selfish and unchristian if he thinks proper; yet I would humbly suggest that a profounder scrutiny, a clearer and more generous appreciation would convince him that they propose nothing inconsistent with the most limitless philanthropy, the most unselfish regard for the welfare of all mankind.

At this moment, when our protective system is utterly prostrate and no foreign goods subjected to more than an adequate revenue duty of twenty per cent, the grower of grain in Illinois is paying six to ten bushels of wheat for a yard of cloth which only brings one bushel of grain to its manufacturer in England. In other words, two men are producing for each other at a distance of four thousand miles, and three or four others are living by interchanging their products without adding a particle to the absolute sum of human comforts. So long as this is general, the condition of the great mass must be depressed; for while the few produce and the many only interchange and consume, there can never be enough to supply all necessities. But bring the manufacturer to the side of the farmer; render the interchanges of productions direct, simple and cheap, instead of being circuitous, complicated and expensive, and you double the number of producers and diminish that of unproductive consumers, and thus diffuse independence and plenty to all. This is the great end of protection.

This article is already longer than I had intended, and I will refrain from commenting on the subordinate errors of Mr. Smith's essay. I will neither controvert nor retort the offensive imputations of selfish motives and narrow views with which that essay abounds, being content with a simple exhibition of the truth. His assumption that Free Trade would be undoubtedly advantageous if it were only universal, may be tested by the preceding observations. What he can mean by eulogizing the German "Toll Union"—which is simply a protective tariff, and a most efficient and beneficent one—as like that desired by the friends of protection, here as possible—passes my comprehension. But I forbear farther remark.

## SPEECH OF MR. HUDSON, of Mass. ON THE POLICY OF PROTECTION.

A resolution to commit so much of the President's Message as relates to the subject of the Tariff being under consideration—

Mr. Hudson addressed the House as follows :

MR. SPEAKER: I have, from the first, regarded this debate as premature; and now, if the House are disposed to pass upon the subject at once, I will cheerfully yield the floor.

But, as gentlemen say, "go on," I will endeavor to present my views to the consideration of the House. The immediate question before us, is on the amendment of my friend from South Carolina, (Mr. RHETT,) to commit to the Committee of Ways and Means, "with instructions, that should it be in their opinion expedient to lay additional duties, they shall be so laid as not to discriminate in favor of any particular class of industry in the United States."

This opens the whole subject of a discriminating Tariff. The gentleman from South Carolina, who moved these instructions, has met the question with his characteristic frankness. He has laid the axe at the root of the tree. He denies to Congress the constitutional right of imposing duties which shall discriminate in favor of manufactures. I propose briefly to notice this question. The Constitution gives to Congress the right "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States." As this grant of power is given without limitation, it follows that Congress may regulate commerce as it pleases—may impose a high duty upon one article, and admit another free of duty. On any fair construction of this clause, the power is as undoubted in the case of discriminating duties, as in the case of *declaring war or maintaining a navy*. This power of discrimination in the imposition of duties seems essential, not only to the regulation, but to the very existence of commerce.

Great Britain, with whom we are more intimately connected by commercial intercourse than with any other nation, lets no opportunity of protecting her commerce and her industry pass unimproved. This she does by fostering her own commerce, and by restricting that of other nations. Look at her restriction upon the commerce of the United States. While we export fish to the amount of \$800,000 annually, she prohibits its importation into the United Kingdom, and, at the same time, admits the products of her own fisheries free of duty. The whale fisheries constitute no inconsiderable portion of our commerce; and how does she meet us in this case? With Free Trade? No, sir, she imposes a duty of £26 12s. per ton upon our oil, and admits the same article, the product of her own fisheries, at a duty of 1s. per ton, making a discrimination of £26 11s. against the United States. Whalebone is another considerable article of our commerce, but this is nearly excluded from the English market by her onerous exactions. She imposes a duty of £95 per ton upon American whalebone, and admits the same article from her provinces at a duty of £1 per ton. We exported to Great Britain last year tobacco to the amount of \$3,077,000, and she meets this article, worth from six to ten cents per pound, with the enormous duty of three shillings sterling per pound, and thereby raises a revenue, on one-third of our exported to-

bacco, equal at least to the entire revenue of the United States. The corn laws of England are too well understood to require comment; they amount to a prohibition in ordinary cases. I will not stop here to enquire whether such rigid restrictions are wise or unwise; it is sufficient for my purpose to know that such is the policy of Great Britain, and that it operates oppressively upon our commerce. Now, under these circumstances, who will say that the power "to regulate commerce" does not necessarily imply the power to pass countervailing duties? This seems indispensable to the wise regulation, and almost so to the existence of our commerce.

But the gentleman from South Carolina despatches this at once, by saying that *to regulate* is not to *destroy*. Does the gentleman mean to insinuate that commerce cannot exist under the restraint of discriminating duties? Our commerce has always been under this restraint; and has it not gone on increasing? Under the power to regulate commerce, Congress may suspend it, or, if the gentleman pleases, may *destroy* it, for the time being. What was the embargo but a destruction of commerce for a limited period? What the non-intercourse laws, but a restriction much greater than any friend of protection now proposes? And the constitutionality of the laws will not, at this day, be denied. That question has been settled in the most solemn manner. The term commerce in general, and includes every article which goes into our foreign trade; and it is perfectly competent for Congress to prohibit the importation of any article under the power to regulate commerce. The foreign *slave trade* was considered by the framers of the Constitution as coming under the general denomination of commerce; and so sensible were all parties that this commercial power gave Congress a right to prohibit the slave trade, that some States refused to adopt the Constitution until the provision was incorporated therein, that this power should not be exercised till 1808.

But, sir, there is another clause in the Constitution, which seems perfectly decisive on this subject. "Congress shall have power," says that sacred instrument, "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." Here is full power to lay duties upon imports, at any time, and to any extent. The grant of power is absolute and unlimited; attended with no restriction whatever, save that the duties "shall be uniform throughout the United States." This would be sufficient of itself to decide the question; but the context makes the subject still more clear. After giving unlimited power to lay duties, the objects for which duties may be levied are expressly enumerated—"to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

Yes, sir, duties may be imposed for the two-fold object of paying the debts of the nation, and of providing for the common defence and general welfare of the people. It is a narrow view of the whole subject to suppose that the defence here spoken of must be mere *military* defence. Congress has as much power to defend our citizens against the commercial policy of any foreign nation, as against her military operations—as clear a right to protect us against the pauper laborers of Great Britain, as against her hired soldiers. We build ships to protect our commerce; and can we



not protect it by wise enactments? It is absurd to say that we may erect forts on the seaboard, and send our ships upon the ocean, to secure our property and guard our commerce, but have no constitutional power to secure the same end by countervailing laws and discriminating duties. Congress not only has the right, but is bound to provide for the general welfare; and our Government would be wanting in duty—nay, it would fail in securing the object for which it was created—if it did not encourage domestic industry, and secure to labor its just reward, by protecting it against the restrictive policy and pauper labor of the old world.

But the gentleman from South Carolina disposes of this in a manner equally summary. He maintains that if it were once allowed that Congress might discriminate in favor of manufactures, then it would follow that the whole subject of taxation was absolutely confided to Congress! This statement, Mr. Speaker, comes from a gentleman who professes the most absolute, entire, unbounded confidence in the people; and can he not trust this question with the people's representatives?

[Here Mr. RHETT interposed to explain, and stated that he had put the question even more broadly than it had been stated by the gentleman. His statement was that the protection doctrine rendered a majority of Congress the sole judge *what to tax, as well as how much.*]

Well, sir, this comes to the same thing; and the gentleman's principle, broadly stated is this—that nothing could be submitted to the discretion of Congress without annihilating the Constitution.—Is the gentleman unwilling that a majority should govern? If this *annihilates* the Constitution, as the gentleman says, the Constitution is annihilated, whenever any subject is submitted to the good sense and judgement of the House, and decided by a majority.

The gentleman from South Carolina would settle this whole question at once. He insists that duties for protection and duties for revenue are not only different, but directly opposed to each other. "Where protection commences, revenue ceases," is the gentleman's maxim. He even goes so far as to maintain that revenue is diminished just in proportion as you protect manufactures. If you exclude the whole of any article, you destroy all the revenue from that article—if you exclude one-half, you destroy half of the revenue—if one-fourth, you destroy one-fourth of the revenue—and so of any other proportion. This is my friend's position; and nothing can be more unsound, not to say absurd. It does not by any means follow, because a duty of 100 per cent. would destroy all revenue, that a duty of 50 per cent. would destroy one-half, or a duty of 25 per cent. one quarter of the revenue.

[Here Mr. R. again interposed, and said that what he had stated was true in *principle*. It might not produce it immediately; for a period it might even increase the revenue—but ultimately it would destroy it.]

Mr. Speaker, I am rejoiced to perceive that the gentleman has relaxed a little, and is disposed to come down from the regions of abstractions, and look at things in a more practical manner. I shall endeavor to look at things in the same way. But the principle stated by the member from South Carolina, and repeated by other gentlemen in the

House, cannot be better illustrated than by an anecdote which I will relate. We have in our part of the country such an article as quack doctors.—It was once my misfortune to fall in with one, who was assailing the regular practice, and had selected the subject of *blood-letting* as the point of attack. He said, "I can convince any man, in two minutes, that blood-letting in all cases is injurious and dangerous. This in the principle: *blood is life*; if you take away the whole of a man's blood, you take away life—he must die. And so if you take away half of his blood, you take away half of his life; if you take away one-quarter of his blood, you take away one-quarter of his life; and so on, down to the last fractional portion." Here is a perfect illustration of the gentleman's abstraction—the very thing.

But how does this principle operate in *practice*? In 1835 and 1836 duties on protected articles were high. And was not the Treasury overflowing at that time? Certainly. Were not manufactures then protected? The gentleman admits that they were; for, in arguing in favor of the compromise act, he urged this consideration—that during the former portion of the period covered by that act, the manufactures enjoyed high protection; and it ought to be continued, that during the latter portion the producers might have their share. Yet, notwithstanding this protection of manufactures, revenue poured into the Treasury in such torrents that, to get rid of it, Congress was compelled to deposit it with the States. If protection destroys revenue, how came the Treasury to overflow when the protection was ample?

Another illustration of this principle will be found in the case of silk. Previous to the late extra session, imported silk paid a very small duty; now it pays 20 per cent. Here is protection to a certain extent afforded to this species of manufacture; and I put it to my friend from South Carolina to say, whether he believes that that 20 per cent. duty will bring no additional revenue into the Treasury. Will he or any other gentlemen say this? They will not; they dare not.

Take any article now paying 5 per cent. and raise the duty to 20, and what will be the effect? The duty is increased four-fold; but is the revenue from this article diminished in the same proportion? Will it be diminished at all? No, it will be increased. The amount imported may be diminished, but the revenue will be augmented. I go further, and maintain that a duty in a given case may amount to a prohibition of that article, and still the revenue on the whole may be increased by that very measure. The prohibition of that article may induce our own citizens to go into the manufacture of the article, and this species of manufacture may operate as an incentive to industry. By prohibiting the importation of that article, new resources may be developed, new vigor imparted, and new sources of wealth opened, which, by producing general prosperity, would enable the great mass of the people to purchase more of other importations, and so on the whole increase the revenue of the country. What, then, becomes of the gentleman's position, that where protection commences revenue ceases?

But my friend from South Carolina represents the parties in this controversy to be the manufacturers *versus* the people of the United States; and he refers to the late census to show, that while our

whole population is 17,600,000, the manufacturers in the United States amount to only 791,000.—Here are 800,000 against 17,000,000. But does not every one see that this mode of stating the case is unfair? Are the 17,000,000 all laborers? Does not that number include women and children, infancy and age, the lame, the blind, the sick and the dying, while the 791,000 are all laborers, in the vigor and activity of life? Is such a comparison a fair one? Surely not. But, unfair as it is, the gentleman even goes farther, and contends that 791,000 is too large; for the operatives have no interest in manufactures, and ought not to be counted. Such is the position of the gentleman.

Now, sir, I maintain that the laborers or operatives have a direct interest in manufactures, as direct as the owners themselves. When, from any causes, there is a stagnation in business, and the manufactured product accumulates, or is disposed of at a reduced price, who suffers? Not the hands employed, but the owners. The owners of a cotton or woollen mill frequently run their mills without any profit for months in succession, rather than dismiss their hands. The first loss always falls upon the owners. But the gentleman says that the wages of the operatives are regulated, not by protection, but the rate of wages given other labor around. This may be, to a certain extent, true; but the converse of this is equally true. The laborers employed in manufactures are generally taken from the agricultural class, and the withdrawal of them from agricultural pursuits tends to increase the price of labor in that pursuit. But my friend has told us that the whole number engaged in manufactures was less than 800,000; and does he mean to intimate that 800,000 citizens are worthy of no consideration? While the gentleman is unwilling to protect 800,000 laborers, engaged in manufactures, he is a strong advocate for the encouragement of commerce.

The gentleman reminds me that he has not asked for any *protection* for commerce. No, he has not, and for the plain reason, that commerce is already protected; protected more perfectly than manufactures have ever been. But all the gentleman's speeches show that he is a strenuous advocate for commerce; and what number, I demand, is engaged in that pursuit? The same census gives 117,000 as the whole number engaged in commerce; and if these deserve our consideration, why not those engaged in manufactures? But I confess I have but little confidence in the statistics connected with the census. That document represents the whole number engaged in manufactures in my own State to be 85,000. Now, sir, by official returns made by the assessors of the several towns to the Secretary of State in Massachusetts, in 1837, the whole number engaged in manufactures was 117,000 and in this number were not included those engaged in many kinds of household manufactures, such as braiding straw, palm leaf hats, &c. Here then is an error of 32,000 in a single State.

But we have been told by the gentleman from South Carolina that the parties in this suit, were the manufacturers against the people. The manufacturers against the people! Who are the manufacturers but a part of the people? The people, and the whole people, have an interest in the success of the manufactures. The commercial interest is intimately connected with the manufactur-

ing. To say nothing of the imports of the raw materials, the exports of manufactured articles make an important item in our commerce, being about one-tenth of the whole amount. There were, during the past year, exported from the United States manufactures to the amount of \$12,866,000—an amount larger than the two great staples, tobacco and rice. Manufactures not only give employment to our foreign commerce, but they foster our coasting trade by giving employment to a large number of our vessels. There is no natural hostility between commerce and manufactures; but, on the contrary, they have one and the same interest. That policy which encourages enterprise, which develops the resources and increases the wealth of the country, increases our commercial prosperity.

In like manner agriculture has a direct interest in discriminating duties. It seems to be taken for granted that all protection is given to manufactures, and none to agriculture. But it is not so. Many of the products of the soil are now enjoying a protection *greater by far* than most of the manufactured articles. Potatoes, oats, wheat, flour, indigo, cotton, pork, lard, hams, beef, butter, cheese, flax, hemp, wool, &c., are now enjoying a high degree of protection. The potatoes of Maine are protected to the amount of ten cents per bushel. Repeal this duty, and how long would the potatoes of that State be found in Boston, New-York, or Baltimore? Immediately would they be supplanted by the potatoes of Nova Scotia; and even now you find the two competing for the same market. I have information that can be relied upon, that there were imported into the city of Boston alone, during the year 1841, 46,448 bushels of foreign potatoes. Take the article of cheese; it is sold at the North for from seven to ten cents per pound, and it enjoys a protection of nine cents per pound, being some 100 per cent. This article is made in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New-York, as well as in New-England. Remove the duty, and the cheese of England and Germany would come into our seaboard cities, and drive the domestic articles from the market, or greatly reduce the price. My sympathies are with the agriculturists. Their calling, at once the most ancient, healthy, and honorable, is the foundation of every other. And if I believed that a Tariff was destructive of their interest, I would abandon it altogether.

But the great value of manufactures to the farmer is the market which they open for his produce. Where would the South and West find a market for their "yellow corn," of which the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Wise) so frequently speaks, if we had no manufactures in the North and East? The ports of Great Britain are shut against the corn, the wheat, the flour, of the great grain-growing States. These great staples, together with the rice of the South and the pork of Ohio, find their best market at the North, among our manufacturers. There were imported into the city of Boston alone, during the year past 4,000,000 bushels of corn, the product of the South and West, while the quantity raised in the State amounted to only 1,800,000 bushels. The flour brought into the same city, amounted to 400,000 barrels, and the rice to 20,000 casks. A small portion of this was sent into New-Hampshire; but a much greater amount was brought in through other channels, and consumed in the State. I can

then address myself to the grain-growing interest in every part of the House, and say to them, the subject is one in which you have a vital concern; and if you know your interest, as I trust you do, the manufactures at the North will be as dear to you as they are to Northern men. And yet gentlemen on this floor will talk about manufactures being hostile to the public interest, and especially to the interest of agriculture!

The manufacturers, as such, are no party in this case. The great party interest is the *laborers, the working men of the whole country*. And if gentlemen insist upon presenting this as a suit, and will have parties in the case, the true parties are the *laborers vs. the idlers*. None, as it seems to me, can be hostile to manufactures, or to the production of American industry, unless it be those who lead a life of idleness, and wish to live upon the labors of others. But, sir, I do not admit that there are any parties in this case. The country, and the whole country, has a direct interest in the success of the American system, in the encouragement of domestic industry.

That we may see the effect of manufactures upon our general prosperity, let us suppose that they were all destroyed, all struck down at a blow. Then the 800,000 persons now engaged in this branch of industry would all be turned loose upon the other callings, in the community. Most of them would seek the healthful employment of agriculture, and would naturally settle in the fertile valley of the west. And what would be the consequence? These products of the earth which are now so abundant that they would be almost valueless, were it not for the markets found in the manufacturing districts, would become still more abundant. And where would they find a market? They could not exchange them for the manufactures of England, for her corn laws would operate as a prohibition. These 800,000 who are now consumers would be converted into 800,000 producers, making a difference of 1,600,000. Would this promote the interest of agriculture? Surely not; its products would be greatly multiplied, and its best market would be destroyed. Suppose the manufacture of sugar should be destroyed, what effect would that produce? The sugar plantations would be converted into cotton fields, and the gentleman from South Carolina would find increased competition in the production of his favorite staple, while his great Northern market, which now consumes one-quarter of the whole crop, would be lost. Meanwhile, the experiments of Great Britain in India would succeed, and she would be enabled to obtain her raw material from her own colonies. Thus would the policy of the South spread desolation over the country, and involve her in the same common ruin.

The gentleman from South Carolina has assumed that all protective duties were a tax upon the people, to be paid as a bounty on the manufactures. He has asserted, again and again, that prices will rise in proportion to the increase of duty. This, Mr. Speaker, is far from being the fact. So far is this from being the truth, that the opposite is more frequently true. There is, I admit, no absolute, fixed rule in this case. What is true of one article may not be true of another. What can be shown to be the result of a duty at one time, may not be produced to the same extent at another. Much must depend upon the supply and demand.

It will also be found true that a small deficiency in the supply will raise the price of the whole commodity in the market far above the value of the deficit. And, on the other hand, a surplus, though small, will reduce the price of the whole commodity far beyond the value of the surplus. A surplus worth \$10,000 would frequently produce an aggregate reduction of the whole quantity in the market to the amount of \$50,000. This principle is so essential to the right understanding of this part of our subject, that I trust I shall be pardoned, if I attempt a more full illustration. We will suppose that there are ten shops in this city, owned by as many individuals, and that \$100 per quarter is a fair rent for each of them. But the number of traders wishing to occupy these shops is but nine, thereby leaving a surplus of one shop. Now, sir, what will be the practical effect of this state of things? Nine shops will be occupied, and one will be vacant. The owner of the vacant shop, seeing all his neighbors enjoying an income of \$100 per quarter, while he receives nothing, offers his shop for \$90, on the wise principle that he had better take that sum than nothing. This offer induces one of the traders, who is paying \$100, to quit the shop he occupies, and take the one he can have for \$90. This change leaves an other shop empty; and this induces its owner to put that at \$90 per quarter; this induces another to remove, and take a shop at \$90. And so they will go through with each shop, till all are brought down to \$90. Here has been a reduction of \$10 upon each shop, making an aggregate of \$100, being just equal to the value of the surplus. And how stands the matter now? Why, sir, there is one empty shop, as at the beginning; and the same process of reduction will go on, till the price is brought down so low as to induce some person to embark in trade, who, under other circumstances, would not think of engaging in this kind of business.

This principle, which every practical man will readily acknowledge, enters largely into our commerce, both foreign and domestic, and has an all-important bearing upon prices. Keeping this principle in view, let us inquire into the effect of a Tariff upon prices. Suppose an article now paying 20 per cent. be subjected to 20 per cent. more duty; according to the gentleman's doctrine, the price must rise 20 per cent. in our market. But, in fact, this will not be the case. The American merchant, who has been in the habit of taking this article of an English house to the amount of \$2,000, writes to his correspondent in Britain, that, in consequence of the increase of duty, he can now take but \$1,000, unless the manufacturer will reduce his price. The British manufacturer, knowing full well that if \$1,000 worth of this fabric be thrown into his home market, it will reduce the price, and lessen the value of his whole stock on hand, immediately reduces his price, and so supplies his old customers with the usual quantity of the article. The amount of the reduction will depend upon the state of the market: sometimes it will be more and sometimes less. The average, perhaps, would be one-half of the increased duty. The foreign manufacturer, paying one-half of the additional duty, the actual duty paid by the importer would be 30 per cent. instead of 40. But as the increased duty would protect the manufacturer, our citizens would embark with Yankee zeal in this species of manufacture. This would produce

competition at home, and the increased quantity of the fabric thrown into our market, would have a tendency to produce a surplus, and this would serve to keep down the price. Here would be a double competition: a competition between the foreign and the domestic manufacturers, and a competition between the domestic manufacturers themselves. The natural tendency of this would be to reduce prices. Its operation would be more or less sudden, according to the character of the manufacture. If it were a costly kind of manufacture, or one which required great experience or skill, it would take longer to bring this reduction about. But if the manufacture were of such a nature as to require but a little capital or little experience, the competition and consequent reduction would be more immediate. After making all allowances for fluctuations, from various causes, we lay it down as a general principle, which will hold good, take a number of years in succession, that duties looking to protection, if they are judiciously laid, will reduce prices.

This not only appears evident from the nature of the case, but is sustained by facts taken from official documents. These facts I will present for the consideration of the House.

Description of Article.	1816.		1825.		1829.		1832.	
	Price.	Duty.	Price.	Duty.	Price.	Duty.	Price.	Duty.
Braces of 24 bits...	1810	20	7	6	23	5	25	5
Hammers, per doz.	12	20	7	2	25	5	24	2
Cupboard locks do.	4	20	2	7	25	1	25	1
Steele yards, per pair	4	20	2	9	25	1	25	1
Hinges, cast brass pd	3	20	2	3	25	1	25	1
Compasses, rule, &c.	4	20	3	1	25	2	25	1
Curry combs, do	516	20	2	1	25	1	25	1

Here is a list of articles in the iron manufacture, which shows most conclusively that the duty, by producing domestic competition, has reduced the price more than one-half. I have taken these prices from documents furnished from the Treasury Department, and I have placed the duty and the prices in connexion, so as to show what each article sold for under each duty. I have selected the year 1816, to show the cost of the article before the Tariff of that year, and the years 1825 and 1829, to show the effects of the Tariffs of the preceding years. And 1832 as the last year contained in the documents referred to. This table shows, most conclusively, the wisdom of the protective policy.

Nor is this principle illustrated by the manufacture of iron alone. Other articles which have enjoyed protection have also fallen in price. The same 4-4 cotton sheetings which, in 1816, sold at 1s. 3d. sterling, could be bought in 1832 for 4d. sterling per yard. Printed goods costing in 1816, 36s. per piece could be bought in 1832 for from 13s. to 23s. per piece. Common blue and white calico, costing in 1816, 32s. per piece, could be had in 1832 for 12s. or 15s. per piece. Broad-cloths costing in 1817, 28s. could be had in 1832 for 7s. 10d. These facts are all taken from official documents, and their correctness is vouched for by the names of David Henshaw, of Boston, and James N. Barker, of Philadelphia, collectors of these ports, and Mr. Secretary McLane.

And while I am upon this subject, I have one fact more, for the special consolation of my friend from South Carolina, who has uttered such doleful lamentations over the oppression of the poor man,

who was so heavily taxed by the manufacturers, "on every nail he drove into his cabin." In 1816 cut nails were selling at wholesale for 11 cents per pound. A duty of 3 cents per pound was imposed by the tariff of that year, and the very next year they went down to 9 cents per pound. The duty was subsequently raised to 5 cents per pound, and the price of nails has been reduced to 3, 7, 6, 5, and I believe to 4½ cents per pound; that is, less than the protecting duty. This is the hardship of the poor man, whose cabin nails excite so much sympathy. I am asked, Mr. Speaker, by a gentleman near me, whether the nails which sold in 1816 for 11 cents were not wrought nails, and the nails which have since been sold for the low prices mentioned, were not cut nails. I will answer the gentleman; they were all cut nails, and nails of the same kind—all 4 penny nails—and this on the authority of Mr. David Henshaw. He places wrought nails and cut nails in separate columns. Wrought nails have not been manufactured to any considerable extent in this country, and hence the price of that article has not been materially reduced.

But it may be said that these reductions in prices are owing not to a protective Tariff, but to the great improvements which have been introduced into machinery. I have no disposition to deny that improvements in machinery have done much to reduce prices. But what has caused this improvement? What has given rise to labor-saving machines? The very competition which protection had produced, has been the efficient producing cause of these improvements. That inventive power which has been exerted in perfecting machinery, would have slumbered for ages to come, as it has for ages past, had not manufactures been prosecuted, and necessity, which is the mother of invention, demanded the employment of labor-saving machines. It is to protection that we owe competition, and to competition that we owe those inventions which have aided in the reductions of prices. So that, after all, this reduction is mainly to be ascribed to protection, and to the industry which it stimulates, and to the genius which it excites.

I regret that this whole subject has been treated as if it were a local question, and as if New-England was the only portion of the Union which was interested in the subject. This is not a Massachusetts question; no, nor a New-England question. The manufactures of Massachusetts could stand with less protection than most others. In some of our establishments a larger capital is invested, and rich capitalists are engaged. They can ride out almost any gale—they can stand any ordinary storm. In fact, such establishments as these at Lowell, could perhaps do better with a lower rate of duty; because, in such an event, the small competitors would fail; the amount of manufactured goods would diminish; and having the market to themselves, they could command a higher price for their cottons. Pennsylvania and Virginia need protection more than Massachusetts. Look at their iron and coal; there were imported into the city of Boston alone, in 1841, 1,836,818 bushels of foreign coal, to the injury of the coal interest of those States. And the same is true of all the Middle States, where manufacturing is carried on. Nay, all the grain-growing States have an interest in this question, as vital as Massachusetts herself.

Indeed, if I were to select a State which above all others would be benefited by the protective policy, it would be Virginia. Nature has been most ample in her gifts to the Old Dominion. Her beautiful bays and her navigable rivers are admirably adapted to commerce. Her low lands produce the "yellow corn," which is a great favorite of the gentleman before me, (Mr. Wise.) And, while, her low lands furnish food for the support of manufacturers further up the country, she has water power ample to drive machinery sufficient to manufacture for a continent. Her mountains are stored with precious minerals, salt, and iron, in abundance. Let her try manufactures, and she would soon find that the interest of her whole people would be promoted. She would find that the protective policy was no abstraction, but the most practical thing in the world; and her whole people would be in favor of those discriminating duties which are directly recommended in the President's Message.

[Here, the hour having arrived, Mr. H. gave way for an adjournment. On Thursday, when the subject came up for consideration, he resumed the subject, and concluded his speech.]

Mr. Speaker: the kind indulgence extended to me by the House yesterday, in listening to my remarks, admonishes me not to abuse that indulgence by trespassing too much upon their patience this morning. When I gave way for an adjournment yesterday, I had been endeavoring to show that protecting duties, when judiciously laid, tended to reduce prices, and generally produced that effect. This is not invariably the case. If the duty be imposed upon articles which do not come in competition with our own industry, this effect will not be produced; and when the duties are imposed upon those articles the manufacture of which requires a large outlay and long experience, the reduction will not take place immediately.

But, sir, I shall probably be told, that if an increased duty tends to reduce prices, it affords no protection to the manufacturer, though at the same time it reduces prices. Discriminating duties enable our own manufacturers to compete with the foreign, by securing them against the policy to which foreign manufacturers frequently have recourse, for the sole purpose of destroying our infant establishments. I am aware that it is difficult to present an abstract principle clearly to the understanding of the House; and, as the whole subject is one of a practical character, I will illustrate this principle by taking a familiar case.

An article, now free of duty, is selling in our market for \$1 20; the elements which make up this price are these: cost in foreign market \$1, cost of importation 10 cents, importer's profits 10 cents—making \$1 20. At this price the article can be manufactured in this country. Now, let one of our citizens go into the manufacture of this article, and what will be the result? Why, the foreign manufacturer, who has heretofore enjoyed the monopoly of our market, and who is enjoying large profits, will immediately put the article at 90 cents to the American importer—this being the cost of the article. He will willingly forego all profits for the time being, for the purpose of crushing the infant establishments in this country; and the importer will give one-half of his profits, rather than lose this portion of his business. This will reduce the price of the article 15 cents, bringing

it down to \$1 05. The American manufacturer immediately finds the article in the market at this reduced price, which is in fact less than he can manufacture the article for. He must, therefore, abandon his business, give up his establishment at a great sacrifice, and yield the market to the foreign manufacturer, who, finding his new rival destroyed, will immediately demand the old price, and put his article at \$1; and the consumer in this country will be compelled to pay \$1 20, or perhaps \$1 25, to make up the loss which the importer and foreign manufacturer sustained during the period of competition. This is the result when the article is free of duty.

Now, we will take the same article, at the same price, both in Europe and America, with protective duties. This, added to the former price, \$1 20, would bring the article to \$1 35. The foreign manufacturer fears that he shall lose the American market; and consequently, to prevent a surplus in his own home market, and to create a surplus here, he will at once put his article at cost, 90 cents; the importer will forego half his profits, and take off 5 cents, which will bring the article down to \$1 20—the very price which the article brought before the duty was imposed. In the meantime, the American manufacturer produces the article, which he can sell for the same price. Here, then, the manufacturer is protected, and the consumer has no additional price to pay. The importation will not be materially checked; and this, with the domestic production, will create a surplus, which will tend to a reduction of the price. A sharp competition will ensue, and necessity, that mother of invention, will bring out improvements in machinery, so that the article can be produced at a cheap rate. The skill also which is required will enable the manufacturer to turn off the article at less expense, and so afford it to the consumer at a reduced price. Thus, sir, will discriminating duties protect the manufacturer, and at the same time cheapen the article. Is it not so? Does not experience justify this position? Without a duty, the foreign manufacturer sells at the maximum price; with the duty, he sells at the minimum; without the duty, he could probably reduce his price to destroy our manufacturer; with the duty, he must come down to the lowest price to compete with him.

Gentlemen have spoken of a *Protective Tariff* as an exploded doctrine. *An exploded doctrine!*—When, where, and by whom was this doctrine exploded? I demand. It was the doctrine of the Constitution. It had the support of the President and the first Congress. Yes, sir, General Washington, who was President of the Convention which formed the Constitution, in his first message to Congress, says: "The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation." In compliance with this suggestion, the first Congress, in their first public act—I say *first*, for though it stands second in the laws, the first act was simply an act binding all officers of Government to the Constitution; an act imposing a solemn oath to adhere to that sacred instrument—the first Congress composed in no small degree of the very men who formed the Constitution, in their first public act employ this language in the preamble: "Whereas it is necessary, for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debt of the

United States, and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid upon goods, wares, and merchandise imported :

"Be it enacted," &c. This act then goes on to provide for discriminating duties. Now, I care not whether these duties be high or low. It is sufficient that they were laid to raise a revenue and to protect manufactures. I will not go through the list of Presidents or precedents on this subject; this has been done by my friend from Vermont, [Mr. SLADE;] but I will say that every President, from General Washington down to the present Executive, unless it be the elder Adams, has recognised the doctrine of protecting domestic industry, and has recommended encouraging manufactures. When Washington, the President of the Convention that framed the Constitution; Madison, the writer of that matchless instrument; and Jefferson, the great democratic expounder of it, concur in the opinion that Congress has the right of protecting manufactures, and sought to exercise it, every modest man should be slow in pronouncing that doctrine unconstitutional.

But we are told that the doctrine is exploded. When was it exploded, and by whom? It has been recommended by every President, and has been affirmed by every Congress. There has been a period in our history, in which this doctrine has been a living law upon our statute book. Was it exploded in 1816, 1824, 1828, or 1832? Let the acts of those years speak for themselves. Was it exploded by the famous compromise act? The gentleman from South Carolina contends that that act discriminates in favor of manufactures; and that act has not yet expired. This explosion, as gentlemen will have it, must, I think, be an event yet future. Or, if it has been exploded at all, it must have been done by the speeches of the gentlemen from South Carolina and of New-York, [Mr. McKEN,] in favor of free trade and direct taxation. Free trade has been extolled as a glorious doctrine, and it has been intimated that, if all men would adopt it, we should have a commercial millennium. I regard the doctrine of free trade as nothing more nor less than a part of the system of entire non-resistance. Why do not the gentlemen who advocate this doctrine carry out their views, and say that they will not erect forts, build ships, or support armies and navies? The gentleman from New-York, in the famous McLeod debate, was belligerent as the rest of us, to say the least; and my friend from South Carolina is not disposed to brook insults or injuries, come from whom they may. Will gentlemen carry out their views, and make no preparation for the defence of the country, on the ground that, if all men would be peaceable, we might have a military millennium, if the expression be allowable? When the gentlemen will go thus far, they may talk of free trade, but not before.

The gentleman from South Carolina has told us that millions have been paid to the rich manufacturers, and he has more than intimated that the burdens of a tariff fall principally upon the South. As our attention has been called to this subject, let us compare the population of the South with the population of the North, that we may be able to decide this question. Take the cotton-growing States, and nearly one-half of their entire population are slaves. Now it cannot be pretended, for a single moment, that this population consumes any

thing like the amount of dutiable articles which is consumed, by the free population at the North.— Their food and their clothing pay but little duty. While all this class of Southern population contribute but little to the support of the Government, the laboring classes at the North are in the constant use of these articles which pay a revenue to the Government. Their food, their dress, the furniture of their houses, all contribute to the national treasury. If we allow that the wealthy portion of the Southern population consume an equal amount of dutiable articles with the same class at the North, I suppose it will be found true that there is a larger portion of the white population in the Southern States who are poor, than will be found in the Northern States. The operatives of a cotton mill consume articles paying ten times as much duty as the same number of Southern slaves. It is idle, then, and worse than idle, to pretend that the South is more heavily taxed than the North. The truth is the very reverse of this. From the character and habits of our population, the burdens of taxation must fall more heavily upon the North.

But, perhaps, it may be said that the free articles—these which are used in manufactures—are consumed at the North more than at the South. This may be true. But some of these free articles—wool, below 8 cents, for example—and some of the coarse fabrics are made free, or nearly so, for the express benefit of our Southern friends. But we have official documents which will decide this question. A communication from the Treasury Department, submitted to the 26th Congress, giving a detailed account of the importations into the several States, from the year 1821 to 1839, shows that the average rate per cent. actually paid on the whole amount of importations, including the free as well as the dutiable articles, amounted in Massachusetts to 38 per cent. and in South Carolina to only 28 per cent. making a difference of 10 per cent. in favor of South Carolina. And still it is represented that the South bears the greater part of the burdens of the Government!

The North, even as compared with the West, are taxed the more heavily by impost duties. This is no object of complaint by Northern men. It arises, not from any inequality in our laws, but grows out of the nature of the case. In all new countries the inhabitants depend more upon their own products for food, and are less extravagant in their dress, than in older settlements. We, upon the seaboard, have more temptations to luxury and extravagance in dressing our persons, and furnishing our houses, than our brethren in the Western wilderness.

We have been told upon this floor that a discriminating tariff was a tax upon Southern labor, to increase Northern capital. The contest, gentlemen tell us, is between Northern capital and Southern labor! Mr. Speaker, I wish to assail no part of the country; but, sir, I am compelled to say that the truth is the very reverse of this. It is Southern capital against Northern labor. The North has frequently been taunted as being rich and grasping. Gentlemen have pointed to our manufacturing villages as evidence that we were fattening upon the labor of what they denominate the great producing States. But why do gentlemen point to our manufacturing villages? Let them look to our soil, rough and rugged as it is, and compare our cultivated fields with their exhaust-

soil and half-cultivated plantations, and ask themselves whether they cannot account for the difference, by our habits of industry, and the character of the labor we employ.

Nor is it true that our manufactories are carried on or owned by the wealthy, to the extent that gentlemen would represent. Many of our cotton and woollen mills are owned and operated by men of small capital—the laborers in the mills owning a portion of the property. Many species of manufactures prosecuted in Massachusetts (and I speak of my own State only because I can speak of her more understandingly than of any other) require but very little capital. We manufacture boots and shoes to the amount of \$15,000,000 annually.—This large sum is to a great extent the product of labor. The conversion of a raw hide into shoes is produced by human toil. The manufacture of furniture and chairs amounts to \$1,300,000 annually, and labor is the principal ingredient in this product. The same is true of hats, which are manufactured to the amount of about \$700,000 per year. The annual product of straw bonnets and palm-leaf hats is \$2,000,000; and this begins and ends in labor—and labor, too, mostly performed by women and children. By the official statistics of Massachusetts, it will be seen that there are produced annually of these little articles, these household manufactures—such as straw and palm-leaf hats and bonnets—a very large amount. In some towns, where such articles are manufactured, the amount in dollars is *ten times* the amount of the population of the town; and in some few cases twice that amount—that is, a town of 2,000 inhabitants will produce of straw, palm-leaf, and articles of this character, \$20,000, and in some cases \$40,000, though, in the latter case, a portion of the article, partly manufactured, was obtained in the adjacent towns. These articles are, to a great degree, the product of labor, and are produced principally by women and children. And it is by unremitting toil, by patient and continual application, that these products are brought forth. By means such as these, hundreds of poor families, of lone widows and destitute orphans, are supported.

And I would gladly ask my friend from South Carolina whether he can present a picture like this from his own State?—whether the females or the males there will submit to toil like this? He knows that they will not. And still he speaks of our manufacturers as though they were all men of overgrown capital, rolling in luxury and in wealth! I will give the gentleman a specimen of Yankee manufactures. There are gentlemen within fifteen or twenty miles of my residence who manufacture wooden ware. And what Mr. Speaker, do you suppose they produce? I will tell you. They manufacture *pails*, and *wash-boards*, and *mop-handles*, and *clothes-pins*. And where do you suppose they find a market for these *staple* commodities? I will tell you. They send them into the Western wilderness! They have actually an agency in Missouri, to which these articles are sent for sale. We have another class of manufactures, of a different character. Our cotton, woollen, glass, iron, and paper manufactories turn out an annual product about equal to the capital invested. Take all our manufactures together, and the annual product is at least one-third more than the capital invested. Not that the annual product is so much clear gain; far otherwise. The interest and insurance on the

capital and fabric, the cost of the raw material, the cost of the labor, and other incidental charges, are all to be deducted. In fact, a company may turn off an annual product greater than the capital invested, and still prosecute their business at a loss.

From this view of our manufactures, it will be seen that our fabrics are in a great degree the product of labor, and not of capital. But how is it with the products of the South? Take their great staple, cotton; of what is that the product? of labor or of capital? Of capital, almost exclusively. Their lands are capital and their slaves are capital, made so by their own laws. In strictness of speech, they have no labor, in the sense in which that word is used, as distinguished from capital, in the production of their cotton crop, if we except the overseers and the few white men who are employed. By the instructions and laws of the South, their slaves are property—capital in the same sense that our machinery is; and, when they talk of protecting their labor, they mean, if they mean any thing, protecting their property.

In this view of the subject, I claim no originality; Mr. Woodbury, that Northern man with Southern principles—Mr. Woodbury, the late Secretary, whose authority will not be disputed by my friend from South Carolina, presents the same view, in his Report upon cotton in 1836. He estimates the whole amount of capital employed in the cotton culture as follows:

Capital in lands.....	\$312,000,000
Capital in slaves.....	20,000,000
Capital in horses, cattle, &c.....	20,400,000
Floating capital, for taxes, tools, overseers, &c.....	30,500,000

Making a grand total of.....\$771,000,000.

With these facts staring them in the face, will Southern gentlemen on this floor have the effrontery to tell us that the doctrine of Protection is a contest between Northern Capital and Southern Labor? It is a contest between Southern Capital, or what is made Capital by their laws, and the Free Labor of the North.

The gentleman from South Carolina laments that any thing should be said tending to array one part of the Union against the other; and yet in the same speech, he speaks of Northern Manufacturers as *oppressors*, *plunderers*, *robbers*. The gentleman tells us that, if the protective policy is adhered to, the Constitution will be destroyed; and he more than intimates that the Union will be dissolved. I regret that any gentleman should so far forget his duty to himself and his country as to speak of dissolving the Union; yes, sir, I am more grieved than alarmed at this threat; it has been repeated so often that it has lost all its terror. Dissolve the Union! Who would suffer by such an event? Let gentlemen count the cost before they take a step involving such horrid consequences. I will not dwell upon a subject so painful. But, if the Union must be dissolved, be the responsibility upon those who commit the suicidal act.

I have no disposition to array one portion of the Union against another; I would strengthen the cord which binds them together. And I believe that the measure before us is one in which we have a mutual interest. Let a discriminating tariff be wisely adjusted, distinguishing between luxuries and necessities, between articles which come in competition with our own industry and those which do not, and it will prove a bond of union, by imparting the greatest good to the greatest number. Such a tariff would promote alike the interest of

the East and the West, the North and the South, and spread prosperity through the land.

From *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*.

## AN ARGUMENT FOR FREE TRADE.

BY S. C. ARNOLD.

WE had supposed that the long and fierce discussion, waged for so many years between the advocates of protection and Free Trade, had resulted in a settled preference for the free trade policy, and that the same liberal principles which originated our glorious Constitution, and which so generally pervade all our modes of thinking and action, were without further controversy, to govern our intercourse with the nations of the world; applying their mysterious but powerful stimulus to the interests of production and commerce, and giving a bolder wing to those noble enterprises which have already caused our flag to be unfurled in every clime, and our canvass to whiten every sea.

But it would seem that we are mistaken. Even in this magazine, devoted exclusively to the interests of a class of men who are the natural foes of monopoly and restriction, several writers have already announced themselves as the advocates of *protection*; and the movements at the capitol and elsewhere, indicate that there are those who are willing, at the first favorable opportunity, to revive this long-debated question. Under these circumstances, we are particularly pleased to see that one of the most popular champions of free trade has brought out a volume of essays, written during the heat of the tariff contest, and embodying most of the arguments which were so successful in overwhelming the "American System," and in bringing about the compromise of 1833. We allude to the volume on "Free Trade," by Dr. Raquet, published a few months since at Philadelphia.

When nations were from year to year involved in bloody and ruinous wars, it may have been necessary to grant extraordinary encouragement to particular interests. But this argument in favor of protection, if it ever was sound, cannot now apply to the family of nations. Formerly, when arms was the occupation of the wealthy and the noble, war only was the field of glory and renown. From the reign of Numa, the second king of Rome, to that of Augustus, in whose time Christ was born, a period of nearly 700 years, the temple of Janus, which was kept open in war and closed in peace, was shut but *once*, and then for a short period only. Immediately subsequent to the birth of Christ, about 500 years of successive wars preceded the fall of the great Roman empire. From the ruins of this gigantic people, a multitude of nations sprang into existence, who, as it were, slept upon their arms and kept Europe in a state of dreadful commotion for about a thousand years. Then followed the wars of the reformation and of Napoleon, deluging the world in blood, and stirring up the deepest hate between nations separated only by an imaginary line.

At length, however, these scenes of carnage have been succeeded by a period of deep and almost sublime repose. As light, and knowledge, and commerce have advanced, the arts of peace have been cultivated more than those of war, and we seem almost to have realized the day foreseen

by the inspired prophet, when "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks," and when "nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

For the last *twenty-five* years, the world has enjoyed a calm, unknown to it in any other age. Nations have ceased to regard each other with that deep and settled hate which once kept them involved in continued and disastrous wars; and as human liberty has extended, and the people have been left free to check the assumptions of power, a barrier has been interposed against the ambitious projects of kings, while the free spirit of commerce, winged by the four winds of heaven, bears to every clime the olive-branch of peace, and binds together the family of nations with the strong tie of interest.

This tie, always important, is now daily increasing in power. The application of steam to ocean navigation has constituted a new era in the history of commerce and of nations. The regularity and certainty with which we now receive intelligence from all parts of the world, has opened new fields of inquiry and enjoyment—has brought the knowledge, and customs, and literature of other nations to our doors, and produced an exchange of thoughts, improvements, views, and feelings, the result of which must be greatly to strengthen these ties of interest, and promote the peace and harmony of this great society. If, therefore, the necessity ever existed, there is now no longer any occasion for that extreme selfishness which has too often characterized the legislation of different governments on the subject of trade: and if freedom is best calculated to stimulate the industry of man, and increase the production of nations, there is no sufficient cause why it should not be grafted on their policy.

By the political philosopher, the world should be regarded as one great family, divided, it is true, into different branches, but all having substantially the same interests, and each contributing its share to the general good. Every thing around us appears to have been constituted with this design. The inclination of the earth's axis to the ecliptic, causes an agreeable variety of climates, each of which is favorable to its own peculiar production, but none of which furnishes all that the wants of man in his civilized state require; and as he is scattered abroad over every part of the earth's surface, it is evident that without a constant intercommunication between the distant parts he would be deprived of many enjoyments which he now possesses.

Hence the importance of commerce. Every man finds his comforts increased by the productions of other countries. When we sit down to our breakfast in the morning, and glance over the smoking board, we behold at once how largely we are indebted to distant regions for even our commonest pleasures. The table on which we eat is probably of wood grown in South America; the cloth which covers it is from Ireland; the cups from which we drink are from China or England; the knives in part from Liverpool, and in part from the deserts of Africa; the spoons from the mines of Mexico; the coffee which we sip, from the distant island of Java; the sugar which suits it so admirably to our taste, from the island of Cuba. In short, we can scarcely open our eyes but they rest on some ar-



ticle brought by immense labor and toil—nay, perhaps even with risk of life and limb, from some far-off clime.

Now, as the earth rises into hills and sinks into valleys—is cold, and temperate, and hot in different portions—it possesses, in every part, a peculiar aptness for something which cannot be so readily produced elsewhere: and, hence, the amount of production on the whole globe would evidently be greatest if the people of each country would produce those things only for which they possess the greatest facilities by soil, climate, and location. It would therefore seem to be the true policy of every country to foster the production of those things which these advantages render most profitable, and exchange the surplus which remains after supplying the wants of its own population, for the productions of other countries which it cannot so readily create.

Thus the soil and climate of New-York are adapted to raising wheat, while they are not adapted to raising coffee; on the other hand, the soil and climate of Cuba are adapted to raising coffee, but not to raising wheat. Now if the labor of a New-York farmer in one day would produce a hundred pounds of flour, while the same labor would not produce a pound of coffee, and if the labor of a West India planter would, in the same time, produce twenty-five pounds of coffee, but not a single pound of flour, it would clearly be to the advantage of both to apply themselves to the production most congenial to their several climates and make a friendly exchange, as the farmer would, by that means, obtain more coffee and the planter more flour.

But there are certain political philosophers who contend that it would be better for every country to foster as great a variety of products as possible, and that if the soil, climate, or other circumstance prevents their creation as cheaply as they can be produced elsewhere, Government should protect them against the competition of those places where the facilities of production are greater, by a duty so large as at least to put them on a footing with their neighbors. Thus, if a pound of sugar can be made in Jamaica for three cents, and in Louisiana for six cents, it is urged that Government should lay a duty of three cents on foreign sugar, so as to raise the price within the United States to six cent: by which means the planters of Louisiana will be enabled to employ his lands in the cultivation of sugar.

Believing that this principle of protecting particular interests by discriminating duties, is detrimental to the interests of society, injurious to production and commerce, and unworthy of the enlightened age in which we live, we shall devote the remainder of these pages to a further examination of the fallacies on which it is founded. We regard it—

- I. As unjust and oppressive.
- II. As offering a bounty to smuggling and fraud.
- III. As injurious to production, commerce, and national wealth.

I. It is unjust and oppressive. Our country is, in many respects, more fortunately situated than others. We have a vast domain of wild and fertile lands which invite the hand of industry "to leop their wanton growth," and which can be purchased at \$1 50 per acre. A very small capital, therefore, joined with habits of sobriety and in-

dustry, is sufficient to make the laborer independent. This productiveness of the soil repays the toils of the husbandman so handsomely, that many branches of business which can be carried on to profit in other countries, cannot be prosecuted here; because land being so cheap, and agricultural pursuits so agreeable and profitable, they offer a richer reward than those other pursuits. This circumstance necessarily fixes the rate of wages higher here than in most other countries. The fertility of the soil has the effect of a labor-saving machine, and its cheapness brings it within the means of a vast number of persons.

This being true, it follows that many branches of production to which our soil and climate are not entirely unfriendly, cannot be prosecuted here to any great extent while commerce is unfettered by restrictive laws. Because, if the farmer can produce more sugar by raising wheat and exchanging with the West India planter, than he can by cultivating it in hothouses, it is clearly his interest to do so; and long experience has shown that men are not very apt to go counter to their interests.

But it so happens that in certain parts of our country, sugar can be produced to the same extent without the aid of hothouses, but not with the same facility, that is, as cheaply as it can be produced in the West Indies. This is the case in some parts of Louisiana. But the Louisianian cannot compete with the West Indian, because the lands of the latter, being better adapted to the culture of sugar, yield with more certainty and in greater abundance: hence he is enabled to undersell him in the market. To prevent this unequal competition, Congress interposes its shield of protection and lays a duty on foreign sugar, by means of which the price is raised so high within the bounds of the United States, that the Louisianian is enabled to carry on the cultivation without loss.

Now we contend that this interposition of Congress is both unjust and oppressive. 1st. It is unjust, because it is imposing a tax on all the pursuits of industry—that is, on all the consumers of sugar within the United States—for the purpose of favoring a particular branch of production, which we think Government has no right to do. 2d. It is oppressive, because the tax so levied is no benefit, but a positive injury to community, the consumer parting with his money without any remuneration whatever. If, in consequence of this duty, sugar is made dearer by three cents a pound, then whoever consumes a pound of sugar contributes three cents towards sustaining the Louisiana planter in a business which, after all, yields him only the average profits of other pursuits. The money might, therefore, for all the benefit which it accomplishes, be just as well thrown into the sea.

In coming to this conclusion, we must, of course, keep the idea of *protection* separate from that of *revenue*. All governments must be supported, and taxes for that purpose are well applied. A tax for *protection* is for an object entirely different, and levied for a particular end. Consequently, then, as all the consumers pay the protective duty without receiving any equivalent for their money, they are grossly wronged; and the whole matter can be regarded in no other light than that of *oppression*.

II. It offers a bounty to smuggling and fraud. We have seen that the object of protection is to

increase the price of the protected article. If it does not accomplish this, it can be no protection. Now the increase of price which follows the protecting duty, frequently amounts to 50 and 100 per cent. Consequently, if a yard of cloth which is worth only one dollar in Canada, can, by this obstruction to free trade, be sold in New-York for two dollars, there is an indirect bounty of *one dollar* per yard offered by Government for every yard of cloth which shall be surreptitiously conveyed across the line. It is true that this is an offence against the laws, and punishable accordingly; but as the prospect of gain is great, there are always to be found persons who are willing to incur the risk, and who would think it no great crime to take a sleigh-ride into Canada in order to accommodate their neighbors with goods at half the price of regular importation.

The same motive is furnished for making false entries, false invoices, and false oaths at the Custom-House. There are many persons who would shudder at the idea of committing a fraud on the customs, if the duty demanded was moderate, and only for the support of government, who, with a much larger bribe before them, would easily reconcile themselves to what is called a *Custom-House oath*. Hence the litigation, the seizures, the frauds, of which we hear so much, about the precincts of a Custom-House. Hence, also, the smuggling which is carried on along our extended frontier. This is a perplexing evil to all governments; but under a system of protection and high duties, is particularly inconvenient.

One of the Secretaries of the Treasury, in his annual report, states that during the seven years preceding 1828, we had exported more spices than we had imported. Now this is an article not produced in the United States, and which is largely consumed. This statement consequently shows how large a quantity must have found its way through other channels than those of the Custom-Houses. Dr. Raguet, in one of his essays on this subject, written in 1831, says: "We have lately made some inquiries on this subject, from persons who have traveled in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, and their testimony has satisfied us that in the intercourse between France and England every thing is smuggled by travelers that can possibly be concealed. People that would not, for the world, defraud an individual out of six pence, have no hesitation in pocketing six pounds which ought by law to go into the public treasury. And not only does this practice extend to the inferior and middling classes of people, to whom the saving is an object in a pecuniary point of view, but to people of the highest rank and fortune. Even ladies, in crossing the channel, are in the habit of concealing upon their persons laces, jewelry, and articles of valuable clothing; and, what is the worst of it, no stigma of disgrace is attached to such a transaction; and in the politest circles of society the illicit introduction of foreign goods is spoken of by them without any reserve, or the slightest sense of their having been guilty of a dishonest act."

In another part of the same paper he further says; "A gentleman, lately from England, has assured us that goods can be insured from London to Paris by the way of Ostend, against all the risks attendant upon smuggling, for seven and a half per centum. All through South America and

the West Indies, smuggling is carried on upon a most extensive scale, and it is known to every body, and excites no compunctions, except those which arise from fear of detection." Such, then, is the inevitable effect of a long perseverance in the policy of high and tempting duties. They invite a disregard of the laws, offer an indirect bounty to deceit and fraud, lower the standard of public morals, and decoy men unwittingly into the paths of dishonor and crime.

III. It is injurious to production, commerce, and national wealth.

1st. To production. We have seen, elsewhere, that the aggregate production of the earth would be greatest if the people of each country would create only those products to which their location, soil, and climate, are most favorable; that is, which yield them the greatest amount of profit; and this, we suppose, will not be denied. The question then arises, whether a system of Free Trade or protection is best calculated to forward this result.

It is contended by the advocates of restriction that *protection* is the most powerful stimulus which can be applied to the production of a country. Mr. Greeley, a writer of acknowledged ability, and possessing a remarkable command of facts, in an article which appeared in one of the early numbers of the *Merchants' Magazine*, (vol. 1, page 53,) takes this view of the matter: "Is it," he asks, "commercially expedient that the great producing interests of the country be fostered and simulated to their highest possible activity and force, or that they be left entirely to take care of themselves, and in each department to encounter the depressing and disastrous rivalry of whatever portion of the globe may be able to undersell our productions in its particular staple?"

Here Mr. Greeley evidently regards protection as the agent which is to stimulate to the "*highest possible activity*" the producing interests of the country; and in a subsequent article (*Merchants' Magazine*, vol. 1, page 413,) he explains the manner in which this is to be accomplished. He says, "Let me now adduce some illustrative examples; we all know that certain bounties are paid by our Government to our citizens engaged in the cod and mackerel fisheries; will my opponent contend that no more fish are caught than there would be if no bounties were given? Again; until very recently, Maine was a timber-cutting and commercial State, her bread-stuffs being in a great part purchased from abroad. In 1836, (I believe,) her Legislature enacted that a bounty should be paid hereafter to the producers of wheat within the territory. Under the operation of that act, in the course of two or three years, the annual production of wheat in Maine has been quadrupled. Now, my opponent will not deny that this act is clearly a protective one, and directly in the teeth of the "*Free Trade*" principles which Maine has ever professed to cherish.

Certainly no one can doubt that this is a protective measure, nor that it has had the effect to increase the production of wheat in Maine. But it by no means proves that the *aggregate* productions of Maine have been benefited. Men cannot work in the field and on the fishing banks at the same time; they cannot raise potatoes and wheat at once on the same field. Consequently they are obliged to choose between employments. The

bounties on fish and wheat made these branches of business more profitable than some others, and men who understood this, left the less profitable for that which paid them better. But there is no evidence here that the entire amount of productions in Maine was increased by its bounty to the wheat-growers." Mr. Greeley seem to have been aware that this objection would be urged against his argument, and he therefore guards it as follows:

"My opponent, then, has no chance of escape from the natural conclusion, but through the presumption that the skill and labor employed in the production of wheat have been diverted from some other equally profitable employment; that therefore Maine has gained nothing by her protective policy. But is this presumption justified by fact? Will any man seriously contend that if Maine had not raised the two millions of bushels extra of wheat, during the last three years, she would necessarily have produced something in its stead of equal or greater value? *I trust not.*"

We could have wished that Mr. Greeley had drawn from his inexhaustible store of facts something a little more satisfactory than is contained in his last three words, as without them we must still come to the conclusion that Maine has, in fact, been the *loser* by her "protective policy." The reason why wheat was not raised before the bestowment of this bounty, was because the wheat culture was less profitable than some other modes of industry. The bounty had the effect to raise it to the general average, and consequently to invite the culture. Had the bounty been paid by the king of France, it is possible that Maine might not have been the loser. It was, however, taxed in some way on her own citizens, and was therefore merely taken from the pockets of one class to be put into those of another; and if, after all, wheat cannot be raised in Maine cheaper than it can be procured by exchange, she has, clearly, been the *loser* by her "protective policy."

To illustrate this position. A farmer in Maine can raise on a certain piece of land \$25 worth of potatoes, and only \$20 worth of wheat. It is consequently to his interest to raise potatoes. But if the wheat bounty was sufficient to raise the value of his crop from \$20 to \$25, it would then be indifferent to him whether he raised wheat or potatoes, inasmuch as his profits would be the same in either case. But although he is, *individually*, just as well off by turning his attention to the culture of wheat, yet it is evident that this ground has produced less *value*. His wheat is, after all, worth only \$20. He is a loser to the amount of \$5 on his crop, but the State has kindly come forward to make up his loss. The wheat-growers of Maine, then, are not, as a class, losers by their change of occupation; but the State, that is, the taxpayers, are losers to the full amount of the bounty.

Now what is true of protection in Maine, is true of protection anywhere else. The article protected can be procured by exchange cheaper than it can be produced, and the protective duty is laid to make it so dear as to give the advantage to the home producer. It was not produced before because some other mode of industry was more profitable. The duty raises it to the general average, and consequently the producer suffers no loss, although really engaged in a losing business, the community having agreed to sustain him, that is, to pay his losses.

To illustrate this point still further, we will suppose that a certain kind of cloth which can be obtained of the New-York importer under a system of Free-Trade at \$2 per yard, cannot be produced by the manufacturer, with fair profits, for less than \$4. In order to protect him against this foreign competition, a duty is laid of one dollar per yard, and now the cloth can be profitably made. We will suppose that under this artificial stimulant the goods are produced to the amount of 100,000 yards per annum; is the general production of the country increased—that is, is the country made richer by this result? Most clearly not. But, on the other hand, production is less; that is, the country is poorer by at least the additional price of the cloth; that is, by \$100,000. The manufacturer was all the time doing a losing business. He made cloth which, with fair profits, cost him \$4 per yard, but which was really worth but \$3. The loss on the whole was therefore \$100,000, which was made up to him by the consumers, who paid the dollar per yard extra, and were therefore made just so much poorer by the protective duty.

But this is by no means the extent of the mischief. The increase of price caused by the protective duty has diminished its consumption, and still further affected production by injuring our foreign market. To illustrate this position, let it be supposed that under a system of Free Trade, and before the price of this cloth was increased by the policy of protection, the consumption amounted to 300,000 yards. Of course a great many persons who can afford to buy cloth at \$3 cannot afford to buy it at \$4, and we will therefore suppose that the consumption has diminished from 300,000 to 200,000, and that now 100,000 yards are imported and 100,000 manufactured. Here, then, we have at once a falling off in our imports of 200,000 yards of cloth. Now this 200,000 yards was procured of Great Britain in exchange for 16,000 bales of cotton produced in one of our Southern States. What becomes of the market for this cotton? We refuse to take cloth for it as formerly, and our cotton market is consequently injured, and its price reduced. Hence our policy is suicidal. We stimulate the production of articles which we cannot produce to advantage, and injure the production of others to which our soil and climate are particularly adapted.

Again; protection is further injurious to production by increasing the cost of the articles produced. In order to compete successfully with other nations, we must be able to exchange with them on as favorable terms as others; that is, we must sell as low. If we can sell lower, so much the greater is our advantage. Thus, if it costs *nine cents* to raise a pound of cotton, and we can, at that price, compete with other nations, we should at *eight cents* be able to undersell them and supply the market; whereas, at *ten cents*, we should be driven out of the market. The *cost of production* is, therefore, a matter of great importance. Now it is clear that if the price of goods consumed be very much increased, the effect must be to increase the cost of production. A duty on iron adds to the cost of machinery made of iron—on wool and cloth, to the cost of wearing apparel—on the supplies of the table, to the daily expense of living. It follows, therefore, that to the whole extent which protection increases the cost of production is the country the loser and production injured.

2d. Protection is injurious to commerce. This position follows so naturally from the last, that we should hardly have given it a distinct place had it not been so stoutly denied by the advocates of protection. "The direct object of commerce," says Barnard, (Merchants' Magazine, vol. 1: page 12,) "is the exchange of commodities. Of course there must be commodities to be exchanged; and the more of them there may be, the more considerable will be the business and the profits of exchange." If this be true, whatever favors production advances the prosperity of commerce; and, on the other hand, whatever injures production retards its prosperity.

It is contended, however, by the advocates of restriction, that the protective policy is beneficial to commerce. Mr. Greeley, in one of the articles already alluded to, (vol. 1, page 58,) in speaking of the Free Trade school of politicians, says: "Their fears of a destruction or signal decline of commerce under the influence of the protective policy have been shown to be utterly delusive. Take the ten years when that policy was predominant—from 1824 to 1834—and its friends may safely defy its opponents to show any ten successive years when commerce was so uniformly, generally, and onwardly prosperous."

Of course we do not know on what information Mr. Greeley has based this conclusion. But we have carefully examined the official tables of exports and imports, tonnage, &c., and do not find that they sustain his view of the case. The average of our exports, for instance, for the ten years preceding 1808, at which time the embargo was laid, was \$81,670,872, which is something more than \$13 50 per head for the whole population. The average from 1817 to 1823 inclusive, under the operation of the Tariff of 1816, was \$76,088,798, or about \$8 per head for the population. The average for the period mentioned by Mr. Greeley, viz., from 1824 to 1833 inclusive, was \$81,254,302, or about \$6 50 per head for the population. The average from 1834 to 1839 inclusive, under the gradual reduction of the compromise act, and still burdened in part by the restrictive policy, is \$116,494,722, or about \$7 per head for the population.

Now it will be seen at a glance, that so far from exhibiting the greatest commercial prosperity, the ten years spoken of by Mr. Greeley were really the most depressed of any since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, unless it may be those which followed the restrictions of 1808, and those which are included in the war of 1812, which we have not taken the trouble to calculate. It will also be seen that the ten years of Free Trade prior to 1808 were those of the greatest commercial activity, the exports, as compared with the population, being just about *twice as great* as they were in the period specified by Mr. Greeley. It is worthy of observation, too, that since the passage of the compromise act, notwithstanding the depressing state of the times, our foreign commerce has felt the stimulus of Free Trade and experienced a gradually progressive increase.

If we turn our attention to the statistics of tonnage, we shall meet with precisely the same result. During the two active years immediately succeeding the peace of 1814, under the operations of Free Trade, our tonnage amounted to about 1 ton for 6 1-5 persons. In 1820 it had decreased

to 1 ton for 7 1/2 persons. In 1830 it had further decreased to 1 ton for 10 1/2 persons. Whereas, in 1838, it had again increased to 1 ton for about 8 persons. There are, however, defects in the tables of tonnage which in some measure impair their usefulness. They are, nevertheless, good collateral testimony, and in conjunction with the tables of export and import, seem to show that Mr. Greeley has, by some means, been led into error.

But all statistics aside, it is, we think, quite evident that protective duties can render no aid to commerce. We have seen that commerce subsists upon production. A large crop of cotton, or wheat, or rice, or tobacco, must necessarily give rise to more commercial transactions than a small one; and if it be true, as we think we have conclusively shown, that the protective policy diminishes production, then it follows that it is also injurious to commerce. Dr. Raguet justly observes that the high duty system diminishes both exports and imports. "It diminishes imports by raising the price of the imported commodity to the consumer. No nation can afford to consume as many foreign goods at high prices as at low prices, since every man's income is limited, and the extent to which he can buy is limited by his income." It diminishes his exports "in consequence of depriving foreign nations of the power to pay for them. If a man who has an article for sale refuses to take in exchange for it the only commodity which others have to offer, he cannot possibly sell. The same is the case with a nation. If a nation imports foreign articles to the extent of fifty millions of dollars, can she do this but in consequence of selling fifty millions worth of her produce? The answer must be in the negative. And if the proposition be true in whole, must it not be true in part? If, for example, she refuses to purchase beyond the extent of twenty-five millions of dollars, must not her exports be at the same time reduced to twenty-five millions?"

President Wayland is, if possible, still more clear on this point. "I think," says he, "it is too obvious to need remark that duties on imports can have no favorable effect on exchange. Their only effect must be to raise the price of products, and of course to diminish the ability in both parties to exchange. Every one knows that the exchanges between two places are diminished by any natural obstacle to the communication. If a road were so bad that it cost five dollars per hundred weight to transport merchandise between two places, every one knows that exchanges between these places would be fewer than they would be if the road were improved so that transportation could be effected for twenty-five cents per hundred weight. Now it makes no difference whether this additional four dollars and seventy-five cents be the result of the badness of the road, or of a transit duty between the two places. The diminution of exchange which it causes will be precisely the same. And in conclusion he adds, "I therefore think it evident that Government can do nothing to facilitate exchanges by means of *discriminating duties*."

3. Protection is injurious to national wealth. If what we have said under the two preceding heads be true, this is a postulate which scarcely requires proof. National wealth is the aggregate of the individual wealth of a nation. And although it may be true that certain classes of individuals are

benefited for a season by protective laws, yet the aggregate wealth of the nation is diminished.

If an article requires protection in order to defend it against foreign competition, that circumstance alone is sufficient proof that it cannot be produced as cheaply as it can be imported. The object of the protective duty is to raise the price in order that the production may become profitable; and if it does not accomplish this, it affords no protection. But the protective duty and consequent increase of price do not diminish the cost of production. The article can therefore be produced no cheaper now than before: it must consequently still be produced at a loss, but the loss is borne by the whole community, who are taxed to the amount of the increased price for that purpose. Hence it is clear that the whole community, that is, the nation, sustains a loss at least equal to the additional price caused by the protective duty, and that therefore *protection is injurious to national wealth*.

But we are told that, by producing articles at home, we shall *save to the country* a large amount of money which would otherwise go abroad; and which, if retained at home, would greatly add to the wealth of the nation. Thus, a few years ago, our minister at Constantinople, in recommending a new mode for the production of silk, expressed a hope, "by a gradual introduction of its culture among us, to save, in the end, millions of money which finds its way to this side of the Atlantic."

This doctrine of saving money is one of those popular fallacies which are but too prevalent on the subject of *national wealth*. It should be remembered that commerce is an exchange of equivalents; an exchange which is equally beneficial to both parties. Now it makes no sort of difference whether this exchange is effected by means of money or of goods, as in either it is made *value for value*. If a man wants a hat more than he wants five dollars, he is none the poorer for parting with his money. The loss or gain, therefore, which would attend the home production of silk, must depend on something else besides the mere passage of money across the Atlantic.

The hatter who should undertake to *save money* by making his own boots, would be regarded as a very poor economist; as every body knows that he could procure more boots by giving his undivided attention to his own business, and exchanging products with the bootmaker, than he could by dividing his time between boots and hats. So, as it regards the culture of silk—the *saving* to the country will depend on the fact whether more silk can be obtained by raising cotton, or wheat, or tobacco, than by cultivating mulberries and propagating silkworms. If it costs more to produce the silk than to procure it by exchange, it is clearly *no saving to the country*.

Another fallacy, quite as common as the last, is, that protection is necessary to encourage *domestic industry*. Thus we often hear it asked, when articles of luxury are brought into the country for the rich, "Why such men do not encourage *home manufactures*, and give encouragement to *domestic industry*?" At first view, this position may appear quite natural. But let us examine it a little more closely. These articles have been procured abroad in exchange for American products, and are therefore just as much the result of American industry as if they had been produced at home.

Who will say that the laborer, who, at the end of the week, exchanges his wages for a coat, has not procured it by his own industry just as much as if he had fabricated it with his own hand?

Further: let us suppose that a wealthy farmer of New-York chooses to clothe his family in the richest kind of silk. He could do it in two ways. He might, 1st, employ a dozen men to plant mulberries, and carry on the manufacture on his own farm; or, 2d, he might set these men to ploughing his fields and producing a crop of wheat. The wheat thus raised, he would exchange with a southern planter for cotton, and this cotton he would exchange with the French merchant for silk. Who will say that the foreign silk is not just as much the product of *American industry* as though it had been made directly by the laborers of the New-York farmer?

But it is said, again, that although under a protective policy, we may be obliged at first to ask a higher price for our productions; yet having once introduced them, they will, in the end, become cheaper by competition than before, and that we shall finally reap a benefit from protection. To this we answer, 1st, that if the soil, climate, &c., present natural obstacles to the production of any article, no competition can ever make it profitable; and, 2d, that all things being as favorable as in other countries, except labor and capital, still, as no competition can ever reduce prices below the cost of production, and as these circumstances must continue to influence the cost of production while they remain, the protective policy can have no favorable effect in lowering prices.

In a country like ours, where every thing is progressive, an article which may not be profitably produced may be at some future time, when capital shall have become more abundant, and labor less productive. To attempt to anticipate that time by means of the forcing system of protection can never prove advantageous to a country, as it must inevitably be attended with public loss, and by injuring the accumulating capital of the nation have a direct tendency to put off that time to a more distant day.

Besides, it must not be forgotten that our situation, located, as we are, some thousands of miles from the most producing nations, is itself a natural protection, and that this protection is still further increased by the duties which are required for the support of government. These give us an advantage without the special interposition of the State, which is quite sufficient to stimulate our enterprising citizens to the pursuit of wealth in every mode of industry which offers the least prospect of success. In short, we are fully satisfied that the only sure guide to wealth and prosperity is *FREEDOM, entire and unrestricted FREEDOM*. It is, we think, a great mistake for governments to compel men into this or that mode of production. We believe it to be no part of their duty; and it seldom fails of leading, in the end, to disaster and ruin. Under a system of Free Trade, men are guided by the instinct of their own interests, and the cotton planter, the wheat-grower, the manufacturer, the blacksmith, hatter, shoemaker, tanner, &c., all fix themselves in such situations as they believe will be most profitable to themselves; and unless they greatly mistake their own interests, their choice will be best calculated to produce the greatest amount of products to the country.

The best protection, then, is the protection of all men in their persons and property—the protection of society by means of general education—and the protection of our flag wherever it shall be unfurled to the four winds of heaven. It is such protection which gives nerve to enterprise, spirit to industry, and wing to commerce; and which is destined to carry forward our country in that mighty and glorious progress which she has commenced with such Herculean and lofty strides.

## REMARKS ON "FREE TRADE."

### A REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

By H. GARRELY.

THE article entitled "Free Trade," in the number of the *Merchants' Magazine* for March, seems to require some notice at the hands of the advocates of discriminating duties, of whom I am one. Embodying, as it does, all the plausible but often delusive commonplaces by which the interests of British manufacturers have hitherto been sustained in our own country, at the expense of the welfare of American farmers and artisans, it would be difficult to touch every point on which observation is desirable, without extending this article to an exceptionable length. Instead of answering it in detail, therefore, I shall endeavor to grapple with its principles, and show wherein they are at variance with the true interests of the country.

The writer wholly misstates, and probably, misconceives the principles and views of the advocates of the protective policy. To prevent a recurrence of this misapprehension, let me briefly set forth the grounds on which we stand.

I. We who advocate protection maintain, that many a branch of industry for which the country is admirably adapted, may yet, in its infancy, and in the absence of information or experience with regard to it, and of proper implements and facilities for its prosecution, not afford an adequate reward of itself to those who engage in it, exposed to an unequal competition with the long-established, vastly productive, and prosperous rival interests of older countries. We hold that, in such cases, the government may often confer a vast benefit on the whole nation by extending to the struggling infant its fostering, protecting aid, by means of a discriminating duty on the importation of the foreign article. We insist that, though in such case the cost to the domestic consumer may for a short time be enhanced, yet it will very soon be reduced below the price at which it had hitherto been afforded, and thus a positive saving, even in the narrowest view of the question, be effected.

Need I illustrate this general position? Who, that understands the origin of the silk culture of France—long since the discovery of America—and its growth under the fostering influence of high protecting duties, until it now needs them no longer, can ask for demonstration? Nay, the origin of the cotton culture in this country is substantially, and that of the cotton manufacture is directly, in point. Each was unprofitable at the outset, and only sustained by duties on the foreign competition, or the still more stringent protection of embargoes and war. Yet, now both culture and manufacture may safely defy the world to compete with them on perfectly equal terms—

taking into account the relative cost of labor in this and other countries.

Is the applicability of this principle exhausted? By no means. I firmly believe it might as well be applied to the culture and manufacture of silk now as to those of cotton forty years ago, and that a discriminating duty on imported silk, sufficient to induce our people to embark with energy in the home production, would diminish the actual cost of the silks worn in this country, even within ten years. Do not recorded facts justify this expectation? But—

II. We contend that the high, invidious protecting duties of the nations with which we principally trade, and of nearly all the countries of the civilized world, absolutely constrain us to take care of our own producing interests. We assert that, waiving the question of the policy of protecting duties *per se*, in the actual condition of things, and in view of the legislation and policy of other nations, we must stand by our own producers, or permit them to be trampled under the ruthless feet of British and French interests.

Let us illustrate this point. We now take some thirty millions' worth per annum of the silks, wines, and spirits of France, at very low rates of duty. She takes in return our cotton at a low rate, because she must do so or ruin her manufacturers by exposing them to a disadvantageous competition with those of other nations; but nearly all our staples are taxed exorbitantly on entering her ports; tobacco about a thousand per cent, and most other American products so high as to form a virtual prohibition. The effect of this need not be stated.

So in our intercourse with Great Britain. That country is kind enough to send us ship-loads of treatises and reports, showing the incomparable excellence and policy of Free Trade; but she taxes our productions an average of fifty per cent on their cost, while we tax hers twenty. The inevitable consequence is a continual and increasing indebtedness on our part, and a haughty commercial ascendancy on hers. Our merchants and banks often stand at her mercy; a turn of the screw in the Bank of England bowls them all down in a trice, and fills the whole land with disaster. The price which our great staples shall bear, and the extent to which our internal improvements shall be prosecuted, are kindly settled for us in London. Now, I am well aware that other influences enter into and modify this state of things; but the fundamental evil consists in our buying more of our stepmother than we sell to her, under the operation of her higher rates of duty.

A recent writer on India, who had no reference to the question I am now discussing, corroborates these statements entirely. He is considering the poverty, misery, decline of India, and tracing their causes. The primary and greatest he unhesitatingly declares to be the discriminating duties of England, by which country her trade is mainly monopolized. He says that the average import on British goods sold in India is about *five* per cent; on the productions of India exported to England, nearly or quite *one hundred* per cent. Under the operation of this monstrous inequality, India is drained of her specie, and impoverished day by day. No country, he bluntly, but with obvious truth, observes, could withstand the ruinous influences of such a disparity. But

the simple man had no knowledge of our American "Free Trade" theorists. They would have told him, that poor, depressed India had only to receive the products of other nations free of duty, and let her own products take care of themselves, and all would go on swimmingly with her. Alas! that logic could not feed the hungry and clothe the naked!—what an excellent thing it would be!

I will try to bring this matter home to the understanding of my opponent, if the self-complacency with which he retails the dicta of Mr. Coady Raguet will permit him to believe that a protectionist *can* reason. I will take the case of two islands, which, isolated from the rest of the world, have been accustomed to trade largely with each other. One of them produces grain in great abundance; the other has a soil primarily adapted to grazing, and its surplus products are cattle and butter. But the former, for reasons of its own, imposes a duty of fifty per cent on all imports, and now cattle can be reared on her soil much cheaper than they can be imported. She takes no more from abroad. But the cattle-raising isle, unheeding the change in her neighbor's policy, or profoundly enamored of that system of political economy which assumes the designation, "Free Trade," still buys her grain where she can buy cheapest—that is, abroad. What will be the necessary result? Who does not see that all the specie and other moveables of the "Free Trade" settlement, will be drained away to pay the constantly increasing balance of trade in favor of its "protecting" rival?

"Well," says 'Free Trade,' "this will regulate itself in the end." Yes, truly! when the whole generation of traders and purchasers in the devoted island shall have been swept down by a disastrous revulsion, and two-thirds of their property has gone to pay a part of their debts in the "protecting" isle, and the other third to satisfy law expenses, probably prices will have fallen so low there that *any thing* is produced cheaper than it can be imported. For a time, therefore, she does not run in debt, and her condition appears more tolerable than it has been. But this is merely the effect of an unnatural and temporary depression of prices; they will rise on the first appearance of prosperity, and the whole tragedy be enacted over again. (See the history of the United States, *passim*.)

Allow me one more illustration, to bring the matter more directly home to commercial readers. I will take the case of navigation. We of this country are willing to admit the ships of all nations to our ports on terms of perfect equality with our own. Very good. But *all* nations are *not* willing to reciprocate. Many impose a heavy discriminating tax on the foreign to favor their own vessels: Now, let us suppose that Great Britain were to tax all goods, imported in foreign vessels, five per cent. more than when imported in her own ships, while we made no distinction. Does not every merchant know that our vessels would be driven wholly out of the carrying-trade between the two countries—that it would be entirely monopolized by our rival? What, then, is to be done? "Countervail the exaction," says Protection, "and your rival will soon be glad to meet you on a footing of perfect equality." But what says Free Trade? She stands with her fingers in her mouth, mumbling over her eternal common-places, her

specious fliminesses, about "the laws of trade," "regulating itself," and capital and industry seeking, if uncontrolled, the most profitable employment. Yes, most sapient maxim-vender! but why will you not see that the proper channel has been dammed by the policy of a rival nation, and that *her* interests must be touched before she will free it? Your schoolboy flippancies do not reach the practical question, or reach it to make against you. Preach "Free Trade" to Great Britain to eternity, and she will give you back precept for precept, and all the time consult her own interests in defiance of the whole of them. Counteraction is the only argument that will reach her practical course; and that is the method we have tried by unanimous consent in regard to navigation. We have tried it, too, with entire success. The principle and the act cover the whole ground of protection.

III. Protection contends, that the simple facts, that an article, if produced in this country, is sold at a certain price, while its foreign counterpart is sold at a lower price, do not by any means prove that the imported is, in truth and essence, the cheaper. I have plainly illustrated this proposition in a former number of the Magazine; and, as it is one of the strong points of the case, I marvel that my opponent does not deem it worthy at least a notice. He never alludes to it, but constantly takes it for granted that, if a certain broadcloth, of our own manufacture, costs five dollars a yard, while an equally good British article can be purchased for four dollars, it is demonstrated that the foreign is one-fourth cheaper than the domestic article. Now, so far is this from being a self-evident truth, that we of the protective school question its general soundness, while in many instances we assume to know that it is contradicted by facts. And, for a first illustration, I will repeat in substance one before used, which my opponent has kept clear of.

The town of Londonderry, New Hampshire, is strictly agricultural, and in 1820 used broadcloths of British manufacture. It now uses mainly the manufactures of the neighboring town of Lowell, which has since sprung up under the auspices of the protective system. I believe these cloths are even nominally as cheap as they were in 1820, or would be now, if we had no Tariff, and no domestic manufacture; but no matter: I will assume that she then bought 1,000 yards of the British article at \$4, and now buys a similar amount at \$5. Here, says "Free Trade," is a clear loss of \$1,000 every year to Londonderry from the protective system. Stop, Theory, and let fact say a word. The comparative account is truly given as follows:

1820. <i>The town of Londonderry, Dr.</i>	
To 1,000 yards of broadcloth, at \$4.....	\$4,000
<i>Contra.</i>	
By 4,000 bush. of apples, at 12½ cts. ....	\$ 500
By 1,000 bbls. of cider, at \$1.....	1,000
By 1,000 cords of wood at \$1.....	1,000
By 2,000 bush. of potatoes, at 25 cts. ....	500
By 1,000 turkeys, at 50 cents .....	500
By 1,000 bushels of corn, at 50 cents....	500
Total.....	\$4,000

Accounts balanced.

1840. <i>The town of Londonderry, Dr.</i>	
To 1,000 yards of broadcloth, at \$5.....	\$5,000
<i>Contra.</i>	
By 4,000 bush. of apples, at 25 cts. ....	\$1,000
By 1,000 barrels of cider, at \$2.....	2,000

By 1,000 cords of wood, at \$3 .....	3,000
By 2,000 bushels of potatoes, at 37½ cts. ....	750
By 1,000 turkeys, at \$1 .....	1,000
By 1,000 bushels of corn, at 75 cents .....	750
Total .....	\$5,500
Balance in favor of the town,...	\$3,500

Here the town has paid twenty-five per cent *more* nominally than she would have done in the absence of a Tariff, while she has really obtained her cloths *seventy per cent cheaper* than "Free Trade" would have afforded them. Protection has created a market for her productions in her neighborhood, rendering many of them twice as valuable as they before were, or otherwise would have been. I have endeavored to state the prices in each case fairly, according to my knowledge and recollection. But no error in the items can affect the principle, that *a community may buy its goods at a nominally lower price, yet really pay a great deal more for them than under a different policy.* I beg "Free Trade" to consider this aspect of the general question. The wheat-growers of Genesee, and the lumbermen of Champlain, have understood it well these many years: they know that the country must so shape its policy as to provide a ready and steady market for its surplus products: the question is not, with them, how many *dollars* will buy a given amount of cloth—but, how much lumber or flour will procure such amount; and, having solved that question, they stand up for protection with their whole souls. Yet, here are political economists who do not deem it necessary to ask any question beyond—"Can the desired goods be purchased with the fewest dollars of Birmingham or Lowell?"—and having answered that in favor of Birmingham, they decide that we should buy our cloths of her,—passing over the collateral problem of "How, and in what, shall we pay?" as of no moment whatever. Is not the oversight deplorable?

I press the question home on "Free Trade," and I ask him to answer categorically—"Are we to do *nothing* in counteraction of foreign policy inimical to our interests?" Suppose all the nations of the earth should impose prohibitory duties on our productions, shall we still receive theirs on the most favorable terms? And does not this policy provoke opposition? I abhor war, and would avoid it whenever possible: but if England invade us, shall we not repel her? If she confiscate and burn our ships, shall we not retaliate? If she embargo our commerce, shall we continue to court and foster hers? I want a practical solution of practical difficulties. Every word of "Free Trade's" essay assumes false premises—"supposes that all the nations of the world receive our productions free of duty, and that we wantonly innovate on the universal practice of mankind by protecting. The contrary is well known to be the truth. Protection is the general law; Free Trade the rare exception."

IV. I think I have already indicated that I do not consider discriminating duties—much less any duties—injurious to the general well-being of mankind. Each particular impost must be justified or condemned by the considerations which induced, and the consequences which flow from it. Undoubtedly, there are imposts, levied by this or that nation, which operate injuriously, and ought to be taken off. Others are productive of great good, and ought to be continued. I should, probably,

be willing to-day to abolish all imposts in common with all other nations of the earth, provided an equally cheap, easy, and voluntary mode of accomplishing the ends of taxation could be devised. I should not do this, without serious doubts of its wisdom and beneficence. If I were a citizen of a new country, whose people and institutions were just emerging from barbarism, and making rapid progress in the various arts of civilized life, I would not do it at all. For I hold it demonstrable, that even *real*, genuine "Free Trade" between a barbarous and an enlightened, a rudely agricultural and a refined manufacturing and commercial people, will almost infallibly impoverish the former and enrich the latter—that the balance of trade, indebtedness, and every advantage, will be invariably found on the side of the latter. An active commerce between a nation producing flour, pork, cotton, and other rough bulky staples, on the one hand, and one which exchanges for them silks, wines, cloths, toys, ornaments, and manufactures generally, is, in the nature of things, sure to enrich the latter, and bring the former in debt. The great disparity in weight to be transported, operates as a discrimination; and, while the cost of one dollar per hundred pounds for transportation will not materially affect the transmission of watches, trinkets, laces, and gewgaws, in one direction, it will seriously depress that of corn, beef, and cotton, the other way.

Let us suppose a settlement equal to the State of Missouri, were now in existence on the Oregon—its rude, half-civilized inhabitants engaged wholly in agriculture, clearing, building, &c.—and a good road led from St. Louis to its capital. Trade is brisk enough in one direction; silks, jewelry, spices, finery and foolery of all kinds, are sure to be constantly on the way over. But what is there to come back? They have mountains of grain, beef, wood, and all the substantial of life; but none of these will pay a tenth the cost of bringing them to St. Louis. The settlement is constantly plunging deeper in debt and embarrassment. Eventually, through revulsion, calamity, and depression of prices, it will arrive at the manufacture of whatever it shall want: but if it could have reached this end more directly by the imposition of a strong Tariff, it would have avoided much disaster and suffering.

Such are some of the views which lie at the basis of the Protective or American System.

I will add a few comments on three or four points made by my opponent, which may not be fully reached by the foregoing.

"Free Trade" asserts, that it is the doctrine of protectionists that, if sugar can be produced in Jamaica for three cents a pound, while its production in Louisiana must cost six cents, then it is the duty of the Government to lay an impost of three cents on the imported article. This statement does no sort of justice to our views. We have never contended that *because* the production of any given article costs more in our country than elsewhere, it should therefore be protected, or that *all* articles, which might be produced here, though at a greater cost than elsewhere, should be made the subject of protecting duties. What we contend for, as I have already shown, is the protection of such producing interests as give assurance or reasonable promise of ultimate perfection and thrift among us, though unable to withstand, in



their infancy, the competition of the older and stronger rival interests of other countries. We contend that it may be and is necessary to counter-vail, generally, the high imposts of other nations, or suffer embarrassment, depression, and evil, to which a heavy and always augmenting balance of trade against us—in other words, a crippling foreign debt—must subject us. I think sugar may be produced nearly or quite as cheap in Louisiana as in Jamaica. I would, therefore, protect the sugar interest of the former; but if a fair trial prove this belief to be mistaken, and *Jamaica is willing to reciprocate a Free Trade*, I would take off the duty and buy sugar of her. But if she, while abundantly willing to supply us with sugar, shall refuse to take our flour, our timber, and our products generally, in payment, but insist on having the Free Trade all one side, I would say to her—"Hold! We shall tax your sugar out of our markets, until you take our productions in return." And, Mr. Editor, you would find that my policy would secure a nearer approach to absolute "Free Trade" than that of my opponent. You do not always secure immunity in this selfish world by proclaiming to every one your meekness and non-resistance to injustice and imposition.

My opponent's assertion, that protective duties are unjust and oppressive, would have more plausibility if only one interest were protected, and that for the sake of that interest alone. But the reverse, in both points, is notoriously the truth. And any man, who has seen what these eyes have closely observed of the effect of protecting the manufacturing interest, for instance, upon the prosperity of all other productive interests within the sphere of manufacturing operations, can only regard such sweeping assertions as the melancholy vidences of a wandering from the paths of practical knowledge in the erratic pursuit of air-spun theories.

"Free Trade" objects to protection, that "it offers a bounty to smuggling and fraud." This objection, so far as it has any weight, not only applies to all imposts, but to all *taxation* whatever. Tax gold watches heavily, and the owners will often conceal them to evade the payment. Tax real estate, and land-owners will sometimes resort to artifice and knavery to have it undervalued in the assessment. Nay, more: the legal appraisers of a particular district or country will sometimes systematically appraise too low, in order that their friends and neighbors shall bear a smaller portion of the general burdens. My opinion decidedly is, that customs afford the very cheapest, most equitable, least onerous, and least demoralizing mode of taxation than can be devised; that, though they may give rise to greater rogueries, they make infinitely fewer rogues than a more direct and compulsory imposition of national burdens. Yet, I am ready to admit, that imposts may be so exorbitantly high as to tempt to systematic smuggling, which is a serious evil. But is not the prevalence of this evil exaggerated? Probably the average impost on American tobacco throughout Europe exceeds five hundred per cent; and what proportion of it is smuggled? I think not a twentieth. But so long as the advocates of protection in this country do not ask for any duties exceeding thirty per cent, I submit that this argument of my opponent lacks force.

Of the truth of the general proposition, that judicious protection increases production, I fear I

shall not convince my antagonist. Yet I think I should have no difficulty in convincing ninety-nine out of every hundred individuals of good sense who had formed no opinions on the subject. To do this, I should begin by exhibiting a statement of the annual products of the protected industry of England as compared with those of an equal population in any "Free Trade" country. I would then compare the present annual products of Massachusetts with those of any community of equal numbers whose great producing interests have never received legislative or other equivalent protection. I would compare them also with what they were from 1816 to 1824, under a comparative "Free Trade" system. From these and similar premises I should endeavor to convince the tribunal that a community pursuing many different branches of industry, especially such as minister to its own wants and necessities, will produce much more, and grow rich faster, than one which confines its exertions mainly to the production of one or two great staples. One principal reason of this is the comparatively great cost and disadvantage at which a community which purchases most articles of its domestic consumption must always procure them: if a farmer bought and paid for the products which he consumes, he would generally fall behind at the end of the year. But a still greater disadvantage under which the community which is confined to the production of one or two staples must ever labor, is the inability to employ all its industry. In no country, probably, is the aggregate product of its labor one-half what it might be if all hands were fully employed and all efforts wisely directed. In my view, the great end of all political economy is to provide each individual constantly with the employment best suited to his capacities, and secure to him an adequate reward. New-England has greatly profited by her manufactures, mainly from the amount of female and juvenile labor, before nearly or wholly unproductive, which it has enabled her to turn to good account. If some philanthropist could devise a new branch of industry, which would give agreeable and permanent employment to the twenty thousand idle and suffering females of this city, and enable them to earn fifty cents each a day, he would be a greater public benefactor than Adam Smith or a regiment of Condé Raguets. I know that Maine was for a long period almost entirely a lumbering and fishing district, and that she was then a proverb through New-England for poverty and thriftlessness. I know that, since she has greatly diversified her avocations, she has rapidly increased in wealth and prosperity. I have full confidence that the growth of two millions of bushels of wheat in 1838 did not subtract to nearly an equal amount from her other products. I have no doubt that an adequate protective duty on foreign silks would lead in a few years to the production of twenty millions' worth per annum in our own country, and this without subtracting ten millions' worth from the aggregate which would otherwise be produced, because the labor of women, children, aged and infirm persons, not now productive, would to a great extent be employed in this new pursuit. I say I am confident that I could demonstrate these truths to the satisfaction of nearly every unprejudiced person; but I am not at all confident of satisfying my opponent.

My opponent argues, that if we produce cotton at nine cents a pound, we could monopolize the market of the world at eight, while at ten we should be driven quite out of it. I do not admit that protection increases the general cost of home products, but the assumption above stated is flatly contradicted by notorious facts. During the last five years, the price of American cotton has ranged from six to eighteen cents a pound, with scarcely a perceptible effect on the amount required for foreign consumption.

But, in truth, I perceive he labors under the fundamental error of supposing that protection is only required to raise the price of the domestic product, and would otherwise be useless. This he directly asserts on page 236. But that this is very far from the truth, I will stop a few minutes to demonstrate. I will suppose that broadcloths, for example, can be produced at precisely equal cost in France and England. But France becomes a convert to "Free Trade," and abolishes all duties on imports, while England adheres to "protection," and taxes French cloths fifty per cent. Now the practical operation of this conflicting legislation will be, that the English manufacturers will enjoy the exclusive market of their own country, and divide that of the rival nation. They can keep the home market pretty uniformly good; and whenever, from any cause, there occurs a glut and a stagnation, they will ship all their surplus stock to France, rattle it off at auctions immediately, (better lose twenty-five per cent on it than depress the home market,) and thus restore a quick demand, good prices, nay, a temporary scarcity, in England, whenever they desire it. Three weeks will repay their losses on the quantity exported. But where will be the French manufacturers? Bankrupt—ruined beyond hope. Struggling against a glutted market, and with difficulty maintaining prices, the heavy British importation and forced sale at once knocks every thing down fifty per cent, and in fact stops sales altogether. They cannot retaliate; the wretched policy of their government invites and insures a repetition of the attack on the very first recurrence of a plethora in England, and they are powerless to resist it. Their utter ruin is as certain as the destruction of a band of men which goes out naked and weaponless to battle with an equal number armed with muskets and bayonets. Twenty years will finish them utterly, and transfer their business to the hands of their rivals.

I have a right to be surprised that my opponent should argue that our great interests were not unusually prosperous from 1824 to 1834, because our imports per man were greater in nominal value from 1798 to 1808. Who does not know that the latter-named period was one of general and tremendous war in Europe, when our products were in great demand, and commanded extraordinary prices? I do not by any means admit that the exports of a nation afford any reliable criterion of its production or prosperity; but if they did, we must consider circumstances and prices far more than the money value.

My opponent's concluding flourish, eulogistic of "freedom, unrestricted freedom," I must be content to admire without attempting to imitate it. It would certainly have delighted me more extravagantly if it had been apposite to the subject matter. But it is precisely as much to the purpose

as a non-resistant's eulogium on the blessings of Peace, and his denunciation of the horrors of War. To the enthusiast I make answer, "Your doctrines are very good so far as they regard the intercourse of men governed by your spirit: but the world is full of formidable evil: may I not resist it? If a pirate attack my vessel, shall I not defend her if I can, especially if all I hold dear are involved? If an army invade us with fire and sword, may we not repel them? Allow me to love peace as well as you, without proclaiming in advance my willingness to submit meekly to every injury, and thus inviting aggression." So I say to my opponent, Will our abolishing all our own protective measures, give us Free Trade with the world? Will Great Britain abolish her protective duties because we have done so? You know she will not. If she ever does it at all, she will be induced to do it by opposite measures and considerations. Then why call this one-side reciprocity—this casting of our own interest, bound, at the feet of our great rival, by the abused name of "Free Trade?" A cause intrinsically solid would not need the aid of so gross a perversion.

### The Duty on Wool.

WINSOR, Nov. 3d, 1842.

To the Editor of the Vermont Mercury.

GENTLEMEN: There appears to be yet some misunderstanding as to the amount of protection afforded by the Tariff of the last session to the wool-growers, which I desire to correct, through the columns of your paper. It is a subject in which the farmers of this State are deeply interested, and as the repeal of the Tariff is to be the leading object of one of the great parties, it is desirable they should know the value of the subject in contest. Having had some agency in relation to the protection of the wool-grower, I cannot feel indifferent to the danger of the threatened Repeal.

The Tariff Bill as reported by the Committee of Ways and Means laid a duty of 5 per cent on *all* wool costing 8 cents and under, per pound, and 30 per cent on all other wool on the foreign value and charges of importation including Commission (excepting insurances.)

The effect of the last provision is to raise the duty on wool costing

8	cents,	from 5 to 64	per cent.
9	"	" 30 to 37½	
10	"	" 37 &c.	

By an amendment none but *coarse* wool is admitted under the 5 per cent duty and by another amendment the cost is limited to 7 cents. So that now none but *coarse* wool costing 7 cents and under is admitted under the 5 per cent duty. The term *coarse* will exclude Merino Wool of all grades, and the best of the staples of native wool: and was intended, particularly to meet the mixed grades imported from Buenos Ayres. Another amendment had the same object. It provided that, if wool of different kinds, was imported in different bales, but in the same invoice and at the same price, the ad valorem duty should be levied on the whole according to the value of the best bale. It had been practiced to import 5 kinds of wool in separate bales, but at the same price, viz. the average price of the whole. This enabled the importer to enter the whole at a price under 8 cents.—But under these two amendments, all felting wool will be excluded from admission under the 5 per cent duty.

The coarse long wools used principally for Blankets and Carpets, do not very materially compete with any portion of our wool. The short felting wools, though *coarse*, do in some degree compete with a portion of ours. They are used in the manufacture of satinetts and Negro cloths. There are, however, two considerations to oppose to this competition. The first is that if coarse long wool was excluded, the manufactured articles would come in, in their place; and the second is that it is necessary to yield something to other interests to strengthen our own.

We were alarmed at the great importation of felting wool in 1841, from Buenos Ayres, under 8 cents and free of duty. The average prices before referred to and the low prices there, occasioned by a long blockade, alone enabled the importers thus to import it, and I report my belief that, hereafter, no wool that our manufacturers will use for making felted cloths can be imported from that place as low as 7 cents:—nor even under 10 cents.

By another amendment a specific duty of 3 cents per pound was added to the ad valorem duty.

The effect of all these amendments will be to raise the duties on the low priced fine wools and including most if not all the felting wools from Buenos Ayres, as follows:

	cts. pr. lb.	pr. ct. from	pr. ct. to	mills from	cts m's. to
On wool costing	4	7.7	121	or 3.7	4.9
	5	7.3	103		5.2
	6	6.8	90		5.5
	7	6.6	82		5.8
	8	6.4	78		6.1
	9	6.2	71		6.4
	10	6.1	67		6.7

The duties in addition to the protection afforded by the charges of importation, will, in my opinion be an ample protection against the low priced wools from Buenos Ayres—or from any other quarter. The question is to what point can this foreign competition reduce the price of our wool—at what price per pound can wool of a staple equal to ours be imported?

The items which compose the cost of importation are

1. the price per pound,
2. 3 per cent commission
3. 2 cents per pound for freight
4. 1½ per cent insurance.
5. 3 per cent for 6 months interest on cost, from the time of the order of purchase, to the time of sale.
6. 10 per cent profit on cost, charges and duties.

These are stated as the average rates.

Another very important fact is, that the Buenos Ayres wool is imported in so foul a state that it takes two pounds to equal one pound of ours, as washed on the sheep. Our wool loses, in cleansing, one-third of its weight;—the Buenos Ayres wool loses two-thirds—in other words it takes 1½ pounds of our wool as washed on the sheep to make 1 pound of cleansed wool; while it takes 3 pounds of Buenos Ayres wool, as imported to make 1 pound of cleansed wool. The question then, is at what prices can 2 pounds of this wool, be imported? The following is the answer, for wool costing from 4 to 10 cents:

	charges		duties		cost of 1 lb.		cost of 2	
Cost of 1 lb.	cts.	cts. m's.	cts.	cts. m's.	cts.	cts. m's.	cts.	cts. m's.
4	3	4	4	9	12	3	24	6
5	3	6	5	2	13	8	27	6
6	3	8	5	5	15	3	30	6
7	4	9	5	8	16	8	33	6
8	4	2	6	1	18	3	36	6
9	4	4	6	4	19	8	39	6
10	4	7	6	7	21	4	42	8

But the question may be asked how does it happen that the price of Buenos Ayres wool is now so low.

I'm granted in the Boston market at from 7 to 10 cents. The answer is that, what remains for sale is probably of the poorer qualities—was purchased during the blockade, at low prices and was imported free of duty and is sold without a profit, if not at a loss. The same general causes which have depressed the price of our own wool have affected the price of all foreign wool in our market. These general causes may afford the subject of another letter.

I have thus far restricted myself to the consideration of the Tariff, as a protective against the low priced foreign wools—and more particularly against those from Buenos Ayres. I will add further that it is not probable that under the present Tariff, that any but *coarse* wool, will be imported from that place in the state heretofore imported, but will be first cleansed. The three pounds of foul wool will be reduced to one pound of cleansed wool—to avoid the 3 cent duty—paying it on one instead of paying it on three pounds. This wool, however will never be equal in value, to ours, or other foreign wool of the same fineness. It is not suited to make broadcloths, because it can not, on account of the burrs with which it is filled, be stapled either before or after they are picked out.

The fine wools imported from Europe and Australia, in the fleece, were entered in 1840, at from 33 to 34 cents per pound. The fleeces however are cleaner and closer trimmed than ours. The price compared with our wool as washed on the sheep may be rated at 27 cents per pound, as the foreign value. This with 8 cents for charges of importation and profit and 12 cents for duties would make the price here 47 cents or without a profit 43 cents.

Such, in my view is the effect of the Tariff of the last session. Yet it does not do all that in my judgement, ought to be done. This country produces wool sufficient for all its wants. I wish to see done for this interest, what is our true national policy for every great agricultural interest: and that is in relation to every agricultural product, when we produce an abundance and there be no danger of a monopoly, that duties should be laid, not merely for protection but for prohibition; we have done this for Cotton, and why should it not be done for wool?

In view of the issue of *Repeal* now made, and even by northern men (see Senator Woodbury's late letter) the question is presented to our Farmers,—Is the Tariff worth the contest? It must pass a severe ordeal at the next Congress. If it can survive that ordeal I shall deem the question of protection as finally settled.

Respectfully, &c.,

HORACE EVERETT.

### The Sugar Culture.

As the policy of a protective duty on SUGAR has been widely questioned in this country—the portion of the Union directly interested therein being very limited—we have thought proper to publish the following Report on that subject, made by Hon. MAHLON DICKERSON of New-Jersey in 1831, (being the last direct Report on that subject which occurs to us.) A bill to reduce the duty on Sugars having been submitted to the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Manufactures, composed of Messrs. Dickinson of N. J., Ruggles of Ohio, Knight of R. I., Seymour of Vt. and Bibb of Ky. This Committee, on the 16th of February, reported as follows:

The Committee on Manufactures, to whom was referred the bill to reduce and fix the duty of sugars, beg leave to Report—

That, in making up their opinions upon this subject, they have not the aid of any petitions, remonstrances, or documents of any kind, to show the necessity or propriety of reducing the duties on sugars, in accordance with the provisions of the bill submitted to them.

Their attention, however, has been called to a letter of the Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, of the 19th of last month, upon the subject of the cultivation of the sugar cane, and the manufacture and refinement of sugar. In this they find much information, obtained from sources on which great reliance may be placed, showing the necessity of continuing the present duties upon sugars.

The duty of two and a half cents per pound upon brown sugar, when we obtained Louisiana, was evidently imposed for revenue alone; during the late war it was doubled for the purpose of revenue. Under these duties, however, the culture of the sugar cane and the manufacture of sugar grew up to a degree of importance, that well merited the attention of the National Legislature; and in 1816 the duty was fixed at three cents per pound. As this exceeds the duty laid before Louisiana was obtained, by half a cent per pound, it may be considered that the duty has been increased to that amount for the protection and encouragement of one of the most important products of agriculture and manufacture which this country can boast of.

Small as this additional duty was, its effects have been very decided and extensive. It has diverted a large portion of the capital and labor, heretofore less profitably employed in producing rice, cotton, and tobacco, to the production of sugar, thereby relieving, to a certain extent, the cultivators of these articles from the pressure created by over production.

It appears that a capital of about forty-five millions of dollars is invested in establishments for raising the sugar cane, and for manufacturing sugar and molasses, in Louisiana alone. That the produce of these establishments amounted in the year 1828 to 87,965 hogsheads of sugar, which is nearly two-thirds of all the sugar consumed in the United States. That the produce of the crops of 1830, in Louisiana, is estimated at 100,000 hogsheads. And it is further estimated that we have land enough, proper for the cultiva-

tion of sugar to yield a sufficient supply of this article, for the entire consumption of the United States for fifty years to come.

This exhibits the most satisfactory evidence of the great resources of our country, and of the untiring industry and enterprise of our citizens; and it is a circumstance no less gratifying, that, while our establishments for producing sugar have been rapidly increasing, the price of the article has been constantly decreasing; and sugar, which five years ago sold in markets for ten cents per pound, is now selling for six cents per pound. The competition between the foreign and domestic production has reduced and kept down the price, as well in our own markets as in the markets of the islands from which we make importations; so that, without doubt, the consumer, both here and there, purchases the article at a cheaper rate than he could do if no more sugar was produced in the United States now than was produced in the year 1816.

The price of sugar will still continue to fall if, as many believe, the profit of capital invested in establishments for producing sugar is greater than the capital employed in the production of rice, cotton, and tobacco; for the capital employed in the latter establishments will be transferred to the former, until there shall be an equality of profits among them. Increased productions will increase competition in our markets, which must end in a reduction of prices.

The producers of sugar believe, and with good reason, that a reduction of the duties upon foreign sugar would be destructive of the investments which they have been invited to make by the laws of Congress. The benefits which have resulted from the protection of the additional half cent duty upon sugar would be lost, should that protection be withdrawn, and should the duty be reduced to one cent per pound upon brown sugar, agreeably to the last section of the bill; it would carry ruin to a large portion of our citizens, who have invested their capital in sugar plantations; and it would be attended with the loss of property to the amount of many millions of dollars.

As the production of sugar in the United States is now in a train of successful experiment, the Committee think it would be contrary to every principle of sound policy to check its progress by removing the cause of its prosperity. They consider the production of this article, even if confined to Louisiana alone, as one of national importance; and one in which every State in the Union has a deep interest.

All who furnish the capital and labor, the steam engines, mills, kettles, tools, carts, wagons, ploughs, horses, mules, oxen, pork, beef, fish, corn, flour, and other provisions, and all articles of clothing necessary for those engaged in the production of sugar—all these participate in the advantages of this important branch of industry. This renders Louisiana dependent upon the southern and western States for a part of her capital, labor, and supplies, and the middle and eastern States for a large portion of the residue, and every State in a greater or less degree dependent upon Louisiana for an article indispensably necessary to the health and comfort of every individual in the Union.

This mutual dependence, which cannot fail to attach by the strongest ties the most southerly members of the confederation to these of the South,

the North, and the West, is a consideration of high importance in a political point of view, when we are admonished by the signs of the times to strengthen and not to weaken the amicable relations among the States.

The transportation of domestic sugar is already an object of great importance to our commerce and navigation. To supply the Middle and Eastern States with this article from New Orleans requires as much shipping as to obtain it from the West Indies, and affords to the shipper as good a profit in the one case as in the other. But the profits of the trade, if carried on with the West Indies, must be divided between the merchants of the two countries, while, if it is carried on with New-Orleans, the whole profit must remain with our own citizens.

The bill provides that the permanent duties upon sugars shall be such as might have been levied by the act of the 4th of July, 1789, that is, three cents per pound upon loaf sugar, and one cent per pound upon brown sugar. This, therefore, in the opinion of the Committee, is a bill for raising revenue upon sugar, as much so as it would be if no duties had heretofore been laid upon this article. A bill imposing duties upon articles of importation, whether such duties shall be greater or less than those established by pre-existing laws, is equally a bill for raising revenue, and can only originate in the House of Representatives.

The Committee, therefore, direct that the bill referred to them be reported without amendment, and that their chairman, at the proper time, move for its indefinite postponement.

**STEAM NAVIGATION.**—We find the following account of the progressive increase of the steam navigation of the Rhine, in the *Paris Moniteur*:—

In 1811 was started the first steamboat on the Rhine, running from Rotterdam to Cologne. After a lapse of 23 years, there were 39 of these conveyances between Basle and the sea, and this number is annually increasing. The companies rival each other in zeal and attention. The two Prusso Rhenish establishments, however, have made the most rapid progress in improvement.—The Cologne Company commenced on the 1st of May, 1817, with one boat only, between Cologne and Mentz; on the 8th of June following, it had two, and, in 1837, it possessed 9; viz. one of 118 horse power, one of 85, two of 80, one of 75, three 70, and one of 50 horse power. In the same year this company had three departures from and as many arrivals at Cologne, and a regular communication with Strasbourg. In the following year, the number of boats was increased to 11; in 1839, to 14; in 1840, to 15; and, in 1841, to 20, passing between Cologne and Strasbourg. In 1838, the Cologne Company made an association with that running boats between Basle and Strasbourg, which had two of thirty horse power each. From this period, the passage between Basle and Cologne has been made in forty hours, twenty-nine of which only are spent on board the boats.—Shortly afterward another company launched two boats, which performed the same distance in much less time.

The second Prusso Rhenish Company, which had been formed by capitalists of Mentz and Dusseldorf, commenced running in 1838, with five

magnificent boats. Once a week one of these goes down to Rotterdam. In 1838, they conveyed no more than 84,000 passengers and 60,000 metrical quintals of merchandise; which in 1840, increased to 150,000 passengers and 90,000 quintals of merchandise. This was nothing to what was done by the Cologne Company, for whereas in 1828 its transports amounted to 18,000 passengers, and 26,000 quintals of goods, in 1833 it had 100,000 passengers, and 106,000 quintals of freight; and in 1840 the number of passengers exceeded 460,000 passengers and 300,000 quintals. The Company which has just been formed at Basle, and which has formed a connection with the Mentz and Dusseldorf Company, will give a fresh impulse to steam navigation on the Upper Rhine. The Netherlands Company (*Maatschappij*), established at Rotterdam, has traversed between that city and Cologne ever since 1837, with eleven boats of from 50 to 120 horse power. They run daily; but one boat a week is exclusively employed in conveying merchandise. The navigation of the Rhine is carried on to London by boats from Rotterdam, and they make this passage with such regularity and rapidity, that they insure a great number of passengers, and large quantities of merchandise on freight.

**HINTS TO FARMERS.**—A farmer should never undertake to cultivate more land than he can do thoroughly: half-tilled land is growing poorer; well-tilled land is constantly improving.

A farmer should never keep more cattle, horses or hogs, than he can keep in good order; an animal in high order the 1st of December is already half wintered.

A farmer should never depend on his neighbor for what he can, by care and good management, produce on his own farm; he should never beg fruit while he can plant trees, or borrow tools when he can make or buy them—a high authority has said the borrower is a servant to the lender.

No farmer should allow the reproach of a neglected education to lie against himself or family. If 'knowledge is power,' the commencement should be early and deeply laid in the minds of his children.

A farmer should never use intoxicating liquors as a drink. If, while undergoing severe fatigue and the hard labor of the summer, he would enjoy robust health, let him be temperate in all things.

A farmer should never refuse a fair price for any thing he wants to sell. We have known a man who had several hundred bushels of wheat to dispose of, refuse 8 shillings because he wanted 8 shillings and 6 pence, and after keeping it six months was glad to get 6 shillings for it.

[Cabinet.

**FRICTION PASTE FOR WHEELS.**—The American Mechanic says, and a trial will prove it correct: "The best composition that can be prepared to relieve carriage wheels and machinery from friction, is composed of hog's lard, wheat flour and black lead (plumbago.) The lard is to be melted over a gentle fire, and the other ingredients, equal in weight, may be added, till the composition is brought to the consistency of common paste, without raising the heat near the boiling point. It is not only better, but cheaper than tar.

**Household Products.****Report to the Rensselaer County Agricultural Society.**

The undersigned Committee to whom was referred the subject of household products, report that they have given this important subject all due consideration. Highly gratified by the many neat, useful and substantial articles submitted to their inspection, they have been led to desire more strongly than ever that domestic manufactures may be increased and presented at the next Fair in still greater number and variety. They are fully satisfied that the household arts are numerous and complicated, and still admit of valuable improvements from science called in as an auxiliary to ingenuity and enterprise. The attention of farmers and their households is earnestly invited to this subject.

The farmer who would enjoy comfort and plenty must have more to sell than he needs to buy; indulging in luxuries only when they can be purchased by the surplus produce of the farm after his necessary wants have been supplied. That this extra supply can be secured to him by moderate industry skilfully applied, ought not to be doubted, and with it he could not fail to have means for purchasing the raw materials whenever demanded by the exercise of his skill in preparing household products.

Water power was first applied to the spinning of cotton in 1804. Prior to that time a larger part of our clothes were household manufactures. Many then thought the nation would be ruined by so serious an interruption of spinning and weaving, but the spirit of invention and enterprise which distinguish our country and the age, has originated other spheres for the exertion of skill and the display of industry in the domestic circle. And even in regard to products now much cheapened by improvements in machinery and by "division of labor," in connexion with the application of water and steam power wherever domestic industry finds no other objects to task its skill and energy, it may yet continue to move in its wonted paths, under the full conviction that every exercise of skill, and all the habits of industrious employment are in themselves sources of numerous benefits, both direct and collateral, and that the products of skill thus exerted, will be duly noticed and appreciated.

The manufacture of palm leaf hats and straw bonnets (even though steam in its wide-spread application has reached to them), yet deserves the attention of housewives and their families; in other methods which their own ingenuity and good sense will from time to time suggest, they can show their fondness for domestic industry. But silk culture, in particular, opens before them an extended field for the profitable exercise of their skill and talent. The Committee were gratified to have evidence that in Rensselaer county this department of domestic labor is receiving attention, and it gives them pleasure to speak in commendation of the specimens of silk in this branch of industry which came under notice.

They would fain hope the time is not very far distant when this subject will receive general at-

tention—when we shall have orchards of mulberry trees as we now have apple trees, and when our ladies will be dressed in silks of their own manufacture. It can scarcely be questioned that our soil and climate are both most propitious for the growth of the mulberry—we certainly have skill and industry equal to the enterprise of cultivating the tree, growing the worm, and manufacturing the silk. And it is hoped these will soon be regarded as necessary appendages of a well regulated farm. On this subject the ladies will give us the liberty of addressing to them a few words of special counsel. It is in our power to become a great silk growing community, and that such a consummation is exceedingly desirable cannot reasonably be doubted. But for seeing this result we must call to our aid *female influence*—the lever that is wielded with such potency for the accomplishment of benevolent and useful enterprise. To us it seems the duty and privilege of every mother in the nation to endeavor to call forth and guide the ingenuity of her daughters—giving it such a direction that it shall elevate our national character, and by diminishing our dependence on foreign nations form the independence of our own. Are the females of our country inferior in point of taste and invention to those of France? They certainly are not, though they have as certainly seemed to vie with each other in their servile dependence on French fashions and finery—to the positive injury of the nation in the consequent extravagant importations of French silks and fancy articles for their use. But would it not be far more independent, noble, and in every respect more becoming for our fair country-women to employ their leisure hours in preparing dresses from materials of domestic growth and manufacture, after patterns harmonising with their own refined tastes, and better suited to our climate than those of the French?

Let the ladies then adopt the position that growing and reeling of silk must become a prominent object of household industry. Let them employ their influence with their husbands and brothers to procure and set out the mulberry before the next county Fair, and themselves, as soon as possible, begin the work of growing the silk. No work could be more appropriate for them than this—as it is periodical, and allows of long intervals of rest—and the reeling is an employment at once easy, social, and accordant with feminine fingers and habits. If information be needed as to the required process, procure "Dennis's Silk Manual" and it will be obtained.

Labor bestowed on the silk culture certainly will not be in vain, for no department of agricultural labor yields more ample remuneration than this. And now will not the ladies take this department of useful effort and ingenuity under their own special patronage and supervision? Could your Committee obtain from them a pledge of their general and hearty co-operation, theirs would be the pleasing confidence that the business of silk-growing would at once receive an impulse that must secure its extended and successful prosecution, and the ladies would weave for themselves fresh chaplets of honor by thus contributing to place our beloved country upon a loftier eminence of national independence and glory.

All which is respectfully submitted.

ALEXANDER WALSH, Committee.

From the Baltimore American of Nov. 12.  
**Commercial Intercourse with Great Britain.**

**OUR SHIPPING INTEREST.**—The general depression of our shipping interest, caused by the unequal arrangements of trade to which our government has submitted for some years, has excited considerable attention in our principal commercial cities. It is in contemplation to urge the subject upon the notice of Congress, and to press it with the earnestness which its importance demands, in the hope that some decided action may be had for the removal of the unfair regulations which have operated so injuriously against our maritime interest.

At the last session of Congress the matter was considered, and two Reports were submitted, one from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, by Mr. Cushing; the other from the Committee on Commerce, by Mr. KENNEDY, of this city. The unequal nature of our commercial arrangements with Great Britain was set forth in both Reports, but no legislation followed.

Among the facts which these investigations disclosed, it was shown that we had been deceived by a specious appearance of reciprocity, in reference to the Colonial trade of Great Britain, when, in fact, no reciprocity existed. By the Act of Congress of May 29, 1830, it was provided, that whenever the President of the United States should receive satisfactory evidence that the government of Great Britain would open the ports of the North American Colonies to the vessels of the United States, that then, in such case, the President might issue his proclamation declaring the ports of the United States open to British vessels coming from said Colonial possessions, on the same reciprocal terms. The President's proclamation, in accordance with this Act, was issued in October, 1830. There can be no doubt that such pledges were made by the British Government to the President as satisfied him that the ports of the Colonies would, in good faith, be opened to the vessels of the United States. Yet it is affirmed by petitioners from the State of Maine, whose memorial came last winter before Congress that the Colonial ports have not been opened to this day as stipulated. A few only have been opened. Those ports, according to the memorial, where return cargoes can be obtained for vessels of the United States still remain closed, while not a creek, river, bay or inlet, in the United States, is closed to British vessels. Besides, it is not true, that at the Colonial free ports the vessels of the United States enjoy the same privileges as British vessels. They are subject to many vexatious and onerous charges that are not exacted of British vessels; and, not being able to obtain return cargoes, it is scarcely a privilege to be permitted to enter these ports at all.

If these facts be as here represented—and that they are so no one, we believe, denies—a plain case of bad faith is made out; and a condition of trade is exhibited which calls loudly for amendment. We quote from the memorial:—

By the act of May 29, 1830, section 1, the President is authorized to issue his proclamation repealing the acts of 1818, 1820, and 1823, on certain conditions, viz.: "when vessels of the United States may import into said Colonial possessions, from the United States, any article or articles which could be imported in British vessels into the said possessions

from the United States." Can this be done? So far from it, that the whole class of foreign goods are prohibited in American, and allowed in British vessels. The trade in plaster of Paris is of vast importance to the United States. Maine, with scarcely one-thirtieth of the population, owns one-eighth of the tonnage of the United States. To her this trade is of great value. The plaster is dug from the earth in the provinces, and nearly 200,000 tons annually exported into the United States, giving employment to a vast amount of tonnage that was heretofore mostly employed by our own vessels, but is now for the most part, and will soon be wholly, monopolized by British vessels. Plaster, with the exception of a small quantity brought by land to the wharves at Windsor, is taken by the British vessels from the quarries, and carried directly to the United States. To these quarries our vessels are not admitted. The same may be said of the grind-stone trade.

In the official tables accompanying the Report of the Committee to which this memorial was referred, we find a statement of the statistics of trade between the British North American Colonies and the districts of Passamaquoddy, Portland, Boston and New-York, during the years 1828 and 1837 respectively, showing the difference which ten years have brought about under the new arrangement. The substance of the returns is that in 1828 the aggregate of American tonnage entered was 55,048; cleared 50,696. Of British, entered 123,675; cleared, 144,769. It may be easily seen from this statement which party derives the most advantage from the new regulations.

The general subject of our foreign trade has been under consideration by the Boston Chamber of Commerce. In a report from this body by ABBOTT LAWRENCE it is stated from an examination of official tables, which are submitted, that from 1830 to 1840 inclusive, though our imports and exports have increased nearly one hundred per cent. the increase of American tonnage engaged in foreign trade has been but 30 per cent., while in that period the British shipping in our ports has increased *seventy per cent.* Mr. LAWRENCE in his report says:

The most prominent cause of this great loss to American shipping, and great gain to British shipping, is the policy of the British Government in securing to their shipping the exclusive trade with their West India Islands and North American provinces; by their prohibitory duties upon all articles carried directly from the United States to their West India colonies in American vessels, and their repeal of duties on the same articles when carried in British vessels via the British provinces, the trade which formerly passed direct from the United States to the British West India Islands, being now forced through the North American provinces. The circuitous trade thus permitted, allows the British vessel to pass directly from any part of the British dominions to any part of the United States, and there take in a cargo, either direct for the West India, or by way of the provinces. The local effect of this, in British North America, is manifested by the rapid increase in their shipping, the cost of which is less than it is in the United States, owing, in a great measure, to their relief from the heavy duties paid by the American ship owner on almost all the materials imported for his ship. These facts contribute with others to enable British vessels to compete with ours to our disadvantage in our own ports, as is very apparent from the every day reports of arrivals and departures at our commercial cities; our vessels being absolutely precluded from competing with them on equal terms in the ports of the British colonies.

A meeting of the merchants of Boston and of all others interested in shipping, was called some time since for the 9th inst. which was Wednesday last. The proceedings of this meeting have not reached us yet. It would be well for the commercial men of other cities to take some such step for the purpose of bringing the subject before Congress in such a manner as would be likely to secure for it early and prompt attention.

Since the foregoing article was written, we have received the Boston Journal of Wednesday afternoon from which we extract the following:

**MEETING OF MERCHANTS, SHIP OWNERS AND SHIP BUILDERS.** The meeting called by the Chamber of Commerce, for the purpose of taking into consideration the Shipping Interests of the United States, was held to-day at 11 o'clock, in the rooms over the Tremont Bank. The meeting was called to order by ABBOT LAWRENCE, as President; of the Chamber of Commerce, who made a few introductory remarks—when, upon motion Capt. BENJAMIN RICH was appointed Chairman, and GEORGE CALLENDER Secretary. The gentlemen then assembled were addressed, in brief, by THOMAS LAMB, who gave a few facts throwing much light on the shipping interests.

In closing, Mr. Lamb moved that a Committee of three be appointed to nominate a Committee of seven (which was afterward increased to fourteen,) whose business it should be, to draft a call for a Convention from the New England States, to be composed of all who are interested, in any form, in navigation. This Convention, when assembled, to take up the consideration of the shipping interests of the United States. Committee of nomination consisted of Messrs. Abbott Lawrence, B. A. Gould, and Daniel P. Parker. They retired, and in a few minutes reported the following gentlemen as members of this Committee:

Thomas Lamb, Phineas Sprague, Henry Lee, Henry Oxnard, T. J. Stevenson, Benjamin Rich, J. I. Bowditch, Ezra Lincoln, and B. H. Greene, of Boston; S. E. Coles, of Portsmouth, N. H.; S. C. Grant, of Hallowell, Me.; S. C. Phillips of Salem; Joseph Grinnell, of New Bedford; and William Thomas, of Plymouth.

Upon motion it was resolved that the Convention should be held in this city on the *first day of December next*, and that the call for the same should be published as speedily as may be convenient.

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. LAWRENCE, LAMB, T. B. CURTIS, and others. Their remarks contain many highly interesting facts, bearing upon our shipping interests, all mention of which we are obliged to omit for want of time and room.—We are convinced that our mercantile men have now taken hold of the matter in the right manner, and that some change will be effected through their agency, in our commercial relations with foreign countries.

The meeting adjourned at 1 P. M. *sine die*.

**AMERICAN MECHANICS.**—This respectable class of citizens would be much more respected if its members would attend more to the cultivation of their minds. They are not so well informed as farmers because they read less, devoting their evenings more to labor than to letters.

Young mechanics, like young lawyers and doctors, are apt to fancy they are perfectly qualified for business and are as wise as their teachers as soon as they have served the usual term. They fancy they have learned out, and are to make no advances in knowledge. "Why, I have learned my trade," said a carpenter, "and why would you urge me to read books on the Mechanic Arts?"

Complaints are made, and with reason too, that

we have but few mechanics and farmers in our halls of legislation: if mechanics were better informed they would oftener be selected for this service; we must have legislators who are intelligent if we can find them; but we want more practical men than we have had to legislate for us.

[Massachusetts Ploughman.]

**ANTIQUITY OF THE EARTH.**—A literal interpretation of the Mosaic history for a long time confined the limit of geological research to a span of time embracing about six thousand years; and it was deemed heretical to affirm that it had existed for a longer period. That such an opinion, as long as it prevailed, must have had, and did have, a blighting effect upon the progress of this branch of knowledge, is not to be wondered at. The overwhelming evidence of the senses, however, has now become too strong to be resisted, and we are driven to adopt a construction of this part of the sacred record more in accordance with the indications of nature. In fact, the earth is every where rife with the marks of hoary antiquity. Ages must have elapsed in the process of its formation before it became fit for the sustenance of animal life, and countless ages must have witnessed the successive productions and decay of the myriad races which once made the earth their habitation—races of which we know nothing excepting by the scattered fragments of their bodies, now hardened to stone, and mingled with the solid rock. Species after species of plants and animals occupied the earth, flourished luxuriantly for a while under an atmosphere suited to their natures, and then perished, in the change brought on by the world's own progression, and gave place to others more fitted to the new order of things. Thus the earth became gradually adapted to receive its present inhabitants. Whether it has completed its formation, or is still destined to undergo further changes, and to attain a more perfect condition, neither science nor revelation has as yet made known to us.

But geology reveals to us the fact that the world is not self-existent—it has been created and it had a beginning. There was a time when it was not, or when it was a formless chaos, and geology is capable, by the aid of collateral science, of tracing out the successive eras of its formation; from its gaseous or fluid state, and its gradual hardening, from the surface towards the interior, down to the abode of man. Thus in its broken crust, its waving mountains, and its distorted strata, we discern the operations of expansive gas, pent up within a partially fluid covering, and seeking to escape from confinement by bursting its prison or making more room for itself within. We perceive the denser strata, in obedience to the law of gravity, occupying the lowest positions, showing an originally fluid state, and a gradual solidification. Indications of a later date exhibit the attrition of water forming ravines and channels through the softer formations of rock, and at length the production of organic life, at first rude, misshapen and gigantic, both in vegetables and animals, but finally becoming more perfect and delicate. The alluvial formations, volcanic upheavals, peat beds, petrified forests, and changes of the surface, referable to causes now in operation; all involve the necessity of time, for we cannot otherwise account for these appearances by natural causes.



Geology is a subject of so much popular interest and importance, while at the same time it possesses the advantage of being a science chiefly of observations, that we wonder it has not been more extensively cultivated. It requires no technical knowledge, but is within the reach of all. A man can scarcely travel far from his own dwelling without meeting geological phenomena exhibiting the effect of some general law, which a little information and reflection will enable him to understand. A more general attention to the science would lead greatly to its improvement; and its applicability in agriculture, mining and other useful arts, is well known.

#### SIX HOSTILE TARIFFS WITHIN TEN MONTHS!

At no period of our history, except during the ascendancy of Napoleon, has such an alarming succession of blows been struck by foreign governments at the commercial prosperity of England, as since the entrance of Sir Robert Peel upon office. We do not say that it has been owing to the inattention of our own Government, though in another article we show that Ministers are very ill supplied with commercial intelligence by their agents; but we state the simple fact that, within the last ten months, no less than *Six Hostile Tariffs* have been published by other countries; and it is possible that the year may not conclude without adding a *Seventh*. We state these facts for no party purpose whatever, but with a view of calling the serious attention of Government, of Parliament, and of the country to the events themselves, and to the considerations they suggest as to the future commercial policy of England.

First, we shall enumerate the hostile Tariffs that have been passed, with their respective dates, and add the briefest possible explanation of the bearing on English commerce.

1. *The Russian Tariff*, issued in November, 1841; by which the duty on worsted or woolen goods, and mixed worsted and cotton, was raised to 200 to 300 per cent. *ad valorem*; printed goods are *prohibited*. The King of Prussia, during his late visit to St. Petersburg, induced the Emperor to issue a more favorable *ukase* for the products of Prussia.

2. *The Portuguese Tariff*, bearing date the 12th of December, 1841; by which the duties on English woollens were raised to an *ad valorem* duty of 45 per cent. A favorable Tariff is now in course of negotiation.

3. *The French Tariff*, bearing date the 26th of June, 1842; by which the duties on English linen yarns and linens were *doubled*, and made almost entirely prohibitory, this being by far our largest branch of export to France.

4. *The Belgian Tariff*, issued in July, 1842; by which the duty on English linens and linen yarns was raised to the same prohibitory rate as the French duty, in obedience to the dictation of France, and with a view of preventing the smuggling of English linens and yarns into that country through Belgium.

5. *The United States Tariff*, bearing date August, 1842; by which the duty on woollens was from 20 to 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, on worsted goods from 20 to 30 per cent. and on cotton goods the duty was made nominally 30 per cent., but on some kinds of goods it is in reality from 100 to 300 per cent. *ad valorem*, and on many kinds of

cottons, woollens, and other goods the duty will be prohibitory.

6. *The German League Tariff*, passed September, 1842: by which the duty on one of the largest branches of our exports, namely, worsted goods, figured or printed, is raised from 20 dollars per cwt. so as to be in many cases prohibitory; and by which the duty on *guineacillerie* or hardware is increased probably 50 dollars per cwt.

And it is not impossible that next month the *Brazilian Tariff* may be raised very greatly—the Brazilian Government having given notice to that effect: but we hope this severe blow will be averted by the concessions which Mr. Ellia, the special Minister, lately sent over to Brazil is empowered to make on the Sugar Duties.

Thus within a few months a great part of the civilized world has declared commercial war against us!—Russia, Portugal, France, Belgium, the United States, and the great German League, including Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and several smaller States! And it is not certain that Brazil may not soon be added to the number.—Such an unparalleled succession of untoward events is indeed menacing to our manufactures and foreign commerce, and demands the anxious attention of the Government. [Leeds Mercury.]

**THE GERMAN TARIFF.**—The Germanic or Austrian League, has given new life to the German Provinces. Cotton and Woollen Factories have sprung up in all parts of the country, and Home Industry receives its reward. The rapid strides which Germany is making in Domestic Manufactures, have alarmed the English Manufacturers.

The London Morning Chronicle of a late date observes that Germany has "pretty well excluded from her markets British Cotton and woollen stuffs, and will ere long raise the duties on cotton yarn and twists. It adds that public opinion throughout Germany moves very strongly in the direction of an *increase* rather than a *diminution* of the protective system; and that there is 'no hope for the British manufacturer' from the acts and dispositions of the Zoll-Verein."

No measure ever projected, has worked better than this protective system in Germany. England had formerly monopolised the Cotton and Woollen trade of that country, but when she refused to take the agricultural products of the northern provinces, those provinces felt it to be indispensably necessary that they should do something for themselves. The most efficient mode of counteracting this monopolising spirit of England was adopted. They erected manufacturing establishments, and imposed heavy duties upon English goods. The result is now seen and felt. The Farmer finds a market for his products at home. The Mechanic finds employment in these establishments, and the Laborer has abundance of work. It is a policy with which every one is pleased, and those so signally benefited by it are too wise to cry out for FREE TRADE. There are no Loco-Focos among the industrious Germans at home. They go for a Protective Tariff. [Rochester Democrat.]

**IMPROVED CORN BREAD.**—Take of corn meal a sufficient quantity to make a stiff batter, with 8 pints of sour milk, 3 eggs well beaten, 2 ounces of shortening, one gill of best molasses, a little salt and saleratus: grease the pan well, and bake quick.

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 10.

Office No. 160 Nassau-street,  
Near the City Hall, Park. }

NEW-YORK, JANUARY, 1843.

{ Price..75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

### OF THIS (JANUARY) NUMBER:

I..BRIEF EDITORIALS.....	Pages 289 to 290
II..EFFECT OF THE NEW TARIFF ON THE PRICES OF MANUFACTURES, AND THE INTERESTS OF LABOR—(Editorial).....	291 to 292
III..FREE TRADE vs. FREE TRADE—(Edit- orial).....	291 to 292
IV..U.S STATISTICS OF COMMERCE AND RE- VENUES, with accompanying Editorial.....	292
V..THE TARIFF QUESTION—By EDWARD C. DELAVAN.....	293 to 297
VI..ENGLISH MANUFACTURES—U.S.TARIFF.....	298 to 300
VII..REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, with Accompanying Docu- ments.....	301 to 305
VIII..THE PROTECTIVE POLICY.....	306 to 307
IX..THE TARIFF AMONG FARMERS.....	307 to 308
X..THE NEW TARIFF.....	308 to 310
XI..RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE USEFUL ARTS—A Lecture, by Prof. POTTER.....	310 to 311
XII..ENGLISH FALLACIES.....	311
XIII..SOILS.....	311 to 313
XIV..IMPROVEMENT IN AGRICULTURE.....	313 to 315
XV..THE BUSINESS OF FARMING.....	315 to 316
XVI..THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.....	316 to 317
XVII..THE FAR WEST.....	317 to 318
XVIII..THE AGRICULTURAL INTEREST.....	318 to 319
XIX..AGRICULTURE.....	320

☞ Two numbers more will complete the Volume of the AMERICAN LABORER, and therefore, in accordance with our notice at its commencement, the publication of the work will be closed. We cherish a profound conviction, however, that the exigencies of the Country and of the great Cause to which it is devoted, will demand a resumption of the work at no distant day—possibly early in 1844. Of this, however, we shall leave the Public to judge, not attempting a resumption of its publication until we are assured that it is wanted, and will be fairly sustained. Meantime, we have a number of perfect sets remaining of The Laborer from the commencement, which we shall have bound at the close of the year, and keep for sale, as long as they shall hold out, at the low price of One Dollar for the bound volume. Our distant friends who believe this work to contain a compendious and convincing refutation on all points of the mischievous yet seductive fallacies put forth under the captivating title of 'Free Trade,' as well as a forcible advocacy of the true and vital interests of the Productive Classes of our own Country, will do the Cause of National well-being a service by endeavoring to compass the placing of the bound volume in some if not every reading-room, village library, debating club, hotel sitting-room, &c. within the circle of their influence. No man can over-estimate the good effects which such an act on his part will surely though slowly and silently exert. The strong arguments

for efficient and steadfast Protection do not lie on the surface of things—they demand research, study, understanding. Yet it hardly seems possible to us that any Free Laborer can disregard them when fairly presented to his mind. And, since very little of the contents of The Laborer has emanated from our pen, while most of its great papers are the productions of such minds as those of WALTER FORWARD, MAHLEN DICKENSON, CHARLES HUDSON, WM. H. SEWARD, JOHN P. KENNEDY, A. H. H. STUART, WILLIAM SLADE, with strong citations from our venerated ex-Presidents and ex-Governors, including WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, J. Q. ADAMS, JACKSON, GEORGE CLINTON, D. D. TOMPKINS, DE WITT CLINTON, etc. it can hardly be deemed presumptuous on our part to express an opinion that no collection of facts and arguments illustrating and advocating the Principle and policy of Protection, of equal merit and completeness with this, has ever till now been offered to the public.—Will not the friends of the Cause who accord with us in this opinion (our Editorial brethren especially) unite in commending the Volume to general consideration?

☞ The present No. of the Laborer is enriched with several papers of great worth to the Cause of Protection in especial reference to the effect of the Policy on the prices paid by our own consumers for Foreign and for Domestic Products. By referring to the statistics presented in the excellent article of the eminent philanthropist, E. C. DELAVAN, Esq. and in the letters of Hon. ED. CURTIS, Collector of this Port, and of Hon. SAMUEL LAWRENCE, of Lowell to the Editor of this paper, it will be seen to be established by undeniable facts that the *New Tariff has reduced the prices of both Foreign and Domestic Manufactures to the American consumer.* Comment is needless.

☞ We have reason to believe that no essential change will be made in the Tariff at the present Session of Congress. The majority rightly judge, with the able and patriotic Secretary of the Treasury, that a law of such vast importance should have time to exert a positive and palpable influence, that its workings and its tendencies may be fully felt and understood, before it is vitally disturbed. After its real effects have been felt and maturely considered, it will be high time to determine what changes of detail (we trust none of principle) may be needed; and those changes, we confidently anticipate, will be made by raising rather than reducing the duties on such fabrics as come in competition with the products of American industry and skill. Meantime, let the facts be carefully noted.

From the mass of valuable documents appended to Mr. Secretary Forward's Treasury Report, relating to the National Finances and Expenditures and the proposed Warehousing System, we have selected such as we deemed of greatest interest, and they appear in this month's American Laborer. There are other answers from Revenue officers more favorable to the Warehousing System than those we have copied; and the more general sentiment probably tends that way. For our own part, however, we may state frankly that we believe the Warehousing System is calculated to increase perniciously the power and patronage of the Federal Government and the dependence of our Business interests on Politics. It strikes us as restoring indirectly but virtually the Government credits, which we had hoped were done away for ever. Let men import Goods when they want them, pay the Duties when they receive them, and get their money back when they export the goods from the country, if they ever do. We apprehend that no fairer or more uniform and equitable system than this can be devised—certainly none more simple and unexpensive. The notion that the great importers will eat up the little ones, the Foreign merchants the Domestic, under the Cash System, is moonshine. Under the Cash System, goods will be imported whenever they shall be needed, and generally by the very men who have a demand for them; under the Credit System, the fewer will import (having established a credit at the Custom-House) and the many will be their customers. We trust Congress will act warily and wisely in regard to this important matter.

#### **Effect of the New Tariff on the Prices of Manufactures, and on the Interests of Labor.**

We are every day called to confute the unqualified, confident, yet utterly false assertion that the passage of the Tariff of 1842 *has increased the price of American fabrics*, and thereby filled the pockets of the American Manufacturers at the expense of the People. Every Free Trade writer assumes as a matter of course that the imposition of 20 per cent. more duty on an article *raises its price* by so much, and not only that of the imported fabric but that of its Domestic counterpart or rival; so that our home consumers are not only called to pay some Eight or Ten Millions more for the support of the Government, but they must, on the same grounds, pay eight or ten times as much as a bounty to American Manufacturers! Not one of these profound economists stops to ask or see whether the *facts* at all accord with their theory; they find it laid down by Say, Condé Raguet and Calhoun that a Protection of 15 or 25 per cent. increases the cost of the protected article so much, and this suffices for them. And so the land rings with declamation against the *Taxes* which the People are required by the Tariff to pay the increased prices of Manufactured Goods.

Now, while we have all due respect for the theories of the Free Trade Economists, we cannot refuse to give weight to existing, notorious facts which confute them. When they tell us that Protection enhances the prices of the Protected articles, we do not implicitly take their word as unqualifiedly true; we think it but right to look to the Price-Current and the Statistics of Trade and Protection as well as to their naked assertions of what they imagine or predict that the effect of a Tariff should be. And we find, unless Price Currents lie and our Business men are actually deceiving and deceived with regard to their daily doings, that *the effect of a Protective Tariff, steadily persisted in, has uniformly been to reduce the price of the articles on which it is imposed*—not, indeed, of every article in a moment, but the average cost of such articles most decidedly.

The effect of the New Tariff is directly in point. The Currency was restricted, the Trade of the Country depressed, and the price of Manufactures had been pressed gradually down to a point as low as it was possible to drive them by Foreign competition, when this Tariff was enacted, which gives 10 to 30 per cent. additional protection to our Home Manufactures. What has been the effect of it? Has it raised the price of Manufactures in a similar ratio, or to any extent at all? The Free Traders every where *assume* that it has; but the Price Currents, the daily reports of sales and transactions emphatically contradict them. *The Manufactures to which Protection is given by the New Tariff are at this moment generally lower than ever they were before the New Tariff was imposed.*—What faith, then, should we place in theories which contradict such notorious, vital facts?

And here is the answer to the base attempt every day made by the Sins, Public Ledgers, Plebeians and other sneaking as well as open organs of the Foreign interest, to fan the flames of anarchy and eternal war between employers and employed, with regard to the Wages of Labor. "See!" they exclaim, "the Manufacturer has got *a Protection which gives him twenty-five per cent. more for his goods*, yet he gives no *higher wages* than before, and in many cases *less!* Here's your Whig Protection to the Laborer!" Now the portion of this sentence we have placed in Italics is a lie direct, on which are based several lies inferential. All well-informed Economists, no matter of what school, perfectly understand that the prices of Manufacturing Labor can never depend on the stability and prosperity of Manufactures alone, but on the general rewards of Labor throughout the Country—that is, on the Currency, the average price of Products, and the opportunities offered for a profitable employment of Labor. It was not for the special benefit of Manufacturers, whether employing or employed, that Protection was required, but for the benefit of the whole People, in creating a nearer, steadier

and more remunerating demand for Agricultural Products, for Mechanical skill and materials, and for Home Labor and its results generally. This the Tariff will effect—is effecting—but it must have time. The acorn does not become an oak in a day. At this moment, dark as prospects apparently are and depressed as is the Country, things are working the right way. We are not running in debt abroad, but paying off, not with new promises but Products, and are bringing home Specie largely. This will form the basis of the National Currency we must and will have, whether by Exchange issues or a Bank, we do not say; but the essential thing—a Paper Medium of which five dollars shall be worth five dollars in any part of the Country—that the Country must and will have. With a Circulating Medium so restricted, defective and uncertain as we now have, every thing we produce must be low, and Labor with it. This will be rectified in time; meanwhile, STAND BY THE TARIFF!

—But we are keeping our readers too long from the following pithy and conclusive letter from a leading manufacturer at Lowell, whom we recently addressed on the subject of the Reduction of Wages there, and the prices of Work and of Goods before and since the Tariff. His reply is as follows:

LOWELL, Dec. 14, 1842.

To the Editor of the Tribune:

DEAR SIR—I intended to have replied to your favor of the 1st before, but had not the information in detail till now. I have lately noticed in some of the newspapers unfriendly to the success of American manufactures, that while the prices of goods had been advanced in consequence of the passage of the Tariff, the wages of the work-people had been reduced. The impudence of such statements is extraordinary, as the reverse is known to every man, woman and child who has occasion to make purchases of any articles of domestic cotton or woollen manufacture, the prices of which are notoriously lower than ever before in this country. I annex the prices of various articles, before and since the passage of the Tariff, derived from houses whose transactions have amounted to many millions of dollars during the periods indicated. The wages now are about as they were previous to 1832, when the country was blessed with a national currency. The late reduction was absolutely necessary, as most of the mills in New-England have made nothing for eighteen months, had have still large stocks of goods on hand, with no prospect of an immediate advance in prices. The average wages of all the females in Lowell since the reduction is about \$2 75 per week, from which \$1 25 is to be deducted for board. Had the New Tariff not passed, this country would have exhibited a scene of universal bankruptcy by being flooded with Foreign Goods and drained of Specie. As it is, Foreign Manufactures have mainly ceased, for the present, to come here, and in their stead large amounts of coin are coming into the country, and the time is not distant when the masses will look upon the passage of this Tariff as the panacea to cure most of the evils which afflict us.

This Tariff should not be touched for five years, when it will have been fairly tested. If Congress the present Session will lay a duty on Tea and Coffee, there will within two years be ample revenue by the present Tariff for the wants of Government. The three great States of New-York, Pennsylvania and Ohio are quite as deeply interested in the permanency of this Tariff as Massachusetts, provided they intend to do as she does, pay their public and private debts promptly.

I remain your ob't. serv't. SAM. LAWRENCE.

#### PRICES OF DOMESTIC GOODS.

In May, June and July, and in Sept. Oct. and Nov.		Same, 7 cents.	
Cotton Drillings.....	74 cents.	Same,	7 cents.
" Shirts.....	54	"	5
" " heavy.....	64	"	54
" Sheetings.....	64	"	6
" " wide.....	84	"	73
" Flannels.....	10	"	84
Woolen " 20 p. ct. above the prices in these months.			
Pilot and Weaver Cloths, 15 per ct.	"	"	"
Broad Cloths and Cass's. 12 1/2 per ct.	"	"	"

#### Free Trade vs. Free Trade.

Our readers are doubtless aware that one of the latest discoveries of the Free Trade economists affirms *the utter impolicy and absurdity of countervailing Duties on Imports*, and declares that to tax the Products or Commerce of other Nations merely because they burthen *ours*, is precisely like cutting off your hand because your neighbor has cut off his leg—an exhibition of naked stupidity and suicidal malice. (See Cendy Raguet's essays, Calhoun's Speeches, and the arguments of the anti-Protective writers and speakers of our time universally.)

Now we are not about to refute anew this dogma; but we will let its prominent disciples refute it themselves. On our way to Saratoga we picked up a *New-York Herald* of the 2d inst., (one reads almost any thing when traveling,) and in the Money Article of that paper, written by one of the best informed and most vehement as well as prominent Free Trade anti-Protectionists in the land, we were rather astonished at finding the following Editorial paragraph:

From the *New-York Herald* of Dec. 2.

"The late tariff of Great Britain was enacted with the view of encouraging the import of American agricultural produce into England, in exchange for her manufactures, as a means of relief. The late tariff of the United States was enacted with the view to exclude foreign goods for the protection of manufactures. Hence, it is seen that England will not be able to sell goods enough here to pay for the raw cotton which she must have, and which she cannot get elsewhere. All beyond which she imports from this country, she must pay for in coin, which cannot be done to any extent and preserve her paper system. Hence, it becomes with her an urgent matter of self-defence to prohibit the import of every thing of United States growth except cotton. It is not matter of convenience, nor of state policy, but of urgent state necessity! Unless, therefore, our new tariff is promptly modified, the farmers are likely to lose, at a critical juncture, a large market for their produce, both English and colonial, and New-York its trade, for an absurd and barbarous restriction on trade for the benefit of the manufacturers."

This seemed rather odd from that quarter; but, as we were sitting quietly in our room, cooking up our defence against Fenimore, a friend late from the City dropped in and gave us a *New-York Aurora* of later date, in which we read as follows:

From the *New-York Aurora*, Dec. 8.

"But we look for changes in the Tariff Law, of even more importance than this, during the present session of Congress. It has failed utterly as a measure of revenue; nor is it likely to be of the slightest use as a measure of protection;

indeed, we believe it is not calculated to benefit any class, except the smugglers. It is a peculiar evidence of the madness and blindness of the Whig majority last session, that they chose the very time when Great Britain was cutting down the duties on American produce, and throwing open her ports to the great staples of the Northern and Western States, to burden many of her manufactures with almost prohibitory imposts. What sapient legislators! How profoundly they must have studied the laws of trade! They, no doubt, supposed that England could be used as a free market for the surplus products of the United States, and our government, at the same time, be supported out of the tax imposed on her silks, wooleens, cottons, &c. If they had taken the trouble to look into McCulloch's, they would have found that reciprocity is the basis of trade, and that no nation has ever long persisted in a liberal system of commercial policy toward another, when the reciprocity, as the Irishman said, was all on one side."

Here it is again, you see; we *must* take off our duties from other Nations' products, or they *will* be obliged to tax *ours* heavily. Well, gentlemen, does this rule work one way only? Suppose it is *they* who have imposed high duties, can we get on under low ones, or none? Your daily *assertions* say yes, while your *logic* clearly demonstrates the contrary! Shall we refuse to heed the dictates of plain common sense, and insist on Reciprocity, while *you* undesignedly prove that such insisting is a matter of "*urgent State necessity.*"

## U. S. STATISTICS OF COMMERCE AND REVENUE.

(From the late Treasury Report.)

Year.	VALUE OF IMPORTS.			VALUE OF EXPORTS.			Receipts into the Treasury.
	Free of Duty.	Paying Duty.	Total.	Foreign Mdx.	Dom. Pro., &c.	Total.	
1821....	\$10,082,303	\$52,503,411	\$62,585,724	\$21,302,488	\$43,671,891	\$64,974,382	\$13,004,447
1822....	7,298,708	75,942,833	83,241,541	22,286,202	49,874,079	72,160,281	17,589,762
1823....	9,048,288	68,530,979	77,579,267	27,543,622	47,155,408	74,699,030	19,088,433
1824....	12,563,773	67,985,234	80,549,007	25,337,157	53,649,500	75,986,657	17,878,326
1825....	10,947,510	85,392,565	96,340,075	32,590,643	66,944,745	99,535,388	20,098,713
1826....	12,567,769	72,406,708	84,974,477	24,539,612	53,055,710	78,595,322	28,341,332
1827....	11,855,104	67,628,964	79,484,068	23,403,136	58,921,691	82,324,827	19,712,283
1828....	12,379,176	76,130,648	88,509,824	21,595,617	50,669,669	72,264,686	23,205,524
1829....	11,805,501	62,687,026	74,492,527	16,658,478	55,700,193	72,358,671	22,681,966
1830....	12,746,245	58,130,675	70,876,920	14,387,479	59,462,029	73,849,508	21,922,391
1831....	13,456,625	89,734,499	103,191,124	20,033,526	61,277,057	81,310,583	24,224,442
1832....	14,247,453	86,779,813	101,029,266	24,039,473	63,137,470	87,176,943	28,465,237
1833....	32,447,950	75,670,361	108,118,311	19,822,735	70,317,698	90,140,433	29,032,509
1834....	68,393,180	52,128,152	120,521,332	23,312,811	81,024,162	104,336,973	16,214,957
1835....	77,940,493	71,955,249	149,895,742	20,504,495	101,189,082	121,693,577	19,391,311
1836....	92,056,481	97,923,554	189,980,034	21,746,360	106,916,680	128,663,040	23,409,841
1837....	69,250,031	71,739,186	140,989,217	21,854,962	95,564,414	117,419,376	11,169,290
1838....	60,860,005	52,857,399	113,717,404	12,452,795	96,033,821	108,486,616	16,158,800
1839....	76,401,792	85,690,340	162,092,132	17,494,525	103,533,891	121,028,416	23,137,925
1840....	57,196,204	49,945,315	107,141,519	18,190,312	118,895,634	131,571,950	13,499,502
1841....	66,019,731	61,925,757	127,945,488	15,469,081	105,382,722	121,851,803	14,487,216
1842*....	29,956,696	69,400,638	99,357,329	11,552,831	92,559,088	104,117,969	18,260,830

\* One quarter of this year partly estimated.

### Our Trade and Finances.

The Report of the Secretary of the Treasury with its accompanying Documents is a hard blow to our Free Traders. They had hoped to show from it that the New Tariff is destroying the Revenue and Foreign Commerce of the Country, but it proves exactly the reverse. The Revenue from Customs this year is considerably larger than last, as it should be, yet still below the pressing wants of the Government, and such as to render it morally certain that a Protective Tariff will neither leave the Treasury bankrupt on the one hand nor will it overflow it on the other. The Tariff, as adjusted at the last Session, is just about adequate to the annual wants of the Government, economically administered; but a Public Debt of some Twenty Millions having been incurred under the comparative Free Trade of the last five years, it will be found necessary to lay additional duties on Tea, Coffee, &c., for a few years in order to pay off this National indebtedness. But for this, the Tariff would be just about right as it is, the Expenditures of the Government admitting of some farther reduction.

Then as to our Commerce—the gross amount of our Exports for the year now closing exceeds

that of our Imports only by some Five or Six Millions; which, in 1843, when the increased Rates of Duty will have effect through the whole year, will probably be increased to Ten or Fifteen Millions. Now we do not expect or desire a uniform preponderance in value of our Exports over our Imports: but for the present, while we owe a heavy debt to Europe, and our Circulating Medium is so scanty and unstable, this is manifestly as it should be. When our Foreign indebtedness shall have been adjusted, and our Currency reinforced by a due infusion of the precious metals, then will our Circulating Medium gradually increase, and the prices of our commodities appreciate in value until a proper equilibrium between Exports and Imports will result.

The above tables of Imports and Exports show an apparently large diminution in the amount of our Foreign Trade in 1842 as compared with that of the preceding year; but it must be remembered that these statistics regard *money* prices only, and that there has been a great and general reduction in the money value of products since 1841. Probably the actual amount and real value of the Imports of 1842 were not ten per cent. below those of 1841, while our Exports were still nearer an equality with those of the former year.

From the Northern Light.  
**THE TARIFF QUESTION.**

BY EDWARD C. DELAVAN.

IN No. 2 of the first volume of the Northern Light you were so kind as to publish an article of mine on the subject of a Protective Tariff. I have read with attention most of the communications which have appeared in your paper on the same subject, and I have seen nothing in them to induce me to change my views with regard to the policy this country should adopt, in establishing permanently such a Tariff as will insure a reasonable protection to our manufacturing interest; a Tariff not to be changed materially until foreign nations will so far relax their Tariff regulations as to take from us our surplus produce in exchange for the manufactured goods, which they may wish to purchase, and which goods we need.

The object of my first article was to exhibit the practical operation of a high and low Tariff upon the revenue of the country, and the interest of the consumer, derived from many years' experience as an importing merchant:—to show that a Tariff not prohibitory, did not necessarily increase the cost to the consumer; but that as a general rule the European manufacturer reduced his price equal to the advanced duties, or, in other words, this advance duty was paid, in whole or part, by the European manufacturer to secure the trade, and not by us.

Since the publication of my first number, I have conversed with many importers of English goods, of opposite political opinions, and they have uniformly and fully confirmed my statements from their own practical experience. I have also had conversations on this subject with several distinguished gentlemen from the South, who have assured me that a reasonable protection to our manufactures was as important to the South as to the North. As I remarked in my previous article, I am in favor of Free Trade to the greatest possible extent, provided it is reciprocal. If foreign nations (to keep their artisans employed, and thus keep them from starvation,) desire to furnish us with the products of their work-shops, they must take from us in exchange the surplus product of our soil, which we can furnish to them lower than they can produce the same; this must be done, too, on equal terms; we must have on our produce the same average profit that they have on their manufactured articles. Should our produce be prohibited, and we continue to import, we must pay the balance against us in silver and gold, and in the degree that this balance increases, we shall grow poor. It is precisely the same in a national as it would be in an individual case. Let a man with an income of \$1,000, expend to the value of \$1,100, and he will soon become bankrupt; by the same rule, should we continue to receive from abroad a greater amount than we export, the balance must be paid in gold and silver so long as we have it to pay; and if the trade is continued, and the balance continues to be against us, and we honestly pay our debts, our houses and lands must go next, until we come at last to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to foreign countries. Let our statesmen look at this question practically; theory has led many of them astray.

I have been severely censured by some noble and generous hearted men for the sentiments con-

tained in my first number. They look upon all restriction on trade as immoral in its tendency; and they think that we, in this free country, should, at one dash, sweep away from our statute book all laws calculated to check the free course of trade, and permit it to flow into its natural channels; that it is wrong to enact any restrictions, even to force other nations into a more liberal policy toward us. I do not look upon a protective Tariff as intended merely to coerce other nations, but as a justifiable means of self-defence. It is nothing more than a man's saying to his family: "You know I have nothing but the product of my farm for our support; and as England and France will not take these products, you must not purchase the manufactures of these countries until they will agree to trade fairly with us, and take what we can raise in exchange; you must purchase necessary articles from our own manufacturers, even at a higher price; because, although you pay more, yet you can pay with our own produce, at a fair price, while, if we purchase of a foreign market we must pay gold and silver, for that market will not take our surplus." By this kind of encouragement and reciprocal trade at home, we shall soon be independent of foreign nations, who wish to serve us with all they possibly can, and receive from us as little as possible in exchange. Self-preservation will oblige us to adopt that course as a nation, which all would justify and advise in an individual. If England, to protect her rich landholders, will not take our surplus provisions to feed her starving population in part payment of the goods we may want of them, how can we continue the trade? How can our fertile grain-growing new States afford to consume the manufactured goods of Europe, while Europe will not take so much as a single grain of their products in exchange? Indeed, how can these new States pay their debts to Europe, unless Europe will take what alone they have to pay with—the product of their soil? Unless foreign policy is changed, these new States must at once give up all hope of a foreign market for their immense surplus; they must either manufacture for themselves, or exchange with their brethren from the eastern part of the Union, who have more capital and skill devoted to manufacturing, but whose soil is less productive.

It is to be hoped that the South will not much longer rest in error on this important question; she must, ere long, look to the Northern States as the chief customers for her cotton. England is straining every nerve to produce that staple in her own dependencies; in proportion as she can do this, she will carry out her policy with regard to cotton as she does by every other article—prohibit its introduction from the United States the moment she can supply herself from her own provinces. And the South need not be alarmed at this; let there be union of purpose between the North and South, with reasonable protection for self-defence, and all the cotton the South can produce, can be profitably manufactured in the country; and we need not fear the loss of the English market, as the low price of provision in this country, compared with England, and the increasing skill of our artisans will enable us to export the manufactured article, greatly increased in value over the cost of the raw material, to every market on the globe which is open to us, and at prices

(while England continues her Corn Laws) which she cannot undersell.

It is hoped that this question will be examined upon its own merits, and not on party grounds. The political press of all parties can do much to enlighten and settle the public mind as to our true interests on this important subject. The European press is now freely canvassing our policy, and the manufacturing districts are not a little agitated by our late increase of duty on their fabrics. Those who feel that the policy of our Government should be to protect not only our agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests, by high duties on goods from foreign countries, (while those countries exclude us from their markets by prohibitory duties,) should, by every justifiable means through the press, by public meetings and otherwise, see that every citizen in the nation having a vote is furnished with such plain facts and illustrations, relating to the question at issue, as will serve to disabuse their minds of all unsound and fallacious views, so that they may, through their representatives at Washington, settle this question; that our agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests may be protected, and have some solid and permanent basis to rest upon, free from those fluctuations in policy, which have so long harassed, and which still harass, and in a great degree paralyze, the industry of the whole country.

I subjoin an extract from remarks made by Samuel A. Goddard, Esq., Birmingham, England, at a great meeting held at the Town Hall, relating to the trade between that country and this. Mr. Goddard is a highly intelligent American merchant, who has resided over twenty-five years in England, and has for twenty years been untiring in his efforts, through the press, to show to the English government the impossibility of its retaining the American trade, unless upon terms of reciprocity.

Mr. Goddard, being called upon by the Chairman to second the resolution, remarked, it being the last resolution, to come before the meeting, he would occupy a few minutes in speaking of the trade with which he was more intimately connected. It had been his intention to have handed to the Committee a mass of statistics in support of the business of the day; but when he set about collecting them, he found the evidence on all hands so abundant and so conclusive, he shrank from the task of making a selection. He had, however, during the meeting, handed to the Chairman some account of the manufactures of the American States; and also a list of articles now made there, or imported from the continent of Europe, which, previous to the passing of the Corn Laws, were obtained almost entirely from England. This list comprises:

Carpenters' and joiners' tools generally, in which three-fourths of the trade is lost.

Agricultural implements of all kinds, in which seven-eighths of the trade is lost.

Buttons, of most kinds, in which one-half of the trade is lost.

Brushes, of all kinds, in which the whole of trade is lost.

Combs, of all kinds, in which the whole of the trade is lost.

Glass, the value of which manufacture is five millions of dollars annually, of all kinds, in which seven-eighths of the trade is lost.

Lead, in various shapes, in which the whole of the trade is lost. The quantity produced of which is twenty millions of pounds' weight annually.

Iron, of all descriptions, in which one-half of the trade is lost. 300,000 tons are made annually; at the

time of the passing of the Corn Law but 30,000 tons annually.

Coal, although not a manufacture, was connected with manufactures, and formerly obtained from this country; one million of tons were obtained from the mines of Pennsylvania alone last year, and the quantity is increasing.

Leather goods, of all kinds, trade lost entirely.

Nails, the trade is seven-eighths lost. One of his correspondents informed him last spring he had a stock of 10,000 casks of nails of American manufacture.

Chains, a large quantity for ships' use are made.

Cotton, 350,000 bags are annually consumed; in 1816, 30,800 bags; and a list of about one hundred other articles of Birmingham goods, manufactured at home, or imported from the continent, wholly or partly.

Mr. Goddard went on to say that, notwithstanding the prodigious increase of manufactures in America, that market had continued to take a larger amount of goods from Great Britain annually than the amount of produce taken in return; thus showing clearly a disposition to take goods to the full extent of the means of payment, and not to require gold; and, therefore, it was fair to suppose the trade would increase greatly, were flour and provisions generally allowed to be sent to the country; in that case, there would assuredly be a much greater trade and more certain payment. The imports from Great Britain exceeds the exports to Great Britain, in

1832, by four millions of dollars.

1833, by five do. do.

1834, by three do. do.

1835, by eight do. do.

1836, by seventy do. do.

The excess of 1836 being, however, caused to some extent, by untoward circumstances. It would be recollected that that was a prosperous year for Birmingham; prices were much higher than now, employment was general, and prices remunerative; but no more than remunerative. The Americans then purchased largely of English manufacturers at these high prices—and like honest tradesmen, sent their cotton (then selling at 9d. per lb.) to pay their debts; on its arrival, however, by an action of our currency system, to which the Americans are in no respect parties, and ought not to suffer thereby, the cotton, on its arrival, had fallen to one-half the price, or 1½d. the pound, making a difference on 600,000 bags, which is about one-half the annual quantity sent, of four and a half millions of pounds sterling, or twenty-two millions of dollars; and thus, through the action of the Corn and Money Laws, they were unable to pay their debts in cotton, and were not allowed to do so in flour and provisions, although our artisans were perishing for want. And this is not all; in addition to the hardship thus brought upon them, they have been stigmatised by our monopolists with the epithets of "cheats" and "swindlers," and have even been taunted with possessing this superabundance of provisions, cotton, &c. One of our publications, devoted to the support of the Corn Laws, delivered itself, about nine months since, of the following effusions; speaking of the Americans, it stated: "Their cotton markets is broken, and their cotton market is broken, and in the present stricken state of this swindling commonwealth, attempt to raise supplies, and it would be received with horror from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence. 'Touch my honor, touch my life,' exclaimed the pilfering Irishman, still mindful of the glories of Erin: but, 'touch my pocket touch my life, is the cry of the pilfering Yankee, full of the recollections which sent his father on a traveling expedition from the shores of Newgate.' But well could the Americans afford to be abused by those who are ready, for selfish purposes, to consign their own countrymen, and women, and children, to the work-house and the grave, by withholding from them that food which a merciful

Providence has provided for them; but few in number, he was happy to say, were the Englishmen who did not receive such sentiments with scorn and contempt. Well might the monopolist attempt to stifle the fact, that America was peopled by some of the best blood of England, driven from their homes, through unwillingness to feed their souls in the way monopolists would have them, knowing that the course now taking here, which prevents people obtaining food, *is sending abroad, and will continue to send, not the rogues and thieves, but some of our most valuable people*. He stated that the quantity of one hundred millions of pounds of coffee is consumed in the States annually—but at what price? Why, at 6d. the pound; and that meat, flour, poultry, tea, sugar, and nearly every other article of necessity is cheap in proportion. When the Corn Laws were passed, the argument was, "Oh, America can never manufacture for themselves; our industry, skill, and machinery, will prevent that." But now it is said, "The mischief is done, it is too late to remedy it, we have lost the market and if we take their corn, they will take nothing but gold in return." But he would undertake to say, emphatically, that although much mischief had been done, it was not too late to prevent much in prospect. The Americans have increased in number, since the passing of the Corn Law, from eight millions to seventeen millions; in twenty years more they will number thirty millions; and only take their corn, and the trade with them will increase prodigiously during the whole of this generation and the next. Much had been said of new markets, especially of the China markets. The more new markets the better, but it is highly probable that a larger amount of manufactures is consumed in America by seventeen millions of Anglo-Saxons, than in the whole empire of China. Mr. Goddard, finished his remarks as follows: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I say, confidently and emphatically, repeal your Corn Laws, and you will have a great and flourishing trade with the United States of America; continue them, and you not only lose, irremediably, that market, but you raise up in that people competitors in every market under heaven; and I know enough of the enterprise and perseverance of that people to tell you, you will not easily beat them out of any market where they once get a footing.

I also add extracts from a speech made by Mr. Cobden, member of Parliament, at a great meeting held at Manchester in October. Mr. Cobden has frequently been in this country, and I understand from those who had the pleasure of making his acquaintance while here, that few gentlemen on this or the other side of the Atlantic better understand our position, and the necessity his government has laid upon us to protect ourselves against its ruinous prohibitory policy.

Mr. Cobden, M. P. being called upon remarked: "We have complaints against the Americans for having passed this Tariff; and we find the monopolist newspapers railing against the American Legislature on that account. Why, if they are sincere in their professions that it is well for us to depend upon ourselves for what we want, surely that doctrine applies to other countries as well as to our own; and they ought to hail its adoption in foreign nations, and be glad to see what the Americans are about. But they are reviling the Americans for carrying out their own principles. Why, let them fight our battles on trans-atlantic ground, if they choose; we will leave them in the slough of their inconsistency. But what has been the cause of this American Tariff? We must not lose sight of the fact, that it is our own fault entirely, that we are shut out of the American market. We will go back to 1833. We know that at that period great excitement existed in the States on the subject of their Tariff on our manufactured

goods; the excitement was excessive, and in one State, the State of Carolina, which sends our principal supply of cotton, the people rose almost into rebellion against the government on account of the high duties which were imposed on our manufactures. And we know the consequence was, that an act was passed in 1833, reducing the duties on the import of our manufactured goods into America, every year, for ten years, until at the end of ten years there should be no higher duty than 20 per cent on any of our manufactured commodities. That act expired at midsummer this year.

"Now, what has been done by our Government? What has been done by this country to meet that liberal and that reciprocal policy which was offered to us by the United States? Why, if this had been going on in the moon, it would not have excited less attention with our successive governments, and, I am sorry to say, less attention with our people. We have been utterly regardless of the attempts of America to trade with us. Now, at the end of ten years, the Americans, look at the result of their policy; and they actually find that they are doing less business with us now, at the end of ten years, than when they began their reductions. Their cotton, tobacco, and rice have fallen in value; we still take nothing else; we have shut out their corn. The Americans have, therefore, no motive for continuing their policy; and now busy monopolists, in the shape of manufacturers, have got together and by their management have succeeded in passing a law which will almost exclude our cotton manufactures altogether. But this could not have been the case if England, by holding out the hand of reciprocity in the shape of a law to admit their corn, had made it the interest of those cotton monopolists to vote with us, instead of against us. We could have taken ten times the quantity of corn which these few manufacturing monopolists could have taken. The Americans are quick and alive to their own interests, and I say it is known to every man who is acquainted with that country, that it would have been utterly impossible to pass that Tariff, if we had reciprocated their terms and taken their corn in exchange for our manufactures." [Applause.]

I should not have troubled you with this communication at this time, had not my attention been particularly drawn to the subject by a letter recently placed in my hands from a foreign commercial house, with a long list of prices, which fully confirms the position I have taken, viz: That a high rate of duties, not prohibitory, does not necessarily fall upon the consumer to the extent usually supposed.

In the list of articles, from which I have made extracts, not one is higher than during the time that the low Tariff of April was in operation. Some articles yet remain the same, but in most cases there is a reduction in price, intended to meet the increase of duties, so as to make the loss fall on England rather than upon the consumer here. In fact, in the language of the European house, the object of this reduction is "to nullify," as far as the American consumer is connected, the late act of Congress increasing the duties. I conclude the reason why all the articles in the list, from which I have made extracts, are not subjected to a reduction in price to "nullify" the advance duty, is owing entirely to the consideration, that the foreign manufacturer is not yet satisfied that such reduction is necessary. The moment it is found that the skill and enterprise of our artisans are about to supply our market with these articles, (not yet reduced in price,) it will not be long, in my opinion, before the reduction will be made on these articles also; that in most





Invoice of twenty of the articles on the above list at 30th April prices, 1842, and subject to 23 per cent duty ad valorem:

100 gross square head  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch iron, 6 inch bed screws, at 4s. 3d. £21 5 0  
White medal tea bells to the value of. £10 0 0  
60 per cent discount. 6 0 0

Smiths' and small bellows to the val. of. £10 0 0  
55 per cent discount. 5 10 0

Brass nails to the value of. 10 0 0  
55 per cent discount. 5 10 0

Bolts, common round, to the value of. 10 0 0  
30 per cent off. 8 0 0

Bolts, best, to the value of. 10 0 0  
67 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent off. 6 15 0

Bolts, London Tower, value of. 10 0 0  
67 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent off. 6 15 0

30 dozen bullet moulds, 2s. net. 10 0 0  
29 doz. brass chamber candlesticks, fair quality, 10s. 6d. 10 10 0

20 doz. brass chamber candlesticks, best strong, 14s. 14 0 0  
100 pair bright trace chains, 1s. 3d. 6 5 0

1 ton ox or log chains. 18 0 0  
1 ton coil or ship chain,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch proved. 16 0 0

Chest handles to the value of. £10 0 0  
30 per cent discount. 8 0 0

Chest handles, best improved. 10 0 0  
55 per cent. 5 10 0

Curtain rings to the value of. 10 0 0  
55 per cent. 4 10 0

Shovel and tongs to the value of. 10 0 0  
72 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 7 5 0

Hammers to the value of. 10 0 0  
57 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 5 15 0

15 ctw. hooks and hinges, 12s. 6d. 10 6 3  
Pressed common hinges, to the value of. 10 0 0

70 per cent. 7 0 0

Cost at April prices, when duty was 23 per cent. £143 16 0  
Cost of invoice of the foregoing article in England April 30, when the duty was 23 p. ct. 143 16 3

Cost with 23 per cent duty. £176 18 9  
Invoice of the above named articles coming in under the 3d October prices, and subject to 30 per cent duties ad valorem:

100 gross square head  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch iron, 6 in. bed screws, at 3s. 9d. £18 15 0  
White medal tea bells to the value of. £10 0 0

62 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 6 5 0

Smiths' and small bellows to value of. 10 0 0  
57 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 5 15 0

Brass nails to the value of. 10 0 0  
57 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 5 15 0

Common round bolts to the value of. 10 0 0  
52 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 8 5 0

Best bolts to the value of. 10 0 0  
70 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 7 0 0

London Tower bolts, value of. 10 0 0  
70 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 7 0 0

100 doz. bullet moulds, 1s. 10d. 13 10 0  
20 doz. brass chamber candlesticks, fair quality, 10s. 9d. 13 5 4

20 doz. brass chamber candlesticks, best strong, 13s. 6d. 13 10 0  
100 pairs bright trace chains, 1s. 4d. 5 4 2

1 ton ox or long chains. 11 10 0  
1 ton coil or ship chain, proved,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. 14 10 0

Chest handles to the value of. £10 0 0  
52 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 8 5 0

Chest handles, best improved, value of. 10 0 0  
57 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 5 15 0

Curtain rings to the value of. 10 0 0  
57 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 5 15 0

Shovel and tongs to the value of. 10 0 0  
5 per cent. 7 10 0

Hammers to the value of. 10 0 0  
60 per cent. 6 0 0

15 cwt. hooks and hinges, 12s. 6d. 9 7 6  
Pressed common hinges to the value of. £10 0 0

72 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. 7 5 0

Cost of the foregoing articles in England under the October duties of 30 per cent. £131 10 0  
Add 30 per cent being the present duty. 39 9 0

Cost of the above with 30 per cent duty. £170 19 0  
Cost of the foregoing invoice at the prices when the duty was 23 per cent and with that duty added. 176 18 9

Gain to the consumer in the United States by the operation of the 30 per cent Tariff over that of the 23 per cent. £5 19 9

The duty paid to the United States Government on the invoice subject to 30 per cent is. £39 9 0  
The duty on the same invoice with 23 per cent. 33 2 6

Gain to the Government. £6 6 6  
Had there been no reduction of prices in England in consequence of the increased duties, the cost would be. £143 16 3

Add 30 per cent. 43 2 10  
£186 19 1

The duty of 30 per cent on the above invoice when on the 23 per ct. duty prices, would be. £43 2 10  
The duty on 30 per cent on the reduced prices to meet the advance of duty. 39 9 0

Less realized by Government than if the prices had remained as when the duty was 23 ct. £3 13 10

It will be perceived by the above that the consumer gains £5 19 9. The revenue gains £6 6 6 by the substitution of 30 in place of 23 per cent duty. That had there been no reduction of price in England in consequence of the additional duty, the cost of the above invoice would have been £186 19 1, in place of £170 19 0, making a difference of £16 0 1, and reducing the duty to £6 6 6, instead of £10 0 4.

There may be some variation in the duties from the rates specified—some of the articles may be subject to specific duties—the object is to illustrate the principle.

# Duty on Hatters' Furs.

To the Editors of The American Laborer:

A few days since I signed a petition to Congress for a repeal of the duties on Hatters' furs. When I signed the petition I supposed the duties on the cut furs, and the skins from which they are cut, were the same—25 per cent. But I have since ascertained that the duty on the skins is only 5 per cent., while it is 25 per cent. on the cut furs. The foreign furs used in the manufacture of Hats are almost exclusively cut from Nutria and Hare skins. If the duty is allowed to remain as it now is, the manufacturers may soon expect their supplies from skins imported, and from which the furs will be cut and prepared in this Country, thereby giving a large amount of money to our own labor instead of sending it abroad. I doubt not other manufacturers have unadvisedly signed the petition as I did, or may do so, if not cautioned to look into the matter. May I ask of you, as a friend of American Labor, the insertion of this in your excellent paper.

A HAT MANUFACTURER.

MINING IN MAINE.—Preparations are being made and nearly completed by a gentlemen in this city to work the extensive iron mine in Williams burgh about 40 miles north of this city. The furnace will soon be in full blast, and from what we can learn of the advantages of the location, and know of the enterprise and ability of the men engaged, we may reasonably expect that this will be an important branch of industry to that section of the country.

[Bangor Whig.

For the American Laborer.

*To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, lying and being adjacent to the British Territories in North America.*

**The Memorial of the Subscribers, Inhabitants of Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, loyal subjects of her sacred Majesty Queen Victoria.**

Your Memorialists beg leave to represent, that they have been long engaged in the manufacture of woolens, cottons, silks, iron, hardware, stone and earthenware, glass, porcelain and a great variety of other articles, too tedious to mention, and of collecting the same and exporting them to the United States for the supply of the American market, by which they have added most to their wealth and prosperity, and should continue to do so, but for that Bill of abominations, the American Tariff Law of 1842, with its high protective duties, and execrable cash payments. In consequence of this unexpected measure, heavy losses have fallen upon us, and the greatest distress upon the operatives in our employ, who must now receive three-fourths of their support from the parishes to which they belong; whereas, for some years past, they have received but one-fourth of their support from the parishes, the other three-fourths being paid by us for their incessant labor by day and by night, affording them such scanty allowance of food and clothing as to keep the breath of life in their bodies, for a limited period. But even this aid on the part of the parishes, has enabled us to sell our manufactures in your market, at less than cash.

Your honorable bodies may clearly see and appreciate our arduous struggles to supply the American market with British manufactures, and to show the people of the United States, that their appropriate business is tilling the soil, of which they have the greatest abundance. But all our well-meant efforts are nugatory, if this bill of abominations is permitted to remain in force.

It is due to us as an act of justice, to restore the beautiful horizontal Tariff of the Compromise Act 1833, or if that cannot immediately be done, to establish by law, for our benefit, a most liberal ware-house system, under which we might export to your great cities, our immense surplus of manufactures, there to remain in deposit without paying duties, until wanted for consumption; and thus supply your markets at all times, instead of remaining in Great Britain, to glut and destroy our own markets, as they must necessarily do, if such relief cannot be granted to us.

We are aware that British interests have had many advocates in the United States, even in time of the Revolutionary war, and the war of 1812;—and have still more now, at a time of peace. These interests have been incidentally if not directly de-

fended, whenever attempts have been made to establish protective Tariffs, which we are well advised, are contrary to the constitution of the United States; nothing like a protective Tariff being mentioned in that instrument.

Many important points in favor of British manufactures have been gained, for which we shall ever be grateful. The discrimination in favor of European silks by putting a higher duty by 5 per cent, upon those coming from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, may be considered as one of them.

A selfish policy would have induced Congress to make the discrimination on the other side, as a compensation to the American importer of silks from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, for the increased expense of importation; so that the importers of silks from China and India and those from Europe should come into the American market upon equal terms, and by a fair competition reduce the price of their goods to the lowest rate that would yield a reasonable profit to the importer.

This discrimination was of great importance to us. But this was not enough. In the Tariff Law of 1828 silks from beyond the Cape of Good Hope were made subject to a duty of 30 per cent, while those from other places were made subject to a duty of no more than 20 per cent *ad valorem*. This was a generous act on the part of Congress, and the more so, as we neither asked or expected such a favor. This discriminating duty was meant to exclude the China and India silks, and therefore could not have been laid for revenue. But it afforded incidental protection to the British and French manufacturers of silks. This, at first sight, might be considered as against the Constitution of the United States. But it should be considered that the protection thus afforded, applies to British and French manufactures, while the constitution only excludes American manufactures from the benefit of protective duties.

This discriminating duty enabled us to purchase India and China silks, and sell them as British, in the American market, at prices nearly ten per cent greater, than would otherwise have been asked by your own merchants, importing such silks directly from beyond the Cape of Good Hope. In fact it has enabled us to levy nearly the whole amount of this ten per cent extra duty, upon all the British silks consumed in the United States, for the last twelve years; and to break up a parcel of New-England manufacturers, who had made large establishments, at great expense, for dying and staining plain India silks, for the South American market—we were able to undersell them by ten per cent. and they were ruined.

We could mention many other like instances of favor to British interests, and against those of the United States; but we proceed to that great event, the adoption of a horizontal Tariff upon the principles of Free Trade, such as was never known

before, and never would have been known, but for the compromise made and agreed upon, not by the people, to be sure, for they knew nothing of it at the time, but by their agents duly authorized and empowered to act in the premises—and this compromise being made in open day, though somewhat hastily, should be held sacred, and the horizontal Tariff Law should have been considered as beyond the reach of repeal, whether the people were satisfied or not.

By this good and wholesome law, all discriminating duties were to be abolished, and the liberal principles of Free Trade established. A system which the British Government has long recommended, as particularly suited to the business and commerce of the United States. This is the most important step in the march of mind, that we have witnessed in the present country.

Certain business discoveries, have led to this great event; among them that of the forty-bale system has had a most decided effect. In the truth of this system we are implicit believers. It is evident that the planters of the Southern States, whose exports of cotton, rice and tobacco are exchanged for nearly all the European goods imported into the United States, really pay nearly all the duties upon such goods. That is, if the Southern planter sends a hundred bales of cotton to Liverpool, and takes in exchange for them British manufactures subject to a duty of forty per cent, he pays the whole duty, which is a loss to him to that amount, although he may not consume a single article of such goods. It is precisely the same thing as taking from him 40 of his bales of cotton—and this enables us to correct the vulgar error, that the consumer of imported goods pays the duties upon them.

It is not strange that such oppression should drive the Southern planters to madness. But we hope soon to relieve them; for the British Government is taking decisive measures to procure all the cotton our manufacturers may want from our territories in South America and in the East Indies—when that is accomplished, your Southern States will no longer pay nearly the whole taxes of the Union; and of course will no longer be serfs of the manufacturers of the North.

Another discovery of great importance is, that any State may nullify and resist the laws of Congress, without forfeiting her right to be considered, in all respects, a member of the Union. In fact, that a resistance by force of arms, if necessary, is the peaceful remedy against all laws of the Union, which particular States may consider as oppressive. Of this doctrine we approve most heartily, as we did of the resolutions adopted by the Hartford Convention in 1814. Another discovery is that Congress have no right to levy duties except for revenue alone; and of that, no more than may be necessary for an economical support of the Government. All protection by du-

ties of commerce and industry is prohibited by the spirit of the Constitution. Even incidental protection is prohibited; for protection is not the less protection, because it is incidental; therefore is not to be tolerated. We therefore think the high duties imposed by Congress, to protect American tonnage and navigation should be immediately repealed. In which case Great Britain would recover nearly the whole of the carrying trade, between her dominions and territories and the United States, and even a large portion of the coasting trade of said States, of which she was deprived by high, prohibitory unconstitutional duties.

We hope the time is not far distant, when the right of imposing duties shall be taken from your Congress and vested in your President and Senate under the Treaty-making power. Duties will then be arranged by negotiations with foreign nations, and with the assent and concurrence of such nations. The beauty of this system will be, that Tariffs when thus settled by treaty, cannot be repealed or altered by Congress. Treaties are the laws of the land, and can only be annulled by those who have the power to make them.

It is greatly to be regretted, that the provisions of the horizontal Tariff had not been settled by a treaty with the British Government; as it would effectually have prevented the passing of the bill of abominations.

We are friends of Free Trade as advocated by Mr. Huskisson sixteen years ago, and now again by Sir Robert Peel. The advance made within this period, by the British Government in adopting Free Trade principles is absolutely perceptible, and may be seen with the naked eye. Yet nearly all Europe seems combined to defeat our liberal views. The Russians, Portuguese, French and Belgians, and still worse, the German League are determined to exclude British manufactures, and to protect the industry of their own subjects, by high protective Tariffs. We are rejoiced to find that the principles of Free Trade have many advocates in the United States, some of them native citizens, as will appear by a reference to the list of the members of the Free Trade Convention held at Baltimore, in September and October 1830. In the Memorial of that Convention, page 19, the authors say, "By Free Trade we mean that trade, which we may carry on free of any restrictions imposed by our own Government." And in page 23 they say, "The restrictions imposed by foreign nations, do not afford a single reason, though they may serve as a *pretence*, for the adoption of restrictive measures on the part of the United States, which would not equally apply if the exports were reduced by a natural cause."

These sentiments are worthy of all praise. They would do honor to the most loyal subjects of Great Britain. Indeed, in point of liberality, they exceed any thing that Mr. Huskisson or Sir Robert Peel would have asked or expected.

Under the Horizontal Tariff, therefore, the United States enjoyed all the advantages of Free Trade, notwithstanding the British Corn Laws, and other prohibitory duties; and those Corn Laws and prohibitory duties afforded no reason, though they might serve as a pretence, for countervailing duties and restrictions, on the part of the Government of the United States.

Commodore Decatur fought for Free Trade and sailor's rights;—but the free trade he meant was equality—the reverse of that of the Baltimore Convention. He meant such trade as we may carry on free of restrictions imposed by the British Government. His views were illiberal and hostile. Had he lived in the time of the Stamp Act, there is no doubt he would have been a rebel, as we are credibly informed his father was.

These opinions and suggestions are most respectfully submitted, as arguments in favor of an immediate repeal of the bill of abominations, and the re-enactment of the Horizontal Tariff Bill, for which we most earnestly pray, as well as for the establishment of a ware-house system, upon the most liberal principles.

The compulsory payment of cash duties is a great oppression; yet, as that was a part of the Sub-Treasury bill, as well as of the bill of abominations, we fear there is a settled prejudice in favor of such payment of duties, and that there is no ground to hope for relief in this particular. Yet, if a liberal ware-house system shall be adopted, we shall feel much more than compensated for the loss of the former credit upon duties. In fact we shall escape the chief inconvenience of cash duties upon our goods, inasmuch as those duties will not be paid before the goods go into the hands of the consumer and we receive pay for them. We have heretofore been put to great inconvenience under the credit system, when we have given bonds for duties on such large quantities of goods, that they remained in the hands of our agents many months after the bonds became due. At times the credit system imposed an inconvenient limit to our exports to your market, which will be entirely removed by a ware-house system. Under such system, we can send you our surplus goods to the amount of millions upon millions of dollars, relieving our own markets, and filling your ware-houses to their roofs, without paying duties upon such goods, till the same may be wanted for consumption; with ample powers of contraction and expansion,—of withholding our goods from market, when deemed prudent to increase prices for our special benefit, or of glutting the market occasionally for the purpose of breaking down your importers of small capital, or of shutting up your manufacturing establishments and of driving your operatives in such establishments, to their proper employment, that of Agriculture—under a liberal ware-house system we

shall make a second Liverpool of New-York. We therefore pray that such system may be established, or that the credit system be restored, but we greatly prefer the former. And your Memorialists will ever pray.

Liverpool, November 15, 1842.

From the Lancaster Wagon Boy.

DIALOGUE.—I know of no better illustration of the argument between the advocates of Free Trade and the advocates of American Manufactories, than the following dialogue:

*Farmer.*—Well, Mr. A., I have been dealing with you now for about a year without a settlement; how much have you got charged against me?

*Merchant.*—Oh, never mind a settlement: come what shall I show you to-day?—You want a bill of goods, don't you? Hurra for *Free Trade*!

*F.*—Well, may be I will buy something after a while, but I want a settlement first, and then we will commence square on the next year's account.

*M.*—Very well, then; your account is just One Hundred dollars.

*F.*—Fifty cents is now the price of Wheat here, and I have got two hundred bushels, just enough to pay your account.

*M.*—Oh! bless you, my dear friend, I don't want Wheat.

*F.*—Well, then, I've got plenty of Corn and Pork at home, and I will bring you that.

*M.*—I can't take your Corn, Pork, or any produce; I must have the cash.

*F.*—I fortunately have the money by me, and here it is—receipt your account.

*M.*—(*Counting the money.*)—All right. Now I hope you will come in often this year, and trade freely; there is nothing like *free trade*.

*F.*—I am beginning to understand your *free trade*. You expect me to buy goods of you, and at the end of the year, pay you the cash *freely*.—But I'll put a stop to that game. There is a little store just starting in our neighborhood by a friend of mine who will take all kinds of produce for goods, and you have seen my last dollar. After this I will deal with him. [*Exit.*]

Change the name and see of whom the story is told. England wants us to buy our manufactured articles of her, and yet refuses to take American Wheat, Pork, or other products in payment, but demands *silver and gold*.

The American manufactories ('the little store kept by our friend') will create a home and permanent demand for the excess of the products of the farm; for the men who work in the manufactories must eat, and if they are *here*, they will eat American products, and thus we will supply one another, retaining the gold and silver, instead of sending it off to England to pay for manufactured articles, while they refuse to take one dollar's worth of our products, unless the English crop is so small that they are starving. Is it not strange that the party in this country, who call themselves democratic, league in with the English to put down our manufactories, and seek, as Jefferson says, 'to reduce us to dependence on foreign nations'?

# Report from the Secretary of the Treasury, ON THE STATE OF THE FINANCES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, December 15, 1842.

SIR: In obedience to the directions of the act of Congress of the 10th of May, 1800, entitled, "An act supplementary to the act entitled, 'An act to establish the Treasury Department,' " and an act entitled, "An act to establish the fiscal year," &c., approved the 26th August, 1842, the Secretary of the Treasury respectfully submits the following Report:

## I.—Of the Public Revenue and Expenditure.

The balance in the Treasury on the 1st January, 1843, (exclusive of the amount deposited with the States, territories and indemnities), was...\$230,483 68  
The receipts into the Treasury during the first three quarters of the present year amount to.....\$36,616,583 78

Viz:

From customs.....\$14,260,830 35  
From lands.....1,061,638 95  
From miscellaneous and incidental sources.....112,367 17  
From Treasury notes per act 15th February, 1841.....1,060,306 05  
From Treasury notes per act 31st January, 1842.....7,794,621 50  
From loan of 1841, '42.....2,296,129 67

The receipts for the fourth quarter, it is estimated, will amount to.....7,886,000 00

Viz:

From customs.....\$4,000,000 00  
From lands.....350,000 00  
From miscellaneous and incidental sources.....20,000 00  
From Treasury notes.....2,500,000 00  
From loan.....1,000,000 00

Making the total estimated receipts for the year.....\$34,502,583 78

And, with the balance in the Treasury on the 1st January last, an aggregate of.....34,783,077 46

The expenditures for the first three quarters of the present year have amounted to.....\$36,264,682 20

Viz:

Civil list, foreign intercourse and miscellaneous.....\$4,371,933 93  
Army, fortifications, pensions, fulfilment of Indian treaties, suppressing Indian hostilities, &c.....7,065,035 95  
Naval service.....6,717,084 17  
Treasury notes redeemed, including interest.....7,856,400 35  
Public debt, including interest on the loan.....254,427 80

The expenditures for the fourth quarter, are estimated on data furnished by the respective departments, at.....8,238,278 15

Viz:

Civil, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous (including the amount due to States for distribution of the sales of public lands, and amounts due to Mississippi and Alabama under act of September 4, 1841).....\$2,144,013 97

Army, fortifications, pensions, fulfilment of Indian treaties, suppressing Indian hostilities, &c.....3,710,436 45  
Naval service.....1,822,395 15  
Interest on loan.....152,442 58  
Unclaimed dividends.....3,900 00  
Principal and interest on Treasury notes.....400,000 00

To which add outstanding warrants issued prior to 1st January, 1843.....\$805,474 63

Making.....\$35,308,634 38

Leaving a deficiency in the Treasury on the 31st December, 1842, of.....575,556 92

The above estimates of expenditures for the 4th quarter of the present year, include, as it will be perceived, the sum of \$805,474 03, being the amount of outstanding warrants issued prior to the 1st January, 1842. It is presumed, however, that a like sum will remain outstanding on the 1st January next; and that instead of the apparent deficiency as stated above, there will be an actual

balance in the Treasury, on the 1st January, 1843, of at least, \$224,000. It is expected also, that a like amount of warrants may be outstanding on the 30th June, 1843, and at the end of the succeeding fiscal year.

It is proper to remark that, at the time the estimates of the expenditures for the 4th quarter were prepared by the several Departments, it was believed that the expenditures for the current quarter would amount to the sum already stated; but it is now ascertained that they will fall considerably short of that amount; yet as they will become a charge on the Treasury early in the next year, it has not been deemed necessary to alter the amount as first estimated.

## II.—Of the estimates of the public revenue and expenditures for the half calendar year ending 30th June, 1843.

The receipts for the half year are estimated as follows:

From customs.....\$7,500,000 00  
From lands.....1,500,000 00  
From treasury notes and loan.....5,532,113 45  
From miscellaneous sources.....30,000 00

.....\$14,582,113 45

The expenditures for the half calendar year ending the 30th June, 1843, are estimated at...10,381,186 76

Viz:

Civil, miscellaneous, and foreign intercourse.....\$2,722,796 80  
Army fortifications, pensions, fulfilment of Indian treaties, suppressing of Indian hostilities, &c. 3,083,829 50  
Naval service.....4,019,060 46  
Interest on public debt and treasury notes.....605,500 00

## III.—Of the estimates of the public revenue and expenditures for the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1844.

The receipts for the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1844 are estimated as follows:

From customs.....\$18,000,000 00  
From lands.....2,700,000 00  
From miscellaneous sources.....150,000 00

.....\$18,850,000 00

The expenditures for the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1844, are estimated at.....\$20,945,498 76

Viz:

Civil, miscellaneous, and foreign intercourse.....\$3,804,334 44  
Army, fortifications, pensions, fulfilment of Indian treaties, suppressing of Indian hostilities, &c. 8,612,043 61  
Naval service.....7,318,021 71  
Interest on public debt and treasury notes.....1,211,000 00

By the foregoing statements it will appear that a deficiency will exist in the Treasury, on the 31st December, 1842, of.....\$375,556 92

The receipts for the half calendar year ending on the 30th June, 1843, are estimated at.....14,582,113 45

And the expenditures for the same period at.....10,381,186 76

Leaving a balance of.....4,306,926 69

From which deduct the amount of deficiency, as above, and the balance remaining in the Treasury on the 30th June, 1843, will be.....3,731,369 77

The receipts into the Treasury for the fiscal year ending on the 30th June, 1844, are estimated at.....18,850,000 00

Making, with the balance, as above.....22,581,369 77

From which deduct the estimated expenditures for the fiscal year.....20,945,498 76

And the balance in the Treasury on the 30th June, 1844, will amount to.....1,635,871 01

Assuming, as is highly probable, that the balance of the loan authorized by the acts of 21st July, 1841, and 15th April, 1842, amounting to \$5,532,113 45, will be negotiated prior to the 15th April, 1843, the limit of the term within which it can be taken, it has been included in the receipts of the next half year. Should, however, this reasonable expectation be disappointed, as to the whole amount of such balance, the deficiency thence arising, may be supplied by the issue of Treasury notes under the authority of the act of 31st August last, to the amount of \$3,500,000; which sum, together with that realized by the sale of stock, will, it is be-

lieved, place in the Treasury an available amount adequate to meet all the anticipated demands, up to the 30th June, 1844; and if the whole of the balance of the loan be taken within the period limited by law, the several balances remaining in the Treasury on the 30th June, 1843, and 30th June, 1844, will be as indicated in the foregoing exhibit.

It will be perceived that in the estimate of expenditures subsequent to the 1st of January next the redemption of Treasury Notes is not taken into account. But few notes have been presented to the Department for redemption since the passage of the act of the 31st August last, and nearly the whole amount canceled since that day were taken in payment of public dues. Should the notes issued under the act above mentioned be placed on the same footing with the previous issues, so as to bear interest after maturity payable half-yearly until called in for redemption, it is believed but a small amount would fall into the expenditures for the ensuing eighteen months. It is recommended, therefore, that this be done; otherwise the expenditures during the period last mentioned must necessarily be increased to the amount of probably three to four millions of dollars, in redemption of issues under the act of 31st August last. But, for the purpose of guarding against unforeseen contingencies, it is farther recommended that the existing authority to reissue Treasury Notes should be extended to the 30th June, 1844.

The loan of \$5,672,976 88, borrowed under the provisions of the act of the 21st July, 1841, will be redeemable on the 1st January, 1845; and, on the assumption that a reissue of Treasury Notes, as above suggested, shall be authorized by Congress, the whole amount now outstanding, together with that of the issues that may be hereafter made under the act of 31st August last, will fall due prior to the 30th June, 1845. Although payment of these notes may not be at once demanded when due, and the time of repayment of the loan of 1841 is placed at the pleasure of Government, yet the liability to pay those several amounts must exist, and the means to provide for the exigency can be afforded only by farther legislation.

The present Tariff, in its main features, resembles so nearly the bill submitted to Congress by the Department on the 9th of May last, that the views expressed in the report which accompanied the bill may be considered as applicable, to a great extent, to the system of duties now established.—The period within which the Tariff has been in operation has been much too short to furnish any decisive evidence as to its permanent influence upon importations. The foreign trade of the country has continued to decline, and importations have been comparatively small since the passage of the act. How far this state of things may have been influenced by the existing system of duties, it is impossible to determine. The smallness of the importations may be well accounted for by the embarrassed condition of the country and extremely limited means of purchase. The amount of foreign commodities in our markets is still found greatly to exceed the demand; and the fall in the prices of merchandize since the first September is supposed to be, on an average, not less than 10 per cent. This fact will be found verified in a letter from the collector at New-York, annexed hereto, to which reference is respectfully

made; and it is deemed conclusive to show that the decline in the importations since the first September can not justly be referred to our system of duties;—and that the effect of the existing tariff remains to be determined by further and more satisfactory experience.

The importance of adequate provision for revenue cannot be too often or too strongly urged upon the attention of Congress. The resources of the country are abundant; internal taxation, either direct or indirect, has not of late years been found necessary, and it is still believed that a system of custom house duties may be made sufficiently comprehensive to yield an income commensurate with all the wants of the country.

There are various articles of import, several of them of very large, and universal consumption, at present untaxed, or subject to duties extremely low, and some of which without, perhaps, in any considerable degree, lessening the amount of their consumption, might bear imposts yielding an aggregate addition to the revenue accruing under the existing laws of not less than \$3,000,000. These offer themselves for selection, and it rests with the wisdom of Congress to make that selection or adopt any other mode of securing the receipt of such an amount of revenue as shall be sufficient to meet the expenses of an economical administration of the Government, and afford the means of sustaining measures necessary for the defence of the country, and the maintenance of the public credit.

This last object is of infinite importance. The honor of the country, its just self-respect, the pride which every citizen must feel in the high character of its Government; all these require that the public faith, and the credit of that Government, should be placed above doubt or question.

Deeming it highly probable that the policy of establishing a warehouse system might engage the deliberations of Congress at the present session, the attention of Collectors and other officers at various ports was called to this subject, by a circular issued from the Department on the 24th November last, a copy of which, together with the answers received, and a table of exports of foreign merchandize, is annexed. It has been thought advisable, also, for the sake of convenient reference in a matter of such general interest, to attach to this report a copy of the statute of the 3d and 4th William IV., which embodies the warehouse system of Great Britain in a form matured by a long experience. In connection with this will be found a copy of regulations established under authority of the statute above mentioned, by the commissioners of the Treasury, which will afford a satisfactory view of the practical operation of the system as it now exists in that country.

I am, very respectfully, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. FORWARD, Secretary of the Treasury.  
Hon. WILLIE P. MANGUM, President of the Senate.

Documents accompanying the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Effects of the New Tariff on the Revenue and the Prices of Foreign Goods.

Collector's Office, New-York.  
November 23, 1842.

SIR: In answer to your letter of the 23d inst., I have the honor to state my opinion, that for some time preceding the passage of the New Tariff, there was a redundant supply of merchandize in the United States, and that this over-stock still continues; and further to state my full concur-

rence in the belief which you express, that prices are not determined by rates of duty imposed upon merchandise, but by the proportion which the supply bears to the demand.

The actual quantity of any description of merchandise which may be in the market, is a question of difficult solution; because the holders are unwilling that the dealers should know the extent of their respective stocks; but the inquiry whether the stock on hand exceeds the demand, may be answered by a comparison between the cost of articles and the prices at which they are sold, or between the prices obtained at different periods. The first test is not of easy application, because it involves the necessity of resorting to the importer for information as to the cost, which information it is his interest, in a great majority of cases, to withhold. It is true, that if a specimen of the article sold is brought to me, with a memorandum of the names of the importers, and of the ship in which it was imported, I could ascertain the cost, provided all the articles of the same name in that particular invoice, were of uniform quality; but such an investigation, if made to any extent, would be exceedingly embarrassing and very laborious. In search, then, of facts to prove by the declining prices of merchandise that there is a surplus stock of merchandise beyond the wants or abilities of the consumers, I must refer to the quotations of the prices-current, or to actual sales, as communicated to me by individuals upon whose testimony I can rely. On a former occasion I expressed my doubts whether much reliance could be placed upon printed reports of the state of the market; if there were no other objections, this alone would suffice, that their quotations take so wide a range as to express no precise information; for instance, one now before me quotes Madeira wine at 45 to \$1 50 per gallon; but I find some facts recorded in recent publications which will throw light upon these inquiries:

Clean Rus. Hemp is quoted.	July 6, 1842, at \$220	per ton.
	Nov. 23,	110 to \$212 50
Bar Iron, Russia, P. S. L.	July 6,	101 50 to 105 00
	Nov. 23,	97 50 to 100 00
Refined Saltpetre.....	July 6,	74
	Nov. 23,	63
Brown Russian Sheetings..	July 6,	8 50 to 8 75
	Nov. 23,	7 00 to 7 50

In all these cases the duties were considerably higher in November than in July. There are in prices-current a few articles, the prices of which in November were higher than in July or in August; but I am confident that a thorough examination into the state of the market would sustain my opinion, that there is but one article which has risen in price to an extent equal to the increase of duty; the exception is, the highest grades of brandy—the stock of which does not exceed six months supply, even under the diminished demand, resulting from the progress of the Temperance cause.

I have procured some specimens of Dry Goods, to the relative prices of which, at different periods, I beg leave to refer:

No. 1. Beaver Cloth, sold in September, 1842, at.....	\$2 23
	November..... 1 71
No. 2. Worsted Lining.....	September..... 45
	November..... 30
No. 3. Imported Calico.....	September..... 15
	November..... 12 1/2
No. 4. do. do.....	September..... 17
	November..... 12 1/2
No. 5. Amer. Flan'l, Sep., '41, 37 1/2 c; Sep., '42, 30 c, Nov.	24
No. 6. " Satinet, " 55 " 50 "	42 1/2
No. 7. " Calico, " 9 " 7 "	7
No. 8. " " 14 " 7 1/2 "	7 1/2

Specimens of articles which have declined in price since the New Tariff went into operation can be multiplied to any desired extent, and I venture to assure you that if proof of an average fall of ten per cent. in the selling price of Dry Goods since September 1st were required, I can furnish it in abundance, and it is equally certain that the prices of other Goods, generally, are now lower than they then were.

The time which has elapsed since the passage of the new act, is too short to admit of *proof* that the process of accommodating foreign prices to the new state of things existing here, has already begun to develop itself; but I have no reason to doubt that this result, explained in my letter of the 25th instant, will inevitably be found; and that in no circumstances will the consumer have to pay the whole or the larger part of the increase of duties provided by the new law.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
EDWARD CURTIS, Collector.  
Hon. WALTER FORWARD,  
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington D. C.

### The Warehousing System.

[Circular.]

TREASURY DEPARTMENT }  
November 24, 1842. }

SIR: As it is contemplated by the Department to bring before Congress at its next session the subject of a general Warehouse System, with a view to the better accommodation of the import business of the United States, it is desirable to obtain information upon the following points, among others, and to receive such suggestions in relation to the policy and practicability of the system as your experience may enable you to furnish:

*First.* Is it likely that safe and commodious warehouses can be procured without the expenditure of money by the Government in their erection?

*Second.* Supposing that commodious warehouses can be procured on lease by the Government, would the expense be reimbursed by the amount of storage received; and if not, is it likely that the deficiency in the smaller ports would be made up by the excess of receipts for storage in the larger ports; in other words, assuming that the privilege of warehousing shall be universal, will it support itself, without burdening the revenue?

*Third.* What number of additional officers, if any, would be necessary for conducting a Warehouse System with entire safety to the Government, affording at the same time reasonable facilities to importers? In replying to this question, you are desired to advert to the peculiar duties of officers attached to this service.

*Fourth.* What would be the effect of this system upon the trade of the larger and smaller ports? Would it change or unsettle the relative advantages enjoined by them under the existing system?

*Fifth.* Is it expedient to limit the period of deposit, say to one year, the time within which exportation for drawback was allowed under our early laws, or should the period be indefinite?

*Sixth.* What will be the effect of the system upon the revenue accruing at the port of in the year next following its adoption?

*Seventh.* You are requested to communicate your views of the system generally, in connexion with that of cash duties: your reasons, if any,



that may favor its adoption, and your opinion as to the disadvantages that may attend it.

Your answer is requested at the earliest day practicable.

I am, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,  
W. FORWARD, Secretary of the Treasury.

CUSTOM-HOUSE, NEW-YORK, }  
November 28, 1842. }

SIR: Your circular dated the 24th instant, upon the subject of the ware-housing system, came to hand this morning, and I hasten to reply to it.

To the *first* question propounded, I answer: At this port, there would be no present difficulty in procuring any number of good and proper ware-houses, and probably there would not be any for a long time to come.

*Second.* The rents would be paid with the storage received, if due caution was observed in hiring stores. With, perhaps, occasional exceptions, in the longrun the concern would sustain itself, but nothing could be counted upon to make deficiencies at other ports; the merchants would object to being taxed beyond the amount of the rents paid, so that each port would have to bear its own burdens in this matter.

*Third.* The additional number of officers required would depend very much upon the provisions of the bill to be enacted; if the system is to be restricted to a moderate number of heavy articles, no great increase of force would be necessary; but, if it is to embrace all sorts of things, and if *fabrics* to any extent are deposited, then the number of clerks and officers must be greatly increased; at least I should presume so, especially if the merchant is to be allowed to enter single packages; for, in that event, whether they are inspected and valued at the store in which they are deposited, or are transferred to the appraiser's store for that purpose, there must be clerks to enter them in books, inward and outward, from the stores, and officers to attend to them at both places. The number of packages examined under such a system, would be far greater than under the present, of course involving expense in some shape.

*Fourth.* The effect of this system upon trade at the larger ports, would be, upon the whole, *unfavorable*, especially in regard to manufactured goods—more particularly dry goods. The general consequence of its adoption would be, to cause shipments of the surplus stocks of other countries, whenever they had accumulated to any extent, and the merchant not having to pay the duty, could extend his advances upon the goods, and could compass much larger quantities than under the present system.

The accumulation at this port, for instance, would, under such circumstances, be large and rapid, in proportion to the depression in other countries, and, as a never-failing consequence, the goods would be forced at times when every thing was at the lowest point of depression here. I am of the opinion that *paroxysms* in the market would be more frequent and more violent than under the present system—decidedly so. There would also be a constant deposits of staple goods, such as low cottons, &c., for the supply of the Mexican and South American States, in the hands of commission merchants under advances, and all experience induces the presumption that they would supply that demand at whatever sacrifice might be necessary. The double object of realizing their advances and

securing a commission, would tend very strongly to that result.

If any benefit is to be derived from the adoption of this system, it will ensure entirely and exclusively to the larger ports, as it is consigned merchandise, with few exceptions, that would be deposited, and four-fifths of it consigned on foreign account, which comes only to the principal ports.

*Fifth.* To prevent some of the evils which are manifestly incident to the system, the deposits should be limited to one year; under no circumstances should it be indefinite.

*Sixth.* To this question there can be but one answer. It would *lessen* the receipts into the Treasury the first year, beyond doubt, perhaps materially.

*Seventh.* The operation of the system, if made general, would be, on the whole, injurious, in a national point of view, and its benefits would accrue almost exclusively to *persons of large capital*. The men of moderate means, importing on their own account, can not afford to lie out of the *cost* of the goods; they must in most cases enter and pay the duty on arrival, and they will constantly have to contend against the evils which an overstock of goods always causes, and which will operate with the greatest severity when they can least afford to be oppressed by it. One of the prominent evils of trade for years past has been a constant plethora of goods; and anything which mitigates that, as cash duties certainly to some extent will, will benefit all traders on their own account, as well as the country at large. There need not be the slightest apprehension or fear that cash duties will limit the imports below the net proceeds of the exports, or *or at all*, as long as the goods will pay a profit. The wholesale restraint of the present system for a year or two seems absolutely necessary, if any hope of recuperation is to be indulged, and it would, I have no doubt, be favorable to an *increase of the aggregate revenue for a period of three or four years to come*.

That any general advantages are to be derived from the adoption of this system at the *present time*, to say the least, admits of very great doubt; and if made general, it will, I think, result in pretty universal disappointments. If confined, as it is, in fact, in England, to a few heavy articles, mainly raw produce, it will perhaps be beneficial. I think it would be, and it will not involve much additional expense; or, if confined to articles which pay a high specific duty, such as wines, liquors, sugars, iron, &c. &c., its adoption would perhaps lead to no bad consequences.

All inferences drawn from the working of the system in England would be entirely inapplicable to a general system here; the goods deposited in the first case, being confined mostly to a dozen or twenty articles subject to duties of from 50 to 500 per cent., averaging perhaps 150 per cent., and, in the second, numbering every species of produce and manufacture that can be named, subject, on the average, to perhaps 33½ per cent. duty; the hardship of advancing the duty in the first case being a very different affair from what it would be in the second.

For the foregoing reasons I should advise, if adopted at all, the restricting the system for the present to a few prominent articles, believing that the making it *general at this time* would be an exceedingly hazardous experiment. I am aware

that these opinions are, in many quarters, and by some of my friends, considered altogether heterodox; but as they are the convictions of my best judgement, I cannot withhold the expression of them.

I remain, with great respect, your obedient servant,  
THOMAS LORD.

Hon. W. FORWARD, Secretary of the Treasury, Wash.

CHARLESTON, December 7, 1842.

SIR: In reply to your letter of the 24th ultimo, I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the Warehouse System is desirable in connection with cash duties, and that it would be an accommodation to the import business of the United States.

*First.* In this port there is no difficulty in renting safe and commodious warehouses without any expenditure for building.

*Second.* I do not believe that the storage would pay the rents if the system is adopted indiscriminately, but that it would if confined to the principal ports of the country.

*Third.* In Charleston one additional officer would be necessary. There would be additional dry-dock and portage.

*Fourth.* The tendency of the system would be to concentrate business, and to favor the large ports; but it is not easy to anticipate the operation of the system in this respect.

*Fifth.* I think one year sufficient, and that a longer time would be injudicious.

*Sixth.* It would make but little difference in this port at present; under an improved state of trade it would be different. For the next year, if now adopted, the change would be unimportant, and the revenue but little affected.

*Seventh.* Of the expediency of cash duties I have no doubt. Whatever causes may have rendered a credit for duties desirable or expedient formerly, they no longer exist. The regular American merchant is able, and for the most part willing, to pay his duties in cash. The cash system avoids the risk of loss from non-payment of duty bonds; it is more simple; it prevents the foreigner from trading on the credit of the American Government; it stops heavy imports of goods on foreign accounts, and debars the foreign merchant or manufacturer from thus injuring the regular home merchant and the country generally.

I have hitherto, in the absence of authority to procure warehouses, where storage became necessary, permitted the merchant to furnish his own store, placing the key in the keeping of the Collector. Perhaps some discretionary power of this sort in the smaller ports might be better than renting stores, which might involve a heavy expenditure.

I have the honor to remain, with great respect,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. J. GRAYSON, Collector.

I fully accord with the views and opinions of the Collector.

ROBT. HOWARD, Naval Officer.

Statement exhibiting a view of the Imports quarter yearly during the years ending September 30, 1840, 1841 and 1842.

PERIODS.	Free of duty.	Paying duty.	Total.
Quarter. Year.			
Fourth.....1839.....	\$14,316,875	\$13,436,137	\$27,753,012
First.....1840.....	15,270,557	12,693,745	27,964,302
Second.....1840.....	12,653,141	10,104,059	22,757,180
Third.....1840.....	14,555,681	13,961,394	28,517,075
1840.....	57,196,204	49,945,815	107,141,519
Fourth.....1840.....	11,667,880	11,642,450	23,310,330
First.....1841.....	18,617,286	17,626,102	36,243,401

Second....1841.....	17,104,123	14,380,285	31,484,418
Third.....1841.....	18,640,329	18,577,569	37,217,898
1841.....	66,019,732	61,938,446	127,958,177
Fourth.....1841.....	8,533,943	14,682,432	23,216,375
First.....1842.....	8,506,002	24,425,953	32,931,955
Second.....1842.....	8,191,214	17,919,887	26,111,101
Third.....1842.....	4,725,537	12,472,361	17,197,898

1842..... 29,956,696 69,400,633 99,357,329  
NOTE.—The third quarter of 1842 is partly on estimate.  
TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
Register's Office, Dec. 13, 1842.

T. L. SMITH, Register.

A statement exhibiting the value of Imports and Exports during the year ending on the 30th of September, 1842.

Imports—value of merchandise free of duty.....\$29,956,696  
paying duty..... 69,400,633  
99,357,329

Exports—of foreign merchandise, viz:

Value free of duty.....\$6,733,117  
" paying duty..... 4,325,764  
\$11,558,881  
Of domestic produce..... 92,556,088  
104,117,969

NOTE.—The value of imports and exports for the quarter ending 30th September is partly on estimate.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

Register's Office, Dec. 13, 1842.

T. L. SMITH, Register.

Of the Public Debt, December 1, 1842.

Of the (old) funded and unfunded debt payable on presentation:

Funded Debt—Principal.....\$52,087 62  
Interest..... 236,218 78  
\$238,306 40

Unfunded—Certificates for Claims

during the Revolutionary War.....\$6,322 44

Treasury Notes issued during the

late War.....4,317 44

Certificates of Mississippi Stock.....4,320 09  
35,250 97  
\$333,566 37

Debts of the Corporate Cities of the District of Columbia, assumed per Act of May 28, 1836:

Of the City of Washington.....\$930,000 00  
Alexandria..... 225,000 00  
Georgetown..... 225,000 00  
\$1,380,000 00

Loan of the 21st of July, 1841, redeemable after

1st of January, 1844.....\$5,672,976 83

Loan of the 15th of April, 1842, re-

deemable after 1st of Jan., 1853, 3,126,385 78  
\$8,799,362 66

Treasury Notes outstanding, viz: Notes issued under the

Act of October 12, 1837.....\$29,406 07

May 21, '38, and March 2, '39, 35,008 06

March 31, 1840..... 354,883 39

February 15, 1841..... 3,589,124 03

January 31, 1842..... 5,060,939 74

August 31, 1842..... 1,224,054 89  
\*10,093,426 17

\*This amount includes \$113,651 66, cancelled Notes, in

the hands of the Accounting Officers for settlement, viz:—

Of Notes issued under Acts prior to 31st of Jan. 1842, \$43,641 66

Of Notes issued under the Act of 31st of Jan. 1842, 64,990 00

Of Notes issued under the Act of 31st of Aug. 1842, 5,000 00

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

Register's Office, Dec. 5, 1842.

T. L. SMITH, Register.

COPPER AND IRON MINES OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

A friend writes to us, says the Post, from Concord, N. H. that Dr. Jackson's geological survey of that State has resulted in the discovery of various mines of copper and iron. "One of the copper mines in Concord county," the correspondent says, "is destined soon to be a great source of wealth to the enterprising people of that section of the State. The mine is inexhaustible, yielding 33 per cent pure copper of a superior quality, which, with the expense of one cent the pound for transportation, can be brought to Boston in any quantity. The expense of working the mine, if left to the hardy, enterprising, and inventive genius of the people of New-Hampshire, will be so small that nothing need be feared from competition, foreign or domestic."

From the Baltimore American.  
**The Protective Policy.**

**MR. KENNEDY'S LETTER.**—The views contained in the subjoined extracts from Mr. KENNEDY'S letter to his constituents are such as claim the attention of American statesmen who would act worthily of the name; they are such also as ought to be familiar to the minds of the American people.

Separated as we are from Europe not less by the ocean that rolls between than by the differences of institutions that severally prevail on the different shores of the Atlantic, it belongs to us especially to take care of the great trust committed to our keeping. The guardianship of the rights of man is vested in this Republic of the West. In meeting the peculiar responsibilities of this trust, we can expect no sympathy from monarchical Europe. A *Home Policy* is then most especially our true policy. We were warned long ago by one whose warnings were never given without cause, without a heart-felt solicitude for the country's welfare—we were warned by WASHINGTON against entangling alliances with foreign nations. A commercial subjection to foreign nations is a most hurtful species of alliance; it imposes a state of colonial dependence. When Lord CHATHAM—who with all his noble advocacy of the political rights of America, was a genuine Englishman at heart—declared that the colonists ought not to be allowed to manufacture a hobnail for themselves, he indicated very clearly the sort of benefits which England has received from her North American dependencies. The Revolution gave us our political rights—but the shackles of commercial subjection are not broken to this day. If we continue to look to England for our manufactures, for supplies of indispensable articles, the United States will contribute far more to the wealth and power of England than ever the thirteen Colonies of North America did.

Our independence to be complete must be established throughout our commercial as well as our political relations. The Republic must stand upon a basis all its own. Upon home resources and domestic energies must be our reliance. Who knows how soon the time may come when Freedom shall call upon her children to stand forth in her defence! If convulsions should shake the nations of Europe, and the party of the people in England, France, and Germany, should rise for one struggle more against the consolidated powers of hereditary governments, the jealous eyes of every ruling dynasty would glance across the Atlantic in fear that American sympathies and American example might give potential aid to the revolted masses at home. In such a crisis, too, how fatal a blow might be struck at the cause of free institutions by a successful attempt to prostrate the energies of this Republic!

But we need not pursue this speculation. The considerations which press upon us the necessity of a home policy upon an independent basis, are overwhelming in their force. Whether we should become participants in a European war for liberal principles, if such a war should arise, it may be left for time to disclose. But our duty to ourselves; to the free institutions which we have established; our obligations to mankind, the guardians of human liberty—demand of us a watchful care over those domestic resources and those native energies which must be our sole dependence in a crisis of difficulty.

Leaving these general views of the subject, we give place to Mr. KENNEDY'S judicious remarks, and commend them to the reader's attention:

"But I do not advocate the Protective Policy *primarily* because domestic competition reduces the price. I desire to lay no great stress on this advantage, although, undoubtedly, it is one worthy of high consideration. Incomparably above it is that sentiment of national independence which the Protective System nurses in the bosom of the people, by the conviction—the influence of which is almost inappreciable—that it secures to them, through all vicissitudes of national fortune, the possession of their own home market. It teaches every American citizen that the supply of his own country, with whatever commodity his skill or industry is capable of producing, is his peculium, as long as he is able to gratify the demand. I am not given to underrate the value of foreign commerce. No one can be disposed to cherish that interest more than myself; but I think it of the highest importance that the nation should be duly sensible of the vastly more engrossing value of our home trade. I have no space to go into detail upon this question. You may examine for yourselves. I would invite you to inquire into the aggregate of annual production, amounting to some twelve hundred millions; follow the distribution of that among seventeen millions of people; contemplate the capital employed in this production; the roads, canals, steam power, shipping, and machinery, constructed to circulate it ever and around our territory, by land, by lake, by river, and by sea; the number of persons actively engaged in these various occupations of creating, of factorage, exchange, and transport; and then compare the result of these investigations with all the similar material and equipage, the persons, the capital, and the occupations which compose the elements and the business of foreign trade."

After some well considered observations on foreign commerce, and the impossibility of extending it very far among nations possessing similar climates, equal facilities of productions, equal arts, and equal wants, Mr. KENNEDY proceeds:

"Who can compute at this day what is ultimately to be the value of our home market? I have said that our home trade is now ten-fold more valuable than our foreign. There was a time, in the earlier days of our Republic, when our foreign trade was perhaps the most valuable of the two—when the universal wars of Europe gave us the commercial harvest of the world.—That period has passed; and, as we have grown older, our internal traffic has daily advanced toward its present preponderance. That preponderance will continue to increase through centuries. When, instead of seventeen millions of people, this land shall nourish one hundred millions, with all their faculties and all their wants, what comparative estimate shall we make between the commerce that plies at home and that which seeks its gains abroad? When our coasting tonnage shall number eight and ten millions of tons; when railroads and canals shall be almost immeasurable; when cities shall lie as thickly along our three thousand miles of lake and our two thousand miles of sea coast, as they now stud the shores of Europe; when the characteristic ingenuity of our countrymen shall have turned all their power of water, of steam, and of machinery,

[C] their full account; when the solitudes of the far West shall be converted into luxuriant fields, and every valley shall contribute its multitudes of consumers, asking for the richest products of art, who will think of measuring the vast value of this vast home market with all that the rest of the globe can bring into competition with it? Look at Europe as it is, with all its refinement, its wants, and its power of supplying them; fancy that immense association of inhabitants brought within the dominion of one Government, enjoying equal laws and common privileges, exempt from war, and fortified by a common inviolability of property, and you may then form some idea of what the United States may be under a wise and steady adherence to that policy which directs all its vigor to the constitutional development of our native resources and the persevering protection of our domestic industry. That policy we began with our Government: let us not depart from it now. I wish this American field preserved for the American workman, as long as there is one to be found who can supply the country with a necessary or a luxury of life. After he is served, then let in the foreign product; but to our own artisan be the first fruits.

"I will not ask what is the cost of maintaining this policy. It is not to be measured by the arithmetic of money. I will not consent that it shall be determined by asking the question whether the foreign workman labors for lower wages than our own. The independence and the comfort of the United States shall never be weighed, in my mind, against the cheap attainment of luxuries. High wages are the peculiar blessing of our country.—It is through high wages that we make the laboring man a partner in the gains of the rich. They are the principal ingredient of that American System of which the scope and end are to secure the physical comfort of the working man, by affording him a full remuneration for his toil; yielding him time for mental and moral improvement, by which he shall be progressively lifted up into a higher scale of social respectability and usefulness; and identifying him with the prosperity and happiness of the nation, by causing him to feel that in promoting that prosperity he promoted his own. I do not wish to see his gains diluted or adulterated by the cheap labor of Europe. Our system is entirely different from that of the Old World. The working man here belongs to a body which constitutes nine-tenths of the nation—it is in fact the nation itself; and our policy, unlike that of the Old World, is to make this interest paramount to all others; not subordinate to any other class in the State. Thus, our American System becomes the only true and really democratic system of administration in the economy of our government."

☞ The Halifax Morning Post says, on the "best authority," that it is in contemplation to establish a line of steam communication between Boston and Quebec by the Great Western Steam Navigation Company, whose object will be to run the Great Western on the projected new line, so soon as the mammoth iron steamer, the Great Britain, is finished and ready to commence her trips between England and New-York

### The Tariff Among Farmers.

We find the following excellent letter, where we should never have thought of looking for it—in the *Washington Globe*. It commends itself to the common sense and prudence of every farmer in the country:

RIDGE-FARM, Vermillion Co. Illinois, }  
November 14, 1842. }

Messrs. Blair and Rives: Enclosed I send you a two dollar Indiana bill, for which I want the Congressional Globe and Appendix during the ensuing session of Congress. I received your Prospectus, and have showed it to my neighbors, but they have all made the excuse of hard times; several have said, "I would like to have the papers, but I have not the money." I live in the country, and my neighbors are all—yes, all—farmers; and you have no idea of the poverty of the farmers of Illinois. Allow me to tell you what labor it will cost me to pay you for the Congressional Globe and Appendix. Our most profitable business is raising wheat, which we carry in wagons one hundred and forty miles to Chicago, and there sell it for forty cents per bushel. A good two-horse team will draw twenty bushels and feed for the journey, and thus we go to market; camp out, and cook our own food. A load will bring eight dollars; we make a trip in two weeks. "Truly you have a hard row to hoe," you will say; "why don't you sell your wheat nearer home?" Allow me to tell you, that you could not cash a bushel of wheat in Vermillion county for twenty-five cents; so that, to raise two dollars, it would require eight bushels of wheat—the product of half an acre, and a week's labor; or, to raise that sum from pork, you must sell two hundred pounds.

Is this the point to which you politicians would merge the people? and will you claim to be one of us? Can you have a taste for a farmer's life, and be denied the luxury of reading the news? Can you promise us any thing better? will the triumphs of Democracy produce a better state of things? Did you ever ask yourself the question? Can we read the news by selling our produce in Europe? If no duty were laid on our wheat, beef, and pork, could we freight there, and pay freight back on manufactured goods? Say, can we then dress as you would wish to dress yourself and family, and read the news; or, should not the intelligent farmer be allowed the blessings and rational luxuries of other men? I wish not to impugn your motives, but, being a humble farmer, I wish to make a serious appeal to your reason. Will you make us prosperous by converting the whole people into a community of farmers?—When this is accomplished, I wonder who would buy our produce. Europe?—No. You surely know that Illinois alone could supply all Europe in wheat—that is, all the deficiency that has ever occurred. Humble as I am, allow me to give you my plan:

Keep out every article of foreign manufacture that can be made at home. Lay a Tariff—none of your mere incidental concerns; but one of real and substantial protection. Then nearly all our goods will be made at home, and thus an immediate check will be put to the present drain of specie; and we (the farmers) will have the exclusive privilege of feeding the men who manufacture our goods—a privilege guaranteed to the British farmer, but denied us. We cannot persuade the

British Parliament to abandon their corn laws and other protective regulations, because these regulations are real wealth to the landholders; and they have the sense to know it, and the influence to maintain their rights. But the American farmers, though a large majority of this boasted land of liberty, are the down-trodden class of society, and ever will be, while the present system of trade is submitted to. A bloated paper currency has prevented our seeing where we stood; but, thank God! that smoke has passed away, and we begin to see where we stand; and, before many years, will maintain our rights, regardless of all party names, or the flare-ups of Nullification. You, who boast yourself the people's friend, why not maintain the American farmer's rights, and teach him to know and stand by them? Now, gentlemen, if you should deride my crude notion in print, as one editor did, you will have the kindness to send me a copy. Yours, respectfully,

From the National Intelligencer.  
**The New Tariff.**

What is the proper character of this measure in reference to revenue and protection? It was framed with a view to raise a sufficient revenue, and at the same time to afford incidentally, but intentionally, an adequate protection to American industry. It has been assailed with a good deal of violence by certain partisan presses, and by interested individuals. The object of the present communication is an examination into the justice of these attacks, and an inquiry how far they are well founded.

It is true the bill passed both Houses of Congress by the smallest possible majorities, and after long discussion. But we should search in vain in those debates for many objections to its details. It was opposed in general terms as highly protective, instead of horizontal, in conformity with the compromise bill; as giving a bounty to the manufacturers at the expense of other interests; as interfering with the distribution of the public land; and as being too high for the purpose of revenue.

It is true that this bill supersedes the compromise act. It re-establishes the principle of incidental protection in the mode of levying duties on merchandise imported. Much discussion has been had whether protection should be incidental or intentional; but to my apprehension it is merely a dispute about words. All the positive protection which the reasonable advocates of the protective system have claimed is, that import duties for the support of the Government should be laid with discrimination, in a manner to favor and protect our own productions. This protection is incidental to this system of revenue, at the same time it is positive and incidental.

The object has been to apply this principle so as to protect all the great branches of industry; and the question is whether this bill does not fairly accomplish this object? It may here be observed that this is not introduced as a new principle. It is the policy which was introduced in 1816, and has been pursued by all our subsequent legislation.

The highest duty is upon the article of iron; this bears hardest upon the interest of navigation and upon manufactures generally; but it has already been considered a matter of national interest that we should ourselves furnish a supply of this article, so essential in war as well as peace, the

raw material of which exists in so great abundance in almost every part of our country. Besides, a great amount of capital has been invested in this branch of business, which would be sacrificed by the abandonment of the principle of protection. At the same time, such improvements are making in the application of anthracite coal as make it quite certain that, under the inducements to a further application of capital and skill, the price will be gradually but greatly reduced under a full domestic competition. After all, a great reduction has been made in the duties on this article. Rolled bar-iron, which pays the highest duty, having been reduced from \$30 in 1816, \$37 in 1824, \$30 in 1828 and 1832, to \$25 per ton.

The article next in general importance is wool, on which a high duty has been laid for many years, with a view to the protection of a great agricultural interest common to nearly all the States. This duty has been reduced from 40 per cent. and 4 cents a pound, in 1832, to 30 per cent. and 4 cents a pound. The protection of this article is interesting to nearly all the States, and to few more than to Virginia, who, by the last census, stands fifth in the wool-growing department.

The duty on salt has been reduced from 20 cents the bushel in 1816 to 8 cents in the present bill; and yet, for want of better grounds of objection, this reduced duty has been the object of particular attack, especially by Mr. Woodbury, in the Senate, who argued, with his peculiar logic, that this duty, combined with the existing reduction in price, was peculiarly and especially oppressive to the great farming interest. Another article on which the rate of duty is the highest is coal, but of which domestic competition is furnishing us an ample supply at low prices.

The foregoing enumeration shows how utterly groundless is the charge, so easily made, and so frequently repeated, that this bill has been framed with an especial and exclusive regard to the benefit of the manufacturing interests—meaning, it is presumed, those of cotton and wool. The highest of these is that on manufactures of wool—40 per cent. in the place of 50 per cent. under the act of 1832. The high duty on wool makes a high duty on its manufactures indispensable; and it is the opinion of practical men that under this bill we shall sell more importations of manufactured woollens than that of the raw material.

We now come to the manufacture of cottons, more important by far, in amount of capital invested and number of persons employed, than any other in the country. The duty on manufactures of cotton is 30 per cent., being the general rate of duty fixed by the Committee of Ways and Means on objects suited to revenue alone. This is an advance of 5 per cent. over the rate of duty in 1832. At the same time a reduction has been made in the minimums, from 30 cents the square yard to 20 cents on plain cottons, and from 35 to 30 on printed calicoes. The success of the cotton manufactures is the triumph of the protective principle. In all articles in common and general use the supply is more than sufficient for our own consumption, at prices intrinsically the cheapest of those supplied to any nation under the sun.—This being notoriously the case, the question is asked why fix so high a minimum? This is very fully explained in the memorial from Boston annexed to the report of the Committee on Manufactures.

The object of the minimum is to secure a *specific* duty on the finer branches of the manufacture, especially on the rich printed goods. Those are objects of fancy and luxury, and for the mere purpose of revenue, the most appropriate and well suited to the application of high rates of duty. This can only be accomplished by a specific duty in the form of a minimum.

Nothing can be more disingenuous than the pretence that this duty bears at all on the laboring classes, when it is perfectly notorious that in all branches of the cotton manufacture used for common purposes, we are supplied by our own manufacture better and intrinsically cheaper than we could be by any foreign importation; and that the domestic competition has reduced the profits of this branch of business below the average in other pursuits; in fact, at the present moment to nothing at all. The same object, of guarding the revenue against fraudulent invoices, led to a change in the form of the duty on silks to a specific duty, by weight, of two dollars fifty cents the pound, equal on the average to a duty of 25 per cent on the value. What speaks most in its favor is the fact that the change is approved by the American importers, whilst the foreign houses are full of denunciation and complaint.

But the view which seems to be most frequently presented and most generally received is, that this Tariff is too high for revenue by its tendency to check importation. This idea has been put forward with a good deal of assiduity, but is wholly false in point of fact, as can easily be shown. The best guide is our own experience, and we can appeal to that, which is perfectly conclusive.

Our highest rates of duty were under the Tariff of 1828. It went into operation at the commencement of a period of extreme depression, which terminated with the year 1830. The year 1831 is, therefore, a fair criterion of the operation of the high Tariff of 1828, so far as revenue is concerned—a Tariff much higher than the present.

The importations of that year amounted, according to the Treasury report, to \$103,191,124. The duties which accrued thereon, (see Doc. No. 3, 22d Cong.) to \$36,304,342 gross, or, deducting drawbacks and expenses of collection, to \$30,225,205 net revenue.—The import of one hundred and three millions was considered a very full one at that time, but is undoubtedly much below what may be now expected in future.

The Committee of Ways and Means based their calculations on the imports of 1840—\$109,000,000.—This was a year of light imports—the lightest of the last ten. The average of the next five years is more likely to exceed than fall short of \$120,000,000; the duties on which will exceed \$25,000,000, without including tea and coffee, on which a duty will probably be laid at the next session of Congress—a measure which the actual state of the Treasury renders highly expedient.

It is true that the revenue accruing during the year 1842 will be small, and that importation, rendered small by other causes, is in some degree still further checked by the existing Tariff; and that these checks will continue to operate during a part of the years 1843. But nothing could be more salutary than this check; the country was suffering under a plethora of goods of both foreign and domestic production. Every article of merchandise, with few if any exceptions, has been and

still is selling at a loss to the importer or manufacturer. In this state of things a check upon importation is the only remedy, the only road to a state of prosperity and free consumption, the only basis of a prosperous revenue. There are some who appear to be disappointed that the revival of trade has not been greater since the passage of the Tariff. Such complaints are unreasonable. Little more than two months have passed; a large portion of the country are hardly out of the last agony of the wretched suspension system; some States are yet debating whether they will not still prolong it by ruinous mis-called *relief* laws.

But the end has come. After a long and severe depression, in which confidence abused has been changed to general distrust, and courage has given place to timidity, the reaction is cautious and slow, but it is sure. It is as certain as the laws of Nature that the present check upon the importation of merchandise and the influx of specie are the immediate harbingers of returning confidence, prosperity, and increased consumption. So far, then, from the present check upon importation being unfavorable to the revenue, it is wholly the reverse. Had a large importation been allowed to come in under the temptation of low duties, in the actual state of the country, it would have produced a state of things which it is frightful to contemplate—a paralysis of industry which would still further have checked consumption for a long period, and for a small present modicum of revenue would have sacrificed that of future years to an amount infinitely greater. There is no greater mistake than that low prices of foreign products are in themselves favorable to revenue derived from imports. The only legitimate and certain sources of revenue are active and well paid industry, the parent of full consumption. For more than twenty-five years a direction has been given to this industry which has furnished the country with all the manufactures for common use in wool, cotton, glass, leather, paper, and iron. Our imports are in the finer branches of these manufactures, mostly consumed by the rich.

Now, nothing can be more evident than that a change in our Tariff which should paralyze his industry, would soon react upon and reduce a revenue levied upon the general consumption. The truth is, we shall be sure to import and consume the full amount of our surplus products, constituting our exports, and these will bear a proportion to our industry. We shall run into foreign luxuries as far as we have the means, and these are fit and proper subjects for high duties. I deny altogether that the present duties are so high as to check materially this consumption, or to encourage smuggling to any extent. There is nothing in our experience to warrant such a conclusion. Neither is there in the experience of other nations. What is there in our Tariff which bears any proportion to the duties in Peel's bill on tea, coffee, sugar, wines, spirits, &c? On the whole, it is not easy to perceive how a bill could have been framed for revenue alone which would have been more effective for that object. At the same time, it gives security to all the great branches of industry which have grown up under a policy which has more than realized all the productions of its founders. No doubt some changes may be required in an act comprising so many details. A modified warehousing system made a part of the original bill,

and should accompany a system of cash duties. Any radical change in the character or principle of the bill would be the greatest madness. All that is wanted is that it should be submitted to the test of

EXPERIENCE.

Boston, November, 1842.

From The Daily Tribune.

**Professor Potter's Lecture.**

Professor POTTER'S Lecture Tuesday night 27th ult. before the 'General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen' was an able and philosophical outline of the Rise and Progress of the Useful Arts; and the impressiveness of his delivery gave full effect to the force and polish of his style. He opened with an allusion to the progressive tendency of the age, which has produced within the last seventy-five years greater changes than were made in the preceding three hundred years. Among the many causes of this striking result, one of the most prominent is *INDUSTRY, as manifested in the Useful Arts*. A rich, and, as yet, almost untouched, subject is a sketch of this progress, under the form of a 'Material History.' One of the leading features of modern as contrasted with ancient industry is the substitution of intelligence for physical force—of mental for physical labor. The ancient temples are monuments of magnificence and patient toil, but the modern, by their profound study of the laws of material force, are enabled to produce equal effects with a tithe of the labor. The ancients found it so difficult to satisfy their wants that they called him wisest whose desires were fewest; but the moderns rather stimulate wants that they may have the pleasure as well as power to gratify them. The ancients contemned the study of bodily comfort, but the moderns remember that the soul has a clay tenement, which needs constant repair.

One striking effect of this change is a diminished respect for physical force, and an increased regard for mental strength. Men are no longer valued for their thews and sinews, and even battles are gained by skill and science. In all ages has the maxim that 'Knowledge is power' been true, but never so much as in the present day.

Another result is a combination of theory with practice. We now consider science and art as united and indivisible. Until lately they lived apart, took different routes, and were unfriendly, if not unknown, to each other. This happy union is in a great degree due to the father of inductive philosophy.

A third effect is that the Industrial arts are rendered more respectable. The ancients thought them degrading and fit only for slaves and women. As luxury and knowledge increased, they raised the arts to be the work of "freemen," till it was at last confessed that "the true end of all science is to enrich human life with useful inventions and arts." But the ancients thought not so. When Posidonius in a eulogy on philosophy ventured to attribute to her the discovery of the arch and of the working of metals, he was sharply rebuked by Seneca, who disclaimed for Democritus and An-

acharsis any such degrading credit. From the cant of this philosophy—which at the same time was praising poverty with two millions out at usury, and lauding virtue while defending parricide—it is delightful to turn to the great English philosophers.

Among the fruits of Science applied to the Arts we can enumerate lengthened life, diminished suffering, increased fertility of soil, guidance for the mariner, improved arms for the warrior, bridges over rivers and estuaries, protection from thunderbolts, illumination of darkness, extended vision, increased strength, annihilated distance; power to ascend into the air, to enter the depths of the sea, and to penetrate the interior of the earth; cars which fly without horses, and boats which move against the wind. These are only parts of its effects, for it is ever progressive. What was its goal to-day will be its starting-point to-morrow.

When we contrast the comforts and luxuries which are universally enjoyed at the present day with the condition of the people fifty years ago, we find a wonderful advance. It is but a hundred years since Prince George of Denmark, in his progress through England, could travel but nine miles in six hours, and then his carriage was saved from over-turning only by "the nimble boots of Sussex."

But if we go back to the times of Elizabeth, of Raleigh, Spencer, Sidney and Shakspeare—we find a still greater deficiency in domestic comfort. Beef and ale, for want of tea, formed the breakfast of the maids of honor of the Queen; potatoes were luxuries for the rich, and knit hose were sparingly used even by royalty. What then must it have been in earlier days, when it was a luxury to wash in rain-water and comb the hair once a day. If we go back to Greece, we admire the magnificence of her temples and statues, and thrill with her eloquence and poetry; but her citizens had no linen, no shoes nor stockings, no buttons on their coats, no stirrups nor saddles, no telescopes, and no wind or water-mills.

These physical gains of industry are not its only ones. It also advances man's moral welfare. The same power of steam serves to spread over the world the lessons of the wise and good, and to impel the vessel which bears the light of learning and Christianity to savage nations. The exercise of thought and trade, demanded by the gratification of our physical wants, developes also the higher faculties and sentiments. Agriculture, Manufactures, Architecture, all work for this end. Mind and matter, intellect and feeling, conscience and appetite, are so wisely intermingled that one is not developed without the other, and by a wondrous alchemy, the savage child of nature is transformed into the refined and civilized man. The first wants of man are of the earth, earthy, but their gratification demands labor and thought. Hence proceed the arts, science, government, jurisprudence, and finally literature and philosophy as crowning blessings.

The intercourse of nations is powerfully affected by the progress of industry. The steam engine, as well as the schoolmaster, is abroad. The cotton plant has been a great pacificator by supplying the poorer classes with a cheap decent fabric, and raising them in social rank, and giving them a taste for comfort, which leads them to avoid and detest war.

Another effect is increased economy by the powers of machinery, by substituting rapid, artificial for slow natural processes, and by the division of labor. The most worthless articles become useful materials. Rags make paper, and even sugar; bones supply grease, lamp-black, Glauber's salts, hartshorn and sal-ammoniac; and bread has been made of saw-dust.

Here examples teach us that the power of man over nature has scarcely any conceivable limit.—The next seventy years may be more prolific in discoveries and improvements than the last. Science has only commenced her career, and but prepared herself for still greater achievements. Our inquiry should now be, what part shall be taken by the mechanic and artisan of the United States? They are subject to no restrictions, no constraint on their exertions. A wide field is open before them. They have the privilege to select their occupation, and liberty to pursue it to the extent of their ability. They should study the laws of nature, especially those which apply particularly to their own art. They are within the reach of great powers, yet to be unfolded. It may be their lot to discover them, to become the teachers and benefactors of the world, and to tread in the footsteps of Franklin, of Whitney, and of Fulton.

**FREE TRADE FALLACIES.—ANECDOTE.**—The editor of the *Cleveland Herald*, after making some judicious remarks in reference to *Loco-Foco* and *Southern Free Trade* fallacies, tells the following rich anecdote to illustrate his subject:

We witnessed an amusing incident a few years since in the United States Senate, bearing upon this subject. John M. Niles, who was at the time a Senator from Connecticut, arose in his place and declared himself a friend of the poor, that he went for the great mass—that the common people were his chosen constituents, and finally concluded by offering a resolution, for the sole benefit of his poor constituency, as he said, calling for a *reduction of the duty on coal*. Well, the speech was the speech of a demagogue—he wished to be called the poor man's representative—the friend of the masses—the fearless champion of democracy—and this speech was published by the party at the time, as proof of their exclusive devotion to the common people.

After Mr. Senator Niles had proudly seated himself, one Daniel Webster, a Senator at that time from Massachusetts, leisurely arose, and drew from his drawer a printed document, and, without making the most distant allusion to Mr. Senator Niles's speech, stated that he would call the attention of the Senate a moment to said document.—It was the proceedings of a meeting of the creditors of the Duke of York, then recently held in London. The noble Duke was the brother of King George IV. and after spending a prodigal life, he died in debt to every one who trusted him, and insolvent to an astonishing amount. It seemed also that the noble Duke died seized of large tracts of *coal lands* in New Brunswick, which had been assigned to Trustees for the benefit of his creditors.

Now these noble creditors of a noble Duke had met to decide whether these *coal lands* should be sold at once, and the proceeds divided among creditors, or still longer held—whereupon it was solemnly declared that the *governmental policy of the United States was variable, fluctuating, and*

*unstable—that their Tariff was of uncertain continuance and of frequent modification—and that the duty on coal would probably soon be greatly reduced, if not entirely abolished—and then the noble Duke's creditors could open and work the late noble Duke's coal mines, monopolise the American coal market, and in a few years command their own price for coal!*

Therefore it was unanimously resolved by the said meeting of creditors, that the extensive *coal mines* of the late noble Duke of York should be withheld from sale, for the purpose and intent of soon monopolising the American coal trade as aforesaid.

Mr. Webster having gravely concluded the reading of said proceedings, as gravely addressed these words to the Chair:—"Mr. President, it would seem from the proceedings and resolutions which I have read, that the Senator from Connecticut, instead of being the representative of *any class or grade* of American citizens, upon this floor, and upon this question, is in truth and in fact the *representative of the creditors of the late noble Duke of York!*"

The application was withering, and the rebuke of the demagogue overpowering. There was an irrepressible burst of approbation from the Senators and gallery, and poor Doctor Niles's anxiety about the *duty on coal* was forever hushed in sleep.

#### Soils.

The following description of the different kinds of soils and of the proper methods for ensuring fertility for each possesses considerable interest for all engaged in Agriculture. It is copied from *Johnson's Agricultural Husbandry*:

The soil, or that earthy substance with which the dry land is in most parts covered, forms more particularly the material on which the agriculturist has to operate. An investigation of its various qualities is absolutely necessary for all who would conduct farming business in an enlightened and liberal manner.

The soil is mainly composed of particles which have been disengaged by various means in the course of time from the rocks on which it rests. In some instances, and more particularly on hills, it is composed in the main of pulverized materials from the rocks immediately beneath; but in many others, the pulverized matter has been washed down from high into low grounds, or transported by floods from great distances. The action of air and water on rocks in dissolving them, and the power of the latter element in transporting the disengaged particles, are the chief causes of the present arrangements of the soil.

Notwithstanding the different appearances which the earthy covering of the globe exhibits, it is composed almost entirely of four substances formed by an original union of simple elementary matters. These four substances, washed at a former period from rocks, and called primitive earths, are *clay*, *sand*, *lime*, and *magnesia*. It is by the due combination of these that fertility ensues. We shall describe them separately.

**CLAY.**—Clay, or, as it is often called, allumina, or argillaceous earth; is easily distinguishable. It is a compact substance, which absorbs water slowly, and when moistened throughout is soft, pliant, and exceedingly tough or tenacious. In its



ordinary condition it is so close in texture as to prevent the penetration of the roots of plants, and therefore is a serious obstacle to vegetations. Clay is one of the most obdurate and worst kinds of soil upon which a farmer is called to operate. If it rest on a substratum of gravel, or friable rock, or sand, it admits of easy melioration; but this is seldom the case; it too frequently rests on a cold and still more compact dark clay, called *till*, which is so close that no water can sink through it.

A clayed soil may be meliorated by a due mixture of sand or any other light substance, which will serve to sheer down its particles and keep them apart from each other. All kinds of calcareous manures, ashes, and the loose dung swept from the streets of towns, peat, and farm-yard manure, are serviceable in mingling with clayey soils, and bringing them up to a proper state of fertility. When so improved, they are calculated to yield good crops of beans, wheat, oats, clover, and Swedish turnips. They likewise answer well for meadow lands or pasturage. Clay soils ought, if possible, to be ploughed up before winter sets in, in order to expose the furrows to the action of the frost, which mellows and brays down the tenacious clods.

**SAND.**—Sand or gravel, called sometimes *silex*, *silica*, silicious matter, or earth of flints is distinguished by properties of a totally opposite character from clay. It has little or no cohesion among its parts; is incapable of retaining moisture; and powerfully promotes putrefaction, but permits the gases to escape. Sand is thus a corrector of alumine. These two earths may indeed be classed amongst the contending elements, of which a union heightens their common virtues, and rectifies and subdues their respective defects.

The bulk of the soil, generally, is composed of sand, to the extent of from four to seven-eighths of the mass. Sir Humphry Davy observes that "the term sandy should never be applied to any soil that does not contain at least seven-eighths of sand;" also, that "sandy soils which effervesce with acids should be called by the name of calcareous sandy soil, to distinguish them from those that are silicious."

We are informed by Sir John Sinclair that "the best mode of improving the texture of a sandy soil, deficient in retentive or adhesive properties, is by a mixture of clay, marl, warp (the sediment of navigable rivers,) sea-ooze, sea shells, peat, or vegetable earth. Even light sandy soils are thus rendered retentive of moisture or manure. In some parts of Norfolk the farmers have availed themselves of these auxiliaries for improving a sandy soil, in an eminent degree. They have thus entirely changed the nature of the soil; and by the continuation of judicious management, has given a degree of fame to the husbandry of that district, far surpassing that of others naturally more fertile."

If the farmer of a sandy soil should possess the means of giving it a top dressing of brayed down or broken peat, he will find it to be attended with good effects; in general, the material of improvement are obtained with little difficulty. When properly prepared, a sandy soil is one of the most valuable which can be worked. It will produce good crops of common turnips, potatoes, carrots, barley, rye, buck-wheat, peas, clover, and samfrin,

and other grasses. It seldom possesses sufficient strength for wheat, beans, or flax.

Crops on sandy soils are easily injured by drought, as the moisture too readily evaporates from the open particles. This may be in some measure remedied by deep ploughing, which has the effect of preserving a due degree of moisture in the substratum as a reservoir for the plants. To assist further in preserving the moisture in the soil, any small stones which lie on the surface should not be picked off. In rainy climates, or when the soil rests on retentive clay, such expedients may not be necessary.

Gravelly soils are similar in character to those which are sandy, and equally require the administration of materials to give tenacity to the mass, also a due supply of compost manure. Both sandy and gravelly soils should have frequent returns of grass crops.

**LIME.**—Lime, commonly called calcareous earth, is never found naturally in a pure state, but in combination with the acid—chiefly with the carbonic, for which it has so strong an affinity that it attracts it from the air. The burning of limestone is undertaken for no other purpose than to expel by heat this gas, and reduce the base to a caustic powder, in which state it has a strong tendency to absorb first moisture, and then the carbonic acid of which it had been deprived. Lime blends the qualities of clay and sand, occupying a middle place between the two. In its caustic state it is a powerful promoter of putrefaction, or decomposer of animal or vegetable matter, to which circumstance is owing, to a certain extent, its efficacy as a manure. Lime also helps to fix the carbonic acid which is generated by the fermentation of putrescent manures in the soil, or which floats in the air on the surface of the earth, and it freely imparts this gas, in union with water, for the nourishment of plants. Lime is therefore an extremely valuable ingredient to the farmer; and, accordingly, wherever agriculture is carried on with spirit, it is eagerly sought after, though it sometimes bears a very high price.

**MAGNESIA.**—Magnesia is a primitive earth found in some soils, but in a much smaller portion than the above three. Its properties are nearly analogous to those of lime, but of doubtful value, and it is certainly injurious when mingled in large quantities with the other earths.

On analyzing the various soils and subsoils, they have been found to resolve themselves into one or more of the foregoing primitive earths; and their barrenness or fertility has in no small degree depended on the mixing and assorting of these ingredients. Some soils are called *loams*; a loam, however, is by no means a distinct body, but is a combination of clay, sand, or calcareous matter. Some loams are denominated *clayey*, from the excess of argillaceous matter; others open and light, from the preponderance of sand. In fact, these two original ingredients seem capable of being compounded in such an infinite variety of ways, as to give occasion to that diversified texture of soils met with in all countries and all situations.

Besides these four primitive earths, which constitute equally the soil and subsoil, the upper of these, or mould, contains the putrid relics of organized substances that have grown or decayed upon it, or have been conveyed thither in the progress

of cultivation. The decomposition of these is the proximate cause of fertility; and the richness of soils bears reference to the relative quantities. The residual earth remaining after the process of dissolution, is extremely light in weight and always of a blackish color. It is owing to this that a garden, which has been under long continued culture, approaches to a black shade, progressively deepening according to the abundance of this matter. In addition, nearly all soils are found to contain certain various chemical compounds, mineral salts, and metallic oxides; some of which are beneficial, others harmless, and a few injurious, to vegetation, and which either pre-existed in the strata from which the surface has been formed, or have been carried to it by subterranean springs, or by factitious causes.

The nature of soils is sometimes indicated by the kind of vegetables which they appear spontaneously to produce. This, however, is not a safe test of the nature of soils, or rather of what can be produced from them in a state of tillage; for the seeds of weeds which grew upon uncultivated ground, may have floated to them from a distance and vegetated where they have chanced to fall. All that can usually be expected from this kind of investigation is whether the field be moist or dry, as for instance, rushes will invariably indicate superabundant moisture and a necessity for draining. The quantity of herbage or plants produced in a state of nature will also serve as a test of the soil and its capacity for production. A surface which exhibits thin scanty herbage is a sure indication of poverty of soil, or a defect of moisture in the climate. After a wet season a thin poor soil may afford luxuriant vegetation, and a clay soil the reverse; the previous state of the weather, therefore, must be taken into account in judging of soils and their spontaneous products.

Soils differ considerably in color. There are dark or blackish, reddish, brown, and whitish soils, each color being an indication of the soil or subsoil. The best soils are uniform in color, not mottled. The reddish appearance in some soils is caused by a combination of iron or ferruginous matter, but this is not found to impair fertility. The depth of soil is of as much importance as either its quality or color. With a shallow soil it is impossible to cultivate to advantage tap or tuberoot vegetables, such as carrots, turnips, or potatoes, for these extend their roots to a considerable depth. There is likewise not a sufficiency of substance to retain moisture. Shallowness of soil may in some instances be remedied by the use of the subsoil plough, which loosens the retentive substratum, and prepares it for being turned up at a fitting season to increase the quantity of available soil.

**ACCIDENTAL POISONING.**—It is well known that a salve for the cure of chaps and wounds is often made of virginia wax and oil, and some families who live at a distance from an apothecary, make this medicine at the moment it is wanted, by taking a wax candle and melting it in oil. In employing this remedy made of a candle, a person is said to have been recently poisoned in France. It is therefore not astonishing that arsenic, which penetrates even by friction, can have a poisonous effect when applied to the raw flesh,

### Improvement in Agriculture.

HON. WM. C. RIVES, United States Senator from Virginia, recently delivered an address before the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, of which he is President. The address is a beautiful production, and we commend the following extracts from it to the attention of our readers in town and country. It cannot be denied that Mr. Rives enjoys a high reputation as a statesman and orator, but we must confess that his position as the President of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle is no less honorable, in our eyes, than his station of Senator; and that his reputation as a scientific and practical farmer, is as enviable in its more limited sphere, as any that can well be gained at the bar or in the public councils:

"A public endowment, under the patronage of the State, for instruction in the principles and practice of agriculture, is imperatively due to that great class of the community, which is immediately connected with the cultivation of the earth. We have, in great number, schools of law, schools of medicine, schools of general literature, but none of Agriculture. Why is this? The recent census shows that the number of persons engaged in agriculture is four times the number engaged in commerce, manufacture, the learned professions, and trades of every description, all put together. Does not every consideration of policy and justice, then, require the provision of some means of professional education in an art, to which so predominant and vital a portion of the industry and worth of the country is devoted? Is agriculture alone to be degraded into a vulgar and empirical pursuit, which requires no liberal instruction? On the contrary, there is no other profession, I will venture to affirm, which demands, for its intelligent exercise, so wide a range of scientific knowledge. It embraces within its scope, by a direct and necessary dependence, the domain of chemistry, botany, vegetable physiology, geology, mineralogy, meteorology, zoology, mechanical philosophy, not to speak of the moral and political sciences, which have so important a bearing, in many respects, upon some of its highest interests. To which of the learned professions, so called, I would ask, is so large a group of kindred sciences associated in such close and intimate relationship.

"These considerations are making themselves daily more and more felt, and are arousing public attention, in every enlightened community, to the just claims of agricultural education. A professorship of agriculture has been long since established in the universities of Edinburgh and Dublin; and from the former has recently proceeded one of the most valuable works on the 'Elements of Practical Agriculture,' ever published. If distinct professorships of agriculture have not yet been founded in the English universities, arrangements are in progress for establishing them; and in the meantime lectures of distinguished ability have been delivered on the subject by some of their learned professors, among which it would be inexcusable not to mention particularly the lectures of professor Daubeny, of the University of Oxford. It is time that Virginia should acquit herself of the debt which every enlightened and especially every republican Commonwealth owes to this great primordial interest of society. We must have a pro-

fessorship of agriculture in our university, as a part of the general course of liberal studies, to furnish our young men, when they quit its walls, with a competent knowledge of the principles of a profession which so many of them embrace in after life. In addition to this, there should be established in connection with the university, a special Agricultural Institute, designed for those who might not wish or find it convenient to follow the general course of university studies; but whose object would be to acquire, in shorter time or at less expense, the professional education of an instructed agriculturist, as well as the general accomplishments of an intelligent and useful citizen. In this department, theory and practice should go hand in hand; and for that purpose a model and experimental farm should be attached to the Institute, to be conducted under the most skillful supervision and management, and to afford examples of the most improved methods of culture and fertilization.

"Of such an institution, a perfect exemplar, tested by forty years of successful experience, is presented to us in the admirable and celebrated establishment of Von Fellenberg at Hofwyl, in Switzerland. I am spared the necessity of details in the development of this suggestion, by simply referring to that well-known establishment as a general model; admitting readily of modifications where a difference of circumstances may be supposed to require them. It was my good fortune, during my residence in Europe, to visit a classic spot, and I can safely say that I saw nothing in the palaces of Kings, in the museums of the fine arts, in the gorgeous displays of wealth and power on every hand, which impressed me with half the admiration I felt in contemplating the modest but noble establishment of the Swiss republican patriot and sage. Agriculture he chose as the basis of his enterprise; and by the happy combination, in the training of his pupils, of intellectual and bodily labor, mutually relieving and giving zest to each other, he has achieved those prodigies of moral and physical improvement, which have drawn upon his institution the earnest attention and applause of the civilized world. It has furnished to Continental Europe the best methods of its agriculture, while it has sent forth into its various States and Kingdoms some of their most useful, virtuous, and enlightened citizens. At the same time, the modern farm Hofwyl stands a proud refutation of all the stereotyped satire, so frequently indulged, on scientific farming, as the accounts of the establishment, kept with minute mercantile exactness, disclose, through a series of years, a net profit of 8½ per cent. upon the whole capital employed—a rate of profit with which, I venture to say, any of us practical farmers would be more than content.

"No man should be content simply to preserve his lands in the condition in which they are. The poor should be made rich, and the rich richer; and such is the efficacy of artificial means of improvement that what was originally the poorest land in Europe, (I refer to the light sandy soils of Flanders,) is now probably the richest; so that Flemish husbandry has become synonymous with the perfection of fertility and productiveness. In effecting this extraordinary triumph over the disadvantages of nature, much, doubtless, has been done by good tillage, deep ploughing, thorough

draining, and a judicious rotation of crops; but the most efficient agent has been the minute care in collecting and preserving, and unwearied diligence in the application of manures. These, indeed, in connection with proper culture, are the 'charms and mighty magic' by which the wondrous-working power of agricultural improvement has everywhere wrought its miracles. It is alike curious and encouraging to observe how the catalogue of these precious resources is daily extending by the discoveries of modern science, and the inquisitive spirit of the human mind. In addition to the numerous class of vegetable and animal manures, so long known, and those virtues have been tested by centuries of experience, it is now discovered that the respective compounds of lime and magnesia in bones, and the peculiar chemical affinities of charcoal powder and soot, have placed them high on the list of valuable fertilizers. But it is chiefly in the wide field of mineral manures and in the bowels of the earth, that the researches of the chemist and the geologist are from time to time unfolding new resources for stimulating and increasing the productiveness of its surface.

"Being somewhat of a pioneer in the lime husbandry in this portion of the State, I feel myself called on, gentlemen, to give you the result of my experience. I have used about 12,000 bushels of it, (slaked measure,) from a quarry opened for the purpose on my own land, which has been spread over about 150 acres, at an average, therefore, of 80 bushels to the acre. Some accounts which I had read of its effects elsewhere, not expressed with the accuracy and discrimination so much to be desired in such communications, had led me to expect a decided effect from it upon the growing crop, by which I mean the crop of either corn or wheat immediately succeeding the application of the lime. In this, I was disappointed; but the discrepancy is probably accounted for by the fact that I have not hitherto used lime in combination with putrescent manures from the farm-yard or the stable, while others have most probably done so; though that circumstance was not noticed in the communications to which I refer. My first disappointment, however, in regard to the effects of the growing crop, was more than compensated by the marked, unequivocal, and decided effect I have never failed to perceive from the lime alone in the clover succeeding the wheat crop, with which it has been my general practice to apply the lime at the time of seeding, harrowing in the lime and wheat at the same operation. The increased luxuriance of the clover has furnished, of course, conclusive evidence of the improvement of the land from the application of the lime, and has in its turn insured to the still further melioration of the soil. All my observations in regard to lime would lead me to the opinion that it is the most permanent of all manures, and to concur in the conclusion so forcibly stated by Dr. James Anderson, one of the most copious and able of all the British writers on agriculture, who in his first valuable 'Essay on Lime,' says, 'that its effect on the soil will be felt, perhaps, as long as the soil exists;' and this conclusion he justifies by the mode of its action, altering the nature and constitution of the soil itself, and endowing it with capacities and affinities which it never before possessed. My applications of lime have been almost entirely upon a close gravelly loam, of a brownish

or gray color; and the result of a single experiment on land of a different description would lead me to believe that it is not adapted to the red ferruginous clay soils of the side and base of our southwest mountains. It is a proverb in England and Scotland—

'He that marls sand  
Will soon buy land;  
But he that marls clay  
Throws all away.'

"The reason that Dr. Anderson suggests for the comparative inefficiency of marl on clay soils is, that clay forms a large portion of marl, and the addition of clay to clay, therefore, cannot be expected to produce so good an effect. The same reasoning would furnish a solution of the supposed want of adaptation of lime to the red clay soils of the southwest mountains proper, and of its unquestionable efficacy on the adjacent gray loams, as a chemical analysis of the two soils has, I understand, disclosed the existence already of two per cent. of lime in the former, and of hardly any sensible quantity whatever in the latter.

"Nothing can be more certain than the highly beneficial effects of lime as a manure, on a large majority of our soils; in which, according to an analysis, by Mr. Ruffin, of as many as sixteen different specimens taken from various and different parts of the State, lime is very rarely ever found as a natural ingredient. The important practical question then, is, whether the expense of the application is justified by the benefit of the manure? This is a question which every person must determine for himself, according to his particular position, and his own views of profit and loss. For myself, I will only say that I have always found the best application I could make of money derived from the land was to return it back to the land in the shape of improvement. There is no investment of capital that can be more safe, and in ninety-nine out of one hundred cases, none half so profitable. If by laying out \$5 in manure on an acre of land, you make it produce twenty bushels of wheat, worth a dollar a bushel, when it produced but five bushels before, and this product is renewed to you every four years in an ordinary rotation of crops, have you not secured an interest of four hundred per cent. on the outlay you have made, and at the same time increased the value of your land four hundred per cent? And yet results such as these, extravagant as they may seem, and though we may be unconscious of them ourselves, are often achieved by a liberal and spirited system of improvement. The passion of us Virginia farmers is to acquire more land, not to make the land we already possess more productive. If a farmer should add yearly to his possessions a hundred acres of land, he would doubtless consider himself getting along very prosperously in the world. But if at no greater expense he can make a hundred acres of land twice or thrice as productive as they were before, is he not doing much better, with the great advantage of having a more compact surface on which to concentrate his labor and care?

"Should any one doubt whether we should derive from the reduced surface, better cultivated, a product equal to that of the whole under inadequate culture, let him recollect the instructive story told by old Columella, in *De Re Rustica*, of a Roman vine-dresser, who had a vineyard and two

daughters; when his eldest daughter was married, he gave her a third of the vineyard for a portion, and yet he had the same quantity of fruit as before; when his second daughter was married, he gave her half of what remained, and still the produce of his vineyard was undiminished."

#### From the Troy Daily Whig. The Business of Farming.

The Pennsylvania Inquirer lately contained an interesting letter from a Lancaster county Farmer, detailing with great minuteness the average profits of a farm of 100 acres in that celebrated agricultural district. This letter, as we learn from the Inquirer, "has attracted no little attention, and our correspondent, who, as we before observed, is one of the ablest men in Pennsylvania, has been applied to by a gentleman to take one of his sons to learn the business of agriculture."

The same journal in reference to this fact makes the following remarks:

"The fact has induced us to reflect a little, and the idea has been suggested, that the business of farming might readily be raised from its present position to the dignity of a regular profession.— That it ought to be a profession, resting its practice upon sound theory, and basing its theory upon the facts, principles and deductions of science, requires no argument. Our correspondent, moreover, seems to us just the man for such an enterprise. We know him to be thoroughly qualified, and beg him to turn the matter over in his mind. He is a gentleman and a scholar, acquainted with Latin, French, German, perfectly familiar with our State and National laws, and withal, a thorough and Practical Farmer, and now devoted almost exclusively to agricultural pursuits. He is, moreover, the head of a family, having a wife and several children; and his farm of more than 100 acres, is one of the finest in Lancaster county. It seems to us, indeed, that he is abundantly qualified for such an undertaking as we have alluded to, not only by habits, education and experience, but by position. We may be mistaken, but we think there are many gentlemen in Philadelphia, who would eagerly seize upon such an opportunity of educating their sons; for we would not have the whole time of the lads devoted to agriculture, but a fair proportion to the acquisition of a sound classical, mathematical and scientific education.— We know dozens of individuals in this community at the present time, who would readily purchase farms, and pass the remainder of their days in country life; but that they lack an adequate knowledge of the Business of Agriculture."

In the suggestions of our contemporary we heartily concur; having long been of the opinion that the Science of Agriculture should be taught with as much care as any other science. In Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe, young men are educated for the profession of Agriculture in the same manner as they are educated for any other profession; and it is thorough training doubtless, which chiefly renders European Farmers so immeasurably superior as a class, to the American Farmers, so far as skill, economy, and a judicious and remunerative system of cultivation are concerned. An English friend of ours informs us that his father paid \$1500 to have him instructed in the business of farming. Had he paid \$15,000 it would have been money well expended, judging from the skillful manner in which his son conducts

his farming operations, and the profits he makes even in these times of low prices.

The present depressed state of Commerce will doubtless induce many persons of moderate means to remove from our cities, and become farmers in the country. Such persons are generally men of intelligence and refinement, and therefore capable of proving valuable acquisitions to any community. And if they enter upon their new occupation with a proper zeal and determination, will soon acquire a high standing in it. Many of these men were originally from the country—the sons of industrious farmers,—but, dazzled by the brilliant appearance of Broadway or Chesnut-street, on their first visit to the city, and smitten with a desire to make a fortune by trade, they renounced, what then seemed the ignoble profession of Agriculture, shook off the dust of their native valley from their feet, and were soon ensconced, with pen behind the ear, on a high stool in some city merchant's counting-room. Time rolls on. The stripling has become a man. Fortune has prospered with him. From small beginnings he has acquired a large estate. Rich argosies are his, freighted with the products of every clime. He becomes ambitious of a fashionable reputation, and marries the daughter of old Snobbs, a retired tallow-chandler, for the sake of getting into 'good society.' He builds an elegant house 'up town'; furnishes it in the style *de rennaissance*; sets up his carriage, and, at the urgent solicitation of his silly wife, dresses his servants in liveries of light blue and silver. Children spring up about him. For the daughters is selected, as French governess, some half-educated waiting-maid who passes for one of the emigrant *noblesse*. For his sons, as tutor, a cunning and profligate Englishman, to whom the well-stored wine-cellar of their father forms by no means a slight attraction. Under such favorable auspices the education of the young people is, of course, conducted upon the true fashionable plan. The girls manage to acquire sufficient French to read the corrupt novels of Madame Dudevant, which are furnished them by their governess, and the boys Latin enough to conjugate *bibo*, in all its modes and tenses. All this time the good man of the house plods on in his never-ending, still-beginning labor of amassing wealth. At last he is worth a million. At least, the World says so. He begins to talk of retiring,—when lo! there comes a frost—a *nipping* frost, which, in one short night, causes all his brilliant prospects to vanish into thin air. He is a beggar, or nearly so; the prime of his life is gone; and his fashionable sons and daughters, instead of being able to contribute to his support, only render his troubles greater by the thought that they, brought up in luxury, are totally unfitted to wrestle with the storms of this working-day world. Now it is that his mind reverts to his early childhood, and the scenes amid which his youth was passed; and, as he reflects upon the happiness and independence which pervade his native valley, he curses the hour when, yielding to the seductive blandishments of Fortune, he forsook the slow but certain gains of Agriculture for the more showy but less substantial returns of Commerce. Broken in spirit and soured in temper, he at last, if he have friends at Court, obtains a subordinate office in the Custom-House or some other branch of the Public Service, on the scanty income of which he drags out a miserable existence, the privations of which are not at all

alleviated by the incessant reproaches of the once amiable Miss Snobbs, for having spent her fortune—the savings of old Snobbs having gone the same way with his own hard earnings. If we add to this, that his sons have resorted to dishonorable courses for a livelihood, and his daughters, being too proud to work and too ignorant to teach, have either gone upon the stage or else remain a burden on his hands at home, the picture will be complete.

This is no fancy sketch. The original of it may be found in almost every street in our large commercial cities; affording a striking commentary upon the instability of mercantile pursuits, and teaching a stern lesson to those who would abandon the soil, from which, with industry, they are certain of gaining an independence, and, dazzled by what seems to their inexperienced vision the unalloyed brilliancy of a city life, launch rashly forth upon a sea thickly strewn with the wrecks of former adventurers, once as sanguine and as light-hearted as themselves.

From the Newburg Gazette.

#### The American System.

During our Colonial dependence upon Great Britain, one object which excited her early attention, was the prohibition of Colonial Manufactures. This measure was enforced with the design of retaining us in subjection to the Mother Country, and to involve us in a dependence upon that country for the prime necessities of life.

That the opponents of the "American system" may see that their views are identical with the British Colonial policy, I shall quote an English writer, who illustrates that policy; and after giving it a full explanation, proceed to show that Great Britain now desires to continue our dependence upon her, by persuading us to adopt the principles of "Free Trade."

An English work published in 1750, treating upon the trade and navigation of Great Britain, contains:

"Our Colonies are much in the same state Ireland was in when they began the woollen manufactory, and as their numbers increase will fall upon manufactures for clothing themselves. A little regulation would remove all this out of the way.

"It is proposed that they shall for time to come never erect the manufacture of nails, under the size of a two shilling nail, horse nails excepted, that all slitting mills, and engines for drawing wire, or weaving stockings be put down, that they also be prohibited from manufacturing hats, stockings or leather of any kind.

"If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations, and our own, it will appear that not one-fourth part of their products redounds to their own profit, for out of all that comes here they only carry back clothing and other accommodations for their families, all of which is of the merchandize and manufacture of this kingdom.

"The Colonies have not commodities and products enough to send us in return for purchasing their necessary clothing, but are under very great difficulties, and therefore any ordinary sort sell with them, and when they have grown out of fashion with us, they are new-fashioned enough there."

England, acting upon this policy, passed a law by which American subjects were forbidden to make hats for themselves of the furs of their own country; also, another act, by which the iron, taken from the soil of their own possessions, they were forbidden to manufacture, and were com-

pelled to send it across the Atlantic to support the machinery of the Island of Great Britain.

In 1699 Parliament declared "that no wool, yarn, or woollen manufactures of their American Plantations should be shipped there, or even laden in order to be transported from thence to any place whatever." In 1734 complaints were made in England that the Colonists made their own woollen hats, and a report was made in Parliament stating that they were taking to the manufacture of woollens and recommending that "an early stop be put to their progress." Lord Chatham remarked "he would not have the Americans to make a hob-nail, nor even a razor to shave their beards."

These restrictions upon American Industry were a source of wealth to England, while, at the same time, they operated as a drain to our prosperity. The year preceding the Revolution, our exports to Great Britain amounted to a million and a half; while the imports to Great Britain reached to three and a half millions—leaving a balance of two millions in favor of England to be liquidated by a drain of our gold and silver coin, and by much exertion and difficulty.

This state of things led to the first essay on the part of the Colonists to oppose the designs of England, and to establish an "AMERICAN SYSTEM" in opposition to it. Our patriot fathers formed private associations to discourage the importation of British goods, and to promote the use of domestic manufactures—to such an extent was this principle carried, that a coat of English cloth became an emblem of disgrace, and whoever, in defiance of popular feelings, clothed himself in British manufactures was exposed to popular insults and violence.

When the news reached England, she accused us of "aiming at independence," and proceeded to further restrictions, until aggravated by repeated insults and impositions an appeal was made to arms. Of the result, we are all acquainted. After a seven years struggle, the American Colonies became independent States—politically free and independent of Great Britain. She acknowledged her independence, but, at the same time, by negotiation, and the adoption of certain policies of trade, &c., endeavored to keep us dependent on her for our supply of the necessities of life.

This she could not accomplish by direct legislation, but what she could not do directly, she did indirectly. She prohibited our trade with her Colonies—discouraged our navigation by imposing discriminating duties upon our tonnage—and prohibited or burdened with excessive duties every production of our industry that reached her shores.

It was then, as ever, her policy to supply herself and the world, with the creations of her own industry—to buy nothing which she could produce, and to sell every thing which she could induce others to purchase.

In pursuance of this policy, she immediately after acknowledging our independence, disgorged upon us her stores of merchandise and manufactures, with the express purpose of annihilating all our manufactures that may have sprung up during our struggle for liberty:

Our statement, seeing the operation of this policy upon our industry, and prosperity as a people, recommended to the States, the adoption of an "AMERICAN SYSTEM" to protect and encourage

domestic manufactures. They insisted upon this as the only way to secure a full and perfect independence from foreign nations. JUVENIS.

From the Lincoln Telegraph.  
**The Far West.**

The borders of all the rivers, and smaller water courses in Illinois, are densely covered with wood for a greater or less distance; and there are also very extensive tracts of upland in the State, covered with a heavy growth of wood; all of which is included in the general appellation of timberlands.

These forests present some of the most magnificent specimens of the oak, sycamore, and many other species of trees, that are to be found in the United States, and perhaps in the world. White-oak trees sixteen feet in circumference at the height of five feet from the ground, have come under my own observation, and I have been informed of others that were much larger. Indeed nothing is more common than white oaks of twelve and fourteen feet in circumference, with the lowest branches fifty or sixty feet from the ground, whose trunks are as straight, and fair, and as little tapering as those of white pine. The largest sycamore on Boston Common, or on the Battery at New-York, are but pigmies in comparison to those commonly seen in the western forests. Some specimens have been found that would measure above forty feet in circumference, at some distance from the ground.

Nearly every species of *deciduous* trees that is common to the temperate zone, may be found in the forests of the far West; but no pine, hemlock, spruce nor any other *evergreen* tree is indigenous in all that extensive region, the northern parts of Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa excepted.

Besides the splendid display of the forest trees, nature has bestowed on that region many kinds of excellent fruit, particularly grapes, and plums in great variety and profusion, and the paupaw or custard apple, which grows upon trees about the size of the common cherry, and receives the latter appellation from the resemblance its pulp bears in color, and consistence, to a custard. Its usual size is that of a big apple, or to speak more definitely, a considerable piece of chalk, which it resembles also in form, being very regular in that respect; sometimes appearing of the shape of an apple, but generally quite elongated. This fruit is very much admired by some, and is held in equal detestation by others when first used, but a taste for it is soon acquired by almost every one. In this respect it resembles the tomato, and also the soursop and measles of tropical climates, which latter it indeed is very much like in consistence, and taste, being excessively sweet.

Grape vines may frequently be seen attached to the branch of an oak, sixty or seventy feet from the root, and totally disconnected with the tree or any thing else whatever for that long distance.

Such a sight would produce in the sentimentalist, the sensualist and the philosopher, very different emotions. The sentimentalist, on beholding the rich clusters of purple grapes growing at such an inaccessible height, would be led to the reflection, that,

'Fall many a grape is born to blush unseen  
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.'

The sensualist would think with the poet (not the one last quoted) that,

'The grapes were pleasant to the sight  
But pleasanter by far to bite.'

But after exhausting his patience in vainly trying to bring some of them down from their elevated situation, he would exclaim with the fox in the fable, "they are nothing but sour grapes, and unfit to be eaten; I will let them remain where they are."

The philosopher, knowing the nature of the grape vine, that it is unable to attain an elevation, unless assisted by something round which it can entwine its tendrils, would endeavor to ascertain by what means it became connected with the tree at such an altitude. After investigating the subject he would probably conclude, that the growth of the vine was contemporaneous with that of the tree, that it became attached when the tree was a mere bush, and that each of them made the same progress in getting up in the world.

Assuming these conclusions to be correct, and having observed vines of three inches diameter growing on trees of the diameter of four feet, we deduce this corollary; that the horizontal expansion of a white-oak tree to that of a grape vine, is in the ratio of 256 to 1, while the vertical increase is equal; in other words, that the wood of the tree grows 266 times as fast as that of the vine.

Q. E. D.

The oak-barrens are large tracks of land dispersed promiscuously among the prairies, bordering some, and intersecting others; the surface of which is usually moderately rolling, with trees thinly scattered about, being destitute of underbrush, and covered with grass like the prairies. The soil on the oak-barrens is of the most inferior quality that the State affords; and being in the vicinity of the rich prairies and timber-lands, is not highly valued; although it is at least as fertile as the new lands in the Eastern States generally; and far more productive than the uplands of the Southern States. Several kinds of oak, occasionally intermixed with hickory and a few other trees, appear in the barrens; but white oak is the prevailing growth, which attains the usual size of that species of trees in New-England. Some parts of the oak-barrens sustain a tolerable growth of wood, but not unfrequently a field of twenty acres might be enclosed, without including fifty trees within its limits.

Philosophers, as well as common men, have been puzzled, ever since the prairies were discovered, to account for the fact of such large tracts of fertile land being destitute of trees. Some suppose that trees may begin to vegetate, but that the fire, which passes over the surface every year when the grass becomes dry, after being killed by the frost, destroys the tender plants; and that this is a sufficient cause for the nonexistence of trees. But like causes produce like effects; and as the oak barrens are burned over every year, as well as the prairies, if the above reason held good, no trees could ever have existed there.

A friend of mine, who has resided seven years among the oaks near Illinois river, in the vicinity of Peoria, informed me that the fire had run over the grass every year since he had been there, and that his buildings were only preserved from destruction in consequence of being surrounded by cultivated land. I have frequently observed on

the timber-lands where the grass grows tall and rank, that for a long distance every tree was blackened by fire near the surface, notwithstanding which the growth of wood was of the heaviest description.

It has been supposed by some that the soil, although very fertile, is unfitted for the production of trees, being deficient in some of the necessary constituents. But the luxuriant growth of trees wherever they are planted, demonstrates the futility of that supposition.

Others suppose that the great fertility of the soil causes the grass roots to grow so compact as to monopolize the surface, and allow the trees no chance to commence operations; and that the existence of trees on the barrens is in consequence of the diminished fertility of the soil. The heavy growth of timber which exists on large portions of the uplands, which are equally as fertile as the prairies, shows the insufficiency of this explanation.

The idea has been suggested that the prairies were once densely populated; and that the trees which originally covered the surface were exterminated by the inhabitants. But has it not invariably proved true, that trees will again grow where they once have grown, unless prevented by the barrenness of the soil?

Many other hypotheses have been invented by would-be philosophers, to explain this phenomenon, but they are equally unsatisfactory with the above.

J. H.

From the Baltimore American.

#### The Agricultural Interest.

The direct and palpable benefits which the agriculturists derive from the encouragement of mechanical and manufacturing industry in the country, may be seen in a moment by any one who will give the subject attention.

It is apparent at a glance that in proportion as handicraft occupations flourish, and as the population employed in them increases, the greater becomes the number requiring the means of subsistence. These means of subsistence are furnished by the farmers. Thus in the neighborhood of a thriving town the value of land is much greater than it is at a distance from town. The farmers living within a few miles find a ready market among the town people for their poultry, butter, vegetables, fruits, and many other articles, which could not be sold at all in a remote country district. The cost and trouble of transporting their wheat and corn are also very slight; they may in fact sell their whole surplus crops at their own barn doors, and get good prices. If they were like the Vermillion Country farmer in Illinois, who had to wagon his wheat one hundred and forty miles to Chicago, they would find their profits very much reduced; and supposing they could buy such merchandise as they needed a little cheaper from a foreign importing agent than they could from the agent of an American manufacturer, yet if the latter lived in their immediate neighborhood, they would more than save in transportation the little difference there might be in the cost of the goods. And this the more especially if they could sell in the manufacturing town their poultry, vegetables and fruits which now cannot be sold at all.

What is it that causes towns to spring up in the

interior? Look at Lowell—at Lynn—look at the towns and villages scattered all over New-England. The people living in them are employed in mechanical and manufacturing occupations, and the protective policy prevents their industry from being prostrated by the inundation of foreign importations. Wherever there is a bold stream affording water power, wherever iron or coal are deposited abundantly in the hills—there manufacturing industry may establish itself, and a Pottsville or a Paterson rise up. Every such town opens a new market for the farmer. Let the protection of the Government be withdrawn, and the mills become silent; the furnaces and forges lie idle; the disbanded operatives wend their way to the West; the prosperity of the town declines, with it the interests of the farmers decline also. Where will they find a market for their surplus produce? Even if foreign ports were open to receive it, the cost of transportation to the sea board and of freight across the ocean would leave the profits small—probably nothing.

The State of Massachusetts once exported beef, pork, butter, cheese, &c. Now she is a manufacturing State; and the Globe probably will be surprised to learn that the amount of agricultural products imported into Massachusetts from other States, including cotton, flour, corn, wool, leather and hides, beef, pork, butter, cheese, horses, cattle, sheep, swine, potatoes, tobacco, tar, pitch, sugar, molasses and other items, exceeds in value forty millions of dollars annually. The specific statements may be seen in the speech of the Hon. CHARLES HUDSON, member of Congress from Massachusetts; they are taken from accurate statistics.

The Sugar-Planters of Louisiana formerly obtained large supplies of corn, pork, beef, horses and mules from Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. But when the Protective Duties on Foreign Sugar were reduced, the Planters employed less labor in the Sugar business, and went to raising their provisions and cattle on their own plantations. The Western farmers found the Southern market much contracted. Another consequence was, that many of the Sugar Planters employed a portion of their force in planting Cotton also; and at this the Mississippi Cotton-growers became alarmed. They were fearful of an over-production of Cotton, which they thought had fallen sufficiently in price already; and, accordingly, they petitioned Congress to increase the Duties on Foreign Sugar.

With regard to the idea so industriously promulgated by the opponents of a Protective Tariff, that it is designed to benefit the Manufacturers at the expense of the Farmers, we hope that a fair view of the subject will convince our Agricultural friends that such is not the case. Supposing that manufactured Goods are made higher by a Protective Tariff. What then?—Look at the increased facilities of paying. If English Goods are bought, the Farmer must send his Wheat to England to pay for them, and with the cost of transportation and freight, and with the Duties on the article in England, let him calculate how much Wheat he must send to pay for his merchandize. Or, to take an illustration ready at hand:—The State of Illinois, for instance, with free importations may buy one million yards of Cloth for one million of dollars, but must pay three millions of bushels of Wheat for it, because Wheat must bear a low price to

permit of its profitable export a distance of four thousand miles. Now, under efficient Protection, the nominal price of these Cloths might be twenty-five per cent. higher to the Illinoisians, and yet the actual cost be far less; simply because the market for their Grain would be brought so much nearer that its price would inevitably rise, and instead of selling three millions bushels of Wheat to pay for his Cloth, although the money price were higher, they would pay it with far less Wheat; or, more probably, they would pay a large part of it with Fruits, Vegetables, &c. which are much more easily produced than Wheat, and more profitable to produce when there is a sure market at hand.

In another view, it may be seen that the Manufacturers are not more concerned in the Protective Policy than other classes of industrious people. With efficient Protection extended, not to particular Manufacturers, but to the Manufacturing Interest, a Home competition will spring up, which must reduce the profits of the Manufacturers to the minimum. The business is open to any that may choose to engage in it, and every body knows that there could be no monopoly.

It is also a fact, which experience has proved, that when Protection has been extended to any branch of Manufacturing Industry, the tendency has always been to reduce the price of the protected article. The skill that is acquired in the process, the improvements which take place in the machinery, together with the system and economy which long practice enables the Manufacturer to introduce into his establishment, all have the invariable effect of cheapening the finished fabric, and generally of improving its quality at the same time. The common Cottons now in use illustrate this; Nails also may be named, and so might other articles, if there were any need of a long enumeration. It is, therefore, obvious, that increased prices of manufactured Goods would not long attend the establishment of an efficient and permanent Protective System. The Farmer would find markets near at hand for his Produce, and the Goods he might want in return would soon be as cheaply furnished by the American Manufacturer as they are now supplied from abroad.

**EDUCATION.**—Horace Mann gives a happy hit at the difficulties and apathy which fall in the way of those who would promote education. All those who *profess* to live to do good and promote the best interests of mankind ought to read it:—

“We solicit the farmer to visit the school, but he is too much engaged with the care of his stock to look after the children. We apply to the tradesman, but his account of profit and loss must be adjusted before he can attend to the source of all profit and loss in the mind. We call upon the physician, but he has too many patients in the arms of death to allow him one hour for arresting the spread of a contagion by which, if neglected, hundreds of others must perish. We apply to the lawyer and the judge, but they are redressing the wrongs and avenging the violated laws of society—they are so engaged in uncoiling the folds of a parent serpent, which has wound itself round the State, that they cannot stop to crush a hundred of its young ere they issue from the nest to wind their folds alike around the State, and the law, and its ministers. We apply to the clergyman. He bids



us God speed, but commends us for assistance to the first man we meet; for he and his flock are beleaguered by seven evil spirits, in the form of seven heresies, each fatal to the souls of men.—We sally forth from his doors, and the first man we meet is his clerical brother; but he, too, has seven fatal heresies to combat, and he solemnly assures us that the most dangerous leader of them all is the man we have just left. We apply to the wealthy and the benevolent, who are carrying on vast religious enterprises abroad; but they have just shipped their cargoes of gold to Africa, to Asia, and to the uttermost isles of the sea, and can spare nothing—never asking themselves the question who, *in the next generation*, will support the enterprises they have begun, and retain the foothold they may acquire, if they suffer heathenism and the idolatry of worshipping base passions to spring up in their native land and around their own doors. We go to those great antagonist theological institutions, which have selected high social eminences all over the land, and entrenched themselves against each other as warring generals fortify their camps upon the summit of some confronting hills; we implore them to send out one wise and mighty man to guide this great people through a wilderness more difficult to traverse than that which stretched between Egypt and Canaan; but each hostile sect is engaged in propagating a creed which it *knows* to be true, against the fatal delusions of these various and opposite creeds which each of the other sects also *knows* to be true!

**ARBORICULTURE.**—Aurora impressed me more deeply than any previous trip of the importance of my subject. I traveled thirty miles, homeward bound, from Chicago, *via* Kankakee, Pontiac and Bloomington, across one prairie, without passing through a solitary skirt of timber! The prairie was rolling and inviting to the farmer and grazier, but for all present uses is of no avail except for its continuity of surface. And this is a tedious, lonely use, and makes the traveler sigh for some mode of annihilating distance, and the philanthropist for some method of bringing these wastes into a condition to subserve the natural use for which the soil and surface of the earth are designed—that of sustaining “a bold peasantry, the Country’s pride,” a hardy and virtuous yeomanry, the bone and sinew of any Country.

I saw some manifestations in McLean County of a disposition to grow forest-trees. Several groves of black locust are to be seen in the vicinity of Bloomington, and 160 acres of prairie are broken some five or six miles to the North and East of that flourishing town for the purpose of a forest-tree plantation.

In the garden of my friend, Dr. Henry, of Bloomington, I noticed a beautiful hedge of the red cedar, in a healthy and flourishing condition, which shows that the pine tribe of trees can be successfully raised on the prairie, a fact of no small importance.

A friend of mine in De Witt County is preparing to plant a quarter section in black walnut and locust timber. I have seen several flourishing groves of locust timber in Morgan County, and have been informed of like enterprises in Adams County.

What is to reclaim the millions of acres of prairie

land now lying waste and unproductive, if it be not arboriculture? My friends, Solon Robinson, and John and Philo Clover, will contend it is the non-inclosure system of tillage. Very well, gentlemen; I will not pretend that a branch of any system is so great as the whole system. The non-inclosure system will greatly diminish the necessity for timber, and will as greatly facilitate the formation of plantations where timber, fuel, &c. are needed. And every farm made on the prairie needs a grove or a belt of forest-trees, for ornament, shade, shelter, fuel, and the melioration of its local climate.

The revenues of the State would be increased in proportion to the encouragement given to arboriculture. Say a tax exemption bill were passed, exempting from taxation, for a limited term of years, every 80 acre tract, of which one-fourth part at least, or 20 acres, should, within five years from the passage of the act, or from the date of entry, be planted with forest trees. Would not every such operation bring under taxation, ere long, two or three 80 acre lots adjacent? Under a system of agriculture requiring no fences to protect crops and plantations, I venture to affirm there is no mode of investment that would yield so great a return for the outlay, as the selection of eligible prairie lands and the occupation of a portion by judicious planting. In fact there are thousands of locations, where plantations can be formed under our present system, clogged as it is by statute hindrances and dead-wood fences, that will enrich the adventurer, in the long run, more than any mode of production or traffic that he can put his hands to. For one of the advantages of arboriculture, (and it is not a small consideration where the wages of labor are high,) is, that the productive agency of nature matures the crop chiefly. It requires but little attention after planting. And according to Sir John Sinclair, founder of the Board of Agriculture in Great Britain, the nett proceeds of timber plantations in that Island have exceeded those of tilled land. If this has proved true in Great Britain, it will certainly prove true in all the prairies of America, where nothing is so certain to be in great demand as timber tracts, judiciously selected. M. L. KNAPP.

WAYNESVILLE, Illinois, Nov. 12, 1842.  
[Prairie (Ill.) Farmer.]

**GO IT BOOTS!**—Senator Tappan’s organ at Steubenville, The Union, conducted by his stepson, recently contained an editorial of which the following is an extract:

“In this country, we MIGHT raise bread-stuffs cheaper than they are raised in France. We want boots and shoes to wear, and the French want bread to eat. What political economist would pretend to say that it is not better to take the French boots at half the price we can make them, and give them in return wheat at a less price than they can raise it for themselves.”

That is the doctrine. When wheat gets down to “sixteen cents a bushel,” we can ship it to France and get French boots in return, cheap—dog cheap! Only reduce the wheat *low enough*, and we can get French boots—fine as a new sapphire—for a price which will make all the shoemakers this side the Atlantic quit work. If wages too are brought down to, say a shilling a day—that’s the Tappan standard—about the equivalent of “a sheep’s head and pluck”—we shall then have Tappan’s grand political consummation. We shall then have the “blessings and benefits” of FREE TRADE. [Ohio Star.]

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I...Number 11.

Office No. 100 Nassau-street,  
Near the City Hall, Park. }

NEW-YORK, FEBRUARY, 1843.

{ Price..75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

### OF THIS (FEBRUARY) NUMBER:

I..BRIEF EDITORIALS.....	Pages 321 to 322
II..THE ELEVATION OF MECHANICS— <i>The Means and End</i> —An Address before a State Convention at Augusta of the Mechanics of Maine: By JOHN S. SAYWARD, (Printer) of Bangor.....	323 to 327
III..ADDRESS OF THE HOME LEAGUE to the People of the United States.....	328 to 333
IV..THE IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE AS AN ART AND A PROFESSION—An Address at the Annual Cattle Show and Fair at Rochester, N. Y. By HENRY COLMAN.....	334 to 346
V..THE SILK CULTURE—A Statement by Mr. J. R. BARBOUR, of Oxford, Mass. before the New-England Silk Convention.....	346
VI..EFFECTS OF EXPANSION: By Dr. ARNOT.....	347
VII..LIME—PLASTER OF PARIS, &c.....	348
VIII..HOW TO DO GOOD, &c.....	349
IX..A TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, &c.....	350
X..RAU'S SAFETY VALVES, &c.....	351
XI..LEAD AND COPPER TRADE OF THE WEST..	352

Having nearly completed our array of facts and arguments in defence of the Policy of PROTECTION, we are enabled in this number to present two noble essays of a different character—an ADDRESS ON AGRICULTURE, by Rev. HENRY COLMAN of Rochester, N. Y. and an ADDRESS TO A CONVENTION OF MECHANICS, by JOHN S. SAYWARD, of Bangor, Me. pointing out the means of and inducements to an Elevation of the Character and Aims of our Mechanics, with the methods of Self-Culture, and the facilities which they enjoy or may easily create for acquiring and profiting by all useful knowledge. These Addresses contain matter of great practical utility, clothed in the plainest and directest language, and will be perused with profit and delight even by those who dissent from the doctrines of Political Economy to which THE LABORER is more generally devoted. These Addresses appear to us so well calculated to instruct and improve our Youth that we hope our subscribers will lend them to all who will read, that their homely and practical truths may enjoy the widest dissemination.

We publish in this number the ADDRESS OF THE HOME LEAGUE to the People of the United States, which we trust will receive a thoughtful consideration. It touches some questions connected with our National Policy—such as the relations of Free and Slave Labor—which we do not deem it profitable to discuss; but it approaches them in a calm spirit, and in such manner as not to give offence. The Address is written in a liberal and patriotic spirit, and we believe its sentiments are such as will be responded to by the Country.

## The Wages of Labor.

The statements we have published in relation to the so much blazoned and denounced reduction of Wages at Lowell establish the following facts:

1. *There has been no general reduction of wages in the Manufactories.* A single establishment only has reduced the prices it pays for piece-work.

2. That reduction is based on *improvements in its machinery* made since the former rates of prices were established. For instance, the machinery in a factory enables each woman to weave 20 yards of cassimere per day, for which she is paid 2½ cents per yard. At length great improvements are made in machinery elsewhere; the mill-owners must adopt them, or they can no longer make cloth as cheap as their neighbors; they put in new machinery at a cost of several thousand dollars, with which each woman employed can weave 30 yards of the same cloth per day. Now can they go on paying 2½ cents a yard for weaving? How, then, shall they compete with their foreign rivals? How pay for their new machinery? But they reduce their price paid for weaving to 2 cents per yard: Is it not unfair and dishonest to present this without explanation to the public, and pronounce it a real reduction of wages?

3. The price of Cloths in our markets has not been increased in consequence of the new Protective Tariff, but *reduced below any prices ever known before.*

4. The wages of Labor paid in our Manufactories are now *substantially higher than ever before.* We do not say that more money is paid for a week's or month's labor, for that would prove nothing any way; but the money earned by the laborers in our factories will now buy more Food, Clothing, and other necessaries and comforts of life than the products of so much labor in factories would have paid for at any former period.

—Of course, no one will understand us as affirming that the Factory system of Hired Labor is perfect—that the mill-owners are more honest or philanthropic than other men—or that the condition of the Laborers therein is all that it should be. Our opinions on all these points are quite otherwise. We greatly desire to see a state of things in which a virtuous and intelligent combination of Laborers shall own or hire a factory for themselves, fix their own hours of labor, work in harmony and with alacrity under the direction of

their most skilful and able members, divide fairly their own earnings, and thus demonstrate that Man is capable of maintaining and profiting by Industrial and Social as well as Political Liberty. So also in Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts—in every department of useful Industry. But the fact that we believe a better system of Labor desirable and ultimately practicable does not incline us to abuse and misrepresent that which exists.

We know that mill-owners are at best but men, and that they will naturally look well to their personal interests. They must. From the nature of the case, they must judge what wages they can afford to pay; if they judge niggardly, we see no help for it but in their inability to procure Labor at the prices they offer. Abusing them for not paying more, may enable the lower strata of Loco-Foco demagogues to catch the votes of a few simple and ignorant persons, but can answer no good purpose whatever. If all our Poor people were as well situated as those employed in our Manufactories, we should feel less concern on their account. But there are lots of men among us overflowing with indignation because the poor factory girls are not paid \$10 per month and board, who themselves hire girls for \$5 or \$6 per month, make their lives one round of slavery and degradation, and sometimes neglect to pay the hard-earned pittance at last! Let a Reform begin here.

#### Perspects of the Tariff.

It is now morally certain that no serious change will be made in the provisions of our New Tariff during the present Session of Congress. It is possible that the Warehousing System (admitting Foreign Goods without the payment of the Duties until the owner shall choose to remove them from the Public Stores) may be adopted, yet we think it will not, unless carefully guarded and restricted. Nothing else will, we think, be done.

What, then, will be the course of the new Congress, which assembles at Washington in December next? We hear fears expressed that it will destroy all that has been so wisely constructed, and send us back to Horizontal Duties for Revenue only. This seems to us incredible. The Country is at this moment slowly but surely regaining vigor and health; the steady infusion of Specie from abroad is giving strength to our Currency, to which a moderate expansion will succeed; and though the rottenness of many Banks, and the unsoundness of private Credit, and the chaotic state of our whole Banking System, must present serious obstacles, we confidently believe there will be a general appreciation of prices before that Congress shall assemble, while Labor, already enjoying a far greater demand and better recompense than it could have in the absence of a Protective Tariff, will gradually attain to a still more adequate employment and reward. In such a state of things—with every thing to hope from a

persistence in the Protective Policy, and every thing to dread from its abandonment—can it be possible that the next Congress will seriously resolve on its destruction?

#### A White Heap Yonder!

Duff Green, in a note addressed to the Madisonian, among other things, says:

"I was authorized by Lord Aberdeen himself to say that it was his earnest desire to place the commercial relations of the two countries on terms of reciprocity, and I am persuaded that a treaty may be made, providing for the admission of Cotton, Rice and Indian Corn into England and her dependencies at a nominal duty, or duty free, and that the trade in lumber and provisions, and all our surplus products, may be placed on the same footing as the like products of her colonies; at the same time, that our navigation may obtain concessions no less important. And that, for granting these favors, England will ask us no more than that our Tariff shall be so modified as to her manufactures as to charge thereon no higher rate of duty than is indispensable to provide for an economical administration of our Government."

We publish this significant paragraph merely that the attention of the Friends of American Industry may be called to the project it dimly shadows forth. Duff Green, the relative and confidant of John C. Calhoun, has been months in England, paving the way for a Commercial Treaty, whereby American Provisions are to be interchanged for British Cloths, Cutlery, &c. on terms mutually agreed on as Reciprocal. There is delusion on the face of this scheme and deadly mischief at the bottom of it. Such a Trade never can be reciprocal in its advantages until \$1,000 worth of Cloths shall weigh as much as \$1,000 worth of Corn and Beef, and their transportation from Birmingham to Peoria shall cost as much. But it would seem that *Wheat* and *Flour* are to be excluded from the list of staples which we are to be allowed to send free to England! Working Men of America! be not deceived! STAND BY THE TARIFF, and the new channels opened by it to Industry, the Coin now pouring into our Country, will soon restore vitality to our Currency, animation to Business, markets for your Products, and Prosperity to the Country.

#### NEW-YORK STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.—

The annual meeting of this Society was held at Albany on Thursday the 19th inst. to receive the awards and premiums and elect officers for the ensuing year. The following are the officers elected:

JAMES S. WADSWORTH, Genesee, President.

*Vice Presidents:*

1st District, James Lenox, New-Hamberg.

2d " Robert Denniston, Salisbury.

3d " Anthony Van Bergen, Corvackie.

4th " E. C. Delevan, Ballston, Centre.

5th " Jonathan D. Ledyard.

6th " Z. A. Leland, Bath.

7th " J. M. Sherwood, Auburn.

8th " L. B. Langworthy, Rochester.

H. S. Randall, Cortland Village, Corresponding Secretary.

Luther Tucker, Albany, Recording Secretary.

Ezra F. Frenchie, Albany, Treasurer.

*Executive Committee:*—O. N. Bennett, Albany; H. D. Grove, Bunkirk's Bridge; Alex. Walsh, Lansingburg; J. McD. McIntyre, Albany; Thomas Hillhouse, Watervliet.

✱ The granite business in the town of Quincy, (Mass.) during the last 17 years, is said to have amounted to \$3,000,000.

## The Elevation of Mechanics.

### The Means and Ends.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE A STATE CONVENTION AT AUGUSTA  
OF THE MECHANICS OF MAINE.

By JOHN S. SAYWARD, (Printer, of Bangor.

THE great majority of mankind is composed of the laboring classes. But the fashion of ages has made labor repugnant and permitted the few to prove successful over the many. It is the business of our busy age to correct these defects of the drowsy past. We call our age a busy one in comparison with those that have preceded it. While the feudal age would be building a chieftain's castle, our age would people a State, tunnel mountains, and bind remotest points with iron bands, and send the great lakes gurgling at our pleasure in an artificial river. The same active spirit is also visible in the intellectual power and moral enterprises of our age. They span across the globe and dive to the remotest regions of society, and produce as great changes in the social affairs of men, as business, enterprise does in the physical condition of the earth.

There needs no apology, then, from us, that we are assembled here, in convention, the Representatives of the Mechanics of Maine. We act in accordance with the spirit of our age in coming up here to inquire what duties are required of us, in order that we may improve, elevate and refine that large mass of men with whom we are connected, and of whom we form a part; to learn how we may best attain that social condition to which we would hope all men may arrive.

The past presents to us but little that is attractive. In its grave are buried those distinctions in society which originate in wealth and blood, without respect to mental and moral culture. Labor and ignorance are there found toiling together, as though yoked by the will of Heaven. The present is to us full of encouragement, and the future of hope. A gradual, but a mighty change, is taking place in the condition of society. Learning is not now confined to the few, but is greatly extended, and becoming daily more diffused. Knowledge is now sought as a great practical instrument, designed to confer a blessing on man in the every-day intercourse of life. The means for acquiring knowledge and spreading it over the whole surface of society, are so much multiplied, and withal so cheap, that no portion of society can long escape from its benign and elevating influence. But it is not enough for us to wait the general progress of intelligence; it is for us to give the most pointed directness to its influence—to gather its rays to a common focus, for the benefit of the mechanics who have suffered most for its want, and yet who can make a practical use of all good learning.

The world is rubbing its eyes open in search of the useful, and this search has called forth inventions in mechanics, that are working an entire revolution in the affairs of men. Improvement in the arts is an every day occurrence, and unless we greatly mistake the tendency of events, the day is dawning when the profession of the mechanic will be esteemed as honorable and as desirable too, as that of divinity, medicine or the law. It is not necessary now to disprove the idea that the profession of the mechanic necessarily unfits him for

making progress in good learning. That has already been done. Proof of this has been furnished in abundance, and of a character that admits of no dispute. Indeed, if the world had not perversely agreed in denominating only a certain kind of information, knowledge, we should be led to conclude that he, whose whole labor was a sort of philosophical experiment, would be more likely to acquire true knowledge than the man confined to books, and having little intercourse with the world. But the world is getting right upon this subject.—The genius of the arts beckons mechanics on to a certain victory. The few who have succeeded against the popular opinion, afford examples of the highest encouragement to us all, to do more and better as that opinion becomes improved. We seek not now occasional instances of personal cultivation among mechanics, but to carry up the many, to elevate the mass, to make the *profession* honorable, and secure for it general respect.

The enterprise in which we are engaged demands of us the adoption of such means as shall secure to our 'order' the benefits of a thorough discipline of the mental powers, a scientific and practical knowledge of the profession of each—directness of thought and suitable qualifications to aid in forming a more rational, equal and better state of society. We ought not to be satisfied with society as it is, nor with leaving the world no better than we found it. There are a great many artificial distinctions now acknowledged, that should be removed; there is a repugnance to labor existing, which is a fruitful source of injustice and crime, which are corroding the vitals of true social enjoyment. There are continual struggles for power, and place, and pay, that keep the public mind in a ferment, without beneficial results. There is a want of confidence and fellowship, indeed a jealousy and bitterness even among mechanics themselves, that seem to shut out all hope, at times, of any thorough reform in the affairs of men. So generally have false ideas prevailed, that every suggestion for a reform is, by many, considered as the watchword for battering down all other professions, and demanding a change of places; as a signal for lifting a whole class, and that a numerous one, into seats of official station, and investing them with the exercise of power! But not so must the reformer of this age consider it, for this is neither practicable, nor just, nor desirable. The true, meliorating, genuine reform of the present, must be to elevate man as man; to remove far away the distinctions of profession, or wealth, or birth, and look directly at the capacities, cultivation, virtues, and usefulness of the being—the man; to elevate, cultivate, improve and ennoble the many, to an equality of mental and moral treasure with the most elevated; to bring up the neglected, bruised and spirit-broken toiling masses, that have so long been crushed and desolate, to a level and to a common sympathy with those who have made the highest advances. To accomplish this should now engage our best efforts.

Our object, aim and end, therefore, are such as every philanthropist must approve, as they commend themselves to every benevolent heart. Did we purpose less than a reform such as we have mentioned, and were we desirous merely of effecting a change in the position of classes, our labor and our anxiety would be less. The reform we seek will require years of labor, while a mere change

could be produced by union for a day. But of what consequence is it, if unjust and arbitrary distinctions must be kept up in society, which party is uppermost in the exercise of power? If a line is to be drawn of this arbitrary character, of profession alone, as to which party shall rule in public affairs, we ardently pray that the minority in numbers may rule and leave the great majority to toil on in quiet. We wish not to perpetuate these forced and unnatural, invidious and cruel distinctions, but in this country, where mind is free, we would remove their iron grasp, and introduce the only just distinction proper to be known among men—superior virtue, intelligence and usefulness—and labor to bring all up to the highest standard in every one of these qualities.

The question now becomes eminently interesting and important—what measures shall we adopt for the purpose of producing the reform mentioned?

At the risk of being considered common-place, and dealing in common, rather than in new and strange thoughts, I will venture to speak of a few of the more prominent and feasible measures that seem to be promotive of the desired end. I regret the less the necessity of taking a somewhat beaten track, as others are to follow, better qualified than myself to instruct you with new and more interesting topics of discourse.

Associated effort is one of the greatest features of the present state of society. Union among individuals, interested in any worthy enterprise, seems to be the only way in which great achievements can be accomplished among men. Kindred minds acting in concert can frequently effect what a much larger number, acting separately, would fail to accomplish. History and every day experience are full of forcible and striking lessons of the benefit arising from associated effort. The power of association in accomplishing any great physical improvement, from the building of Solomon's Temple, down, through the lapse of years, to the last ship that was launched, are too apparent to require a word of comment. And if we will observe closely, it will be quite as apparent that intellectual and moral movements are equally dependent upon the same principle.

The fact of our being mechanics, engaged in the various useful and industrial pursuits, gives us in this respect a sort of union in aim and purpose. We severally wish to improve the arts of life, invent new contrivances for lessening the drudgery of toil and quickening the power of production. Our position is thus rendered favorable for a more perfect and beneficial union for all the purposes we wish to accomplish in life. Are we desirous of improving the arts—elevating the social condition of man—arousing the mental energies—increasing in scientific attainments—or cultivating the heart? The readiest means of doing either, or all of them, is by associating for the purpose, and bringing together, to bear upon one point, the collective, concentrated power of all. Here may be one mind bold in projecting, but, to be efficient, needing that the plan should be moulded into working order by the more cautious and discriminating mind, to be found elsewhere. And indeed, to secure the greatest success, we may suppose the entire, various and collective wisdom of the whole may be precisely the condition required. Solomon had the outline of the temple in his mind, but he needed Hiram, the widow's son, as architect. Tu-

bal Cain for a worker in metals, and his masters and craftsmen to carry out this plan to completion. So we may individually have the outline of what is desirable to accomplish at the present time in improving and elevating the intellectual and social condition of mechanics, but this can best, and perhaps only, be accomplished by a combination of our powers in associated efforts. The triumphs that have already been realized from associations among mechanics, imperfect as those associations have been, are neither few or small. Mechanics have thus become better acquainted with each other, and a closer fellowship has been encouraged. They have become more conscious of their wants, and better able to provide for them. They are more deeply impressed with their duties, personal and social, and engage with greater zeal in discharging them. They realize the advantages of the mutual aid they receive and impart, and possess a keener relish for their enlargement. It is this power of association, well applied by mechanics to high and noble ends, that is destined to break up and demolish the prison-house of the soul, set the mind free, enlarged and ennobled, and to work out a higher and better condition in the character of human society. What would be the state of our holy religion—what the intellectual character of our people—what the political condition of our country—and what the prospects of the world, if, in all that affects these, the principles of association should be abandoned? Deplorable indeed! We find, then, this potent instrument lying in our path, and we cease to be true men if we neglect to use it and extend it to every village in our State. Wherever there are mechanics—wherever intelligent laborers are collected together, there should grow up at once a mechanic association for mental improvement, for an enlargement of good learning, and the blessings of social elevation.

The best manner of conducting such associations is probably yet unknown. This must be ascertained by experience. Enough is known, however, from what experience we have already acquired, to satisfy us of the utility of frequent and regular meetings, for the consideration of subjects affecting our vital interests—for debates, lectures, reading of essays, and for conversations. In this way the whole body, in time, acquire more or less of the knowledge of each, and the separate and scattered grains of wisdom become the common property of all. False notions are thus exploded—bitter prejudices removed, and a higher intellectual, moral and social standard is found. The exercises at these meetings should unquestionably be directed to the practical and the useful—the enlargement of science and its general extension among all the members. The lecture-room of the mechanic association should be to mechanics what a lecture-room of a college is to the students in attendance. Courses of lectures should be as systematic and the instructions tend as directly to a certain end. We do not yet know what happy influences may be derived from a fervent coöperation and strong association, in which each member has something to do, and in which he can become intensely interested, as without this, his passive attendance at the meetings will be of little personal advantage to himself. An active participation in the exercises will be found a strong incentive to a proper interest and appropriation of the objects of an association and

to those salutary ends which it may accomplish.

It may be thought quite too late in the day to urge arguments in favor of association among mechanics for the purpose of advancing true knowledge among them. But how happens it, that where they are formed, so few, comparatively, interest themselves in the matter, or even become members? Would this be so if the whole mass were thoroughly impressed with the importance, utility and force of association and active participation? Most certainly not.

The fact probably is, that there is not only indifference, but also a downright prejudice against these associations, and these must be removed, before we can expect that a general, enlarged and hearty coöperation will take place to extend the empire of mind over matter, and to act for the good of others in seeking our own welfare. By a warm and hearty association mechanics can collect the scattering rays of light in individuals, and concentrate them into reigning and radiant orbs, that shall illumine society to its widest range and profoundest depths.

The establishment of libraries for the use of mechanics is another improvement. It is unnecessary to introduce an argument here in favor of libraries of well-selected books. Their utility is apparent, and has so long been so, that the wonder is, why mechanics have not long since felt the importance of the subject, and made ample provision for furnishing themselves with so necessary a means of cultivation. It cannot be supposed that each mechanic can have at his command a private library sufficiently extensive for supplying his scientific, literary and moral wants and of course he must unite with others in the establishment of such a library, and this can best be done by a general association, the importance of which we have already considered.

Books, that in the dim by-gone years were the exclusive property of the recluse or those of great wealth, or the few who possessed knowledge as a sort of divine right, have now become accessible to all. Scientific knowledge, that for a long time was shut up in a foreign language, and open to those only who had mastered the Latin, comes now in familiar English, and becomes the property of all who seek it. The American mechanic, with industry and a prudent economy, and who has cultivated a taste for reading, may call around his fireside the best company of men, in their best state of mind, that the world has ever produced—learned men, historians and philosophers, chemists, artists, orators, poets, inventors of figures of speech and of machines—a noble company from all the walks of life, are ready to instruct, interest or amuse, according to his choice.

Doctor Franklin will whisper to him of the advantages of economy of time and money, and encourage him with the story of the obstacles he surmounted, until in his progress he was sent ambassador to Europe, and drew lightning from the clouds of heaven. George Bancroft will tell him of the adventurous and free spirit of those men who settled our country, their toils and struggles, and successes to the time of the revolution, and leave him with the promise of another interview.

Dr. Jackson sits down with him and discourses upon the Geology of Maine, Rhode Island and New Hampshire. Professor Bigelow spends a pleasant hour with him occasionally, to talk of the metals

and the principles of art. Dickens, and his own countryman Arthur, call and rehearse stories of real life, calculated to inspire self-respect and elevate the hopes and the social prospects of the lowly and depressed. From all parts of the civilized globe, and of all pursuits, he has the wise and good for his companions, talking as long as he will listen, and ceasing their discourse at his pleasure. With the witty and the eloquent, the profound thinkers and the philosophical for companions, from whom he may draw such instruction as he feels a relish for, at the time, why may not the mechanic become improved, and elevated, and refined, and learn to think correctly and with vigor, and in turn contribute something for the encouragement and enlightenment of others? And yet this is but a faint and imperfect picture of a well selected library, which by an association may be sustained at a small annual tax upon each member.

Another measure designed to aid the cause we would promote, is the support of a periodical devoted to the interest of mechanics, in all that concerns their progress and happiness as a class. A periodical of a marked and distinctive character, from every number of which may be gathered scientific principles, important facts, suggestions for social improvement and for self-education. A periodical permanently and actively engaged in the great cause of improvement—to make a majority of the world better and wiser—I will not attempt to decide the question wheth such a periodical already exists but that none such is supported and sustained, and exerts such an influence as a periodical of the kind should do, is quite certain.

There are various periodicals, monthly and weekly, devoted to the arts and sciences, and to the interests of mechanics, in various sections of the country—most of them of recent origin, and some of them conducted with signal ability. The literature of our time has also much improved; and Neal and Arthur with others, and even the smoking old Knickerbocker himself, are engaged occasionally in giving the world useful lessons as to the dignity of labor, the worth of the industrial classes, and the claims they have to become intelligent, and the means by which it may be accomplished. But few of us can expect to procure all these periodicals, or hunt up much of this kind of literature, lumbered up as it is with much of a vastly different and less useful and meritorious character.

But there is no reason why, with a periodical published in our State, such as has been hinted at, we may not have all that is important and desirable, and suited to our wants from all these sources. Then too, we have now in successful operation several associations, with their members actively engaged in mental and mutual cultivation; preparing essays and lectures, and with names enrolled among them already known to fame as forcible and correct thinkers, fitted to aid in the important work of legislating for the State: and we have a right to expect that such a periodical may become the vehicle of a useful and interesting correspondence between these associations, and become the organ of their views, and the instrument of concentrating and diffusing them. The progress of opinion, and the experience of each, thus becoming the experience of all, will probably suggest speedier and better methods of conducting our associations to the desired end, at which they

aim. It may be the means of aiding in the formation of a more just public opinion regarding labor, and the men engaged in the wealth-producing pursuits of life; and the medium of awakening a high self-respect among mechanics and their families, and become the cause of a broader and more general elevation.

A general interest to establish and sustain such a periodical by the several associations and by mechanics generally in the State, would unquestionably ensure an elegant and vigorous publication at a small annual expenditure of each. With such a periodical I should have strong hopes of keeping our wants and wishes prominently before the mind, with frequent suggestions for improvement, personal and public: I should have firm faith that our assembling together would not be in vain, and that we were not only capable of forming plans, but had the ability to execute them. As to where such a periodical shall be started, or by whom conducted, is to my mind a matter of less consequence than that it be worthily managed and properly sustained.

Another means of improvement suited to the present condition of the Mechanics of our State, is the establishment of a school for apprentices and young men who are just out of their apprenticeship, where they may make up deficiencies in their early education, and become thoroughly acquainted with the science of mechanics and those leading principles in other sciences that have an intimate relation to the arts. There is still existing a very general defect in the scientific knowledge of mechanics. We see it in the frequent violations of all the rules of architecture wherever we go. Here and there may be found specimens of correct taste in this department that afford pleasure to all beholders; but how frequently do we find gross violations, and how lamentably low is the public taste and knowledge upon the matter, that will tolerate such huge and misshapen edifices as fill our towns and mar the country. This would not be so if mechanics were generally well qualified to lead and direct in the matter. Were master builders generally acquainted with the science of this business, the form and proportions, the location and arrangement of edifices would not be made by the builder or his wife, or by the suggestions of neighbors, all entirely ignorant of the principles of architecture.—The builder would first be consulted, and having been made acquainted with the general wants and wishes of the owner, would be able to reduce the whole matter to a system upon correct principles of taste, convenience and economy, and when so reduced and a plan presented and explained, it would commend itself to every mind, and be approved and adopted. In the progress of the work too, the end would be seen from the beginning, and alterations and extra jobs, and losses attending them, would all be obviated. It would be seen that the mechanic not only understood the use of his tools, but the science of his trade, and could be consulted as an intelligent, scientific and safe man, instead of being directed as a mechanic, or a toiling automaton. Were builders qualified by an acquaintance with science and the principles of their art, we should not witness foundation walls thrown from their places and crumbling in premature decay, plastering falling from the ceiling in comparatively new houses—the building forced out of level,

obstructing the movement of doors—chimneys without a draft to carry off the smoke, nor any of the many annoyances that are so frequently met with in our dwellings. If a man wishes business performed by a professional man, a lawyer or a doctor, he consults with him and follows his directions, leaving the responsibility where it belongs, with the person employed. But if a mechanic is to be employed, the rule seems to be, in a great measure, reversed. The mechanic is told what to do, instead of being consulted as to what should be done, and the best manner of doing it. The principles we have been trying to develop relative to architecture, apply with about the same force to most other mechanical pursuits, and with this general remark in regard to them, we will proceed to show how this defect in the education of our "order" can be remedied by a school under the patronage of mechanics.

Such a school would be conducted upon such principles as would meet the case. It would be furnished with necessary apparatus. It would be supplied with the necessary teachers. Its lecture room would be devoted to an illustration of science. Its experiments would be of a practical character, and adapted to bring together and unite science and art—experiment and practice. It would become, at certain seasons, the favorite resort of the active-minded—the persevering and attentive. It would stimulate, we should suppose, the whole body of mechanics to a closer attention to the science of their business, and cause them in all their operations to seek for the laws which nature has established.

But it may be objected that such an institution would be expensive, and that however desirable it would be, mechanics cannot afford it.

A very serious objection truly, and stated in terms strong enough to cause us to abandon all thought upon the subject, if the statement be true.

The first remark I would make in answer to the objection is, that there are mechanics enough in the State, who have their sons at the various academies and colleges in the State, at an annual expense of more than enough to sustain such an institution as we propose. And these sons of mechanics with all this expense, are not fitted in the institutions they now attend, in an appropriate manner for the active and useful pursuits of mechanics. They are better prepared for other pursuits, and are crowded into the professions, where the community lose useful men, the professions are overstocked, and the mechanics are deprived of what might otherwise become ornaments.

We think it may be stated as a fact that, in connection with our other enterprises, there would be young men enough, just out of their apprenticeship, who would avail themselves of the advantages of such an institution, to give it an ample support. There are, too, a great many mechanics who are parents that would feel interest enough in their sons to send them to such an institution during their apprenticeship, to keep it in existence.

And as a last resort, we believe the several mechanic associations in the State are abundantly able to contribute a yearly sum sufficient to cover all deficiencies, to say the least, if not to give the school an adequate support. And they would be well repaid in the increase that would be given to the spread of science and general intelligence and

the up-building of the mechanic interest in respectability and honor.

There is ability among the mechanics of Maine to sustain such an institution in activity and health.

Finally. We have a great moral and intellectual enterprise upon our hands—resting upon us whether we acknowledge it or not—a duty which we are bound to perform independent of our own decisions. It is the great aim of life for which all our powers were given, and all other advantages conferred. Shall we dare, then, limit the means given us to accomplish an end, and consider the means as ends, and abandon reaching the true end, by a judicious use of means? This conclusion would be deplorable. If, then, the establishment of such a school as has been proposed is destined to accomplish the anticipated results, we are bound, as accountable agents to humanity and to God, to hold our powers, influence and possessions, as so many means of carrying it forward.

I have thus endeavored, in a plain and concise manner, to present to you simple, cheap and feasible means for the improvement and elevation of mechanics. They are eminently conservative in their character, and yet possess an active spirit of progress. They are laid upon those foundations on which rest the purity, stability and efficiency of our Government. They relate to virtue and intelligence. With these the human mind can overcome all obstructions, conquer all prejudices and stand forth upon the great level of human equality. They are the only true tests of honor and greatness—the only sources of genuine happiness—the acknowledged badges of real respectability.—They sustain the man in his position, self-confident and sure-footed, whatever may be his employment. With a virtuous and honest heart, and a cultivated and active mind, the hod-carrier becomes a man—the mechanic is no longer merely such, but a man—a thinking, intelligent man;—equal to any station, superior to all mere place or profession, and honorable and worthy of respect, and sure of happiness, in any profession, station or place. Profession is an accident; virtue and intelligence are principles derived from Jehovah. The respectability and honor—the prejudice and disgrace attached to professions, are of the fashions of this world, that are rapidly changing and passing away. But the respectability and the advantages of virtue and intelligence remain through all time, and reach forth into eternity. The time was when to be known as a mechanic was to be considered, as a matter of course, poor, ignorant and mean; while, to be known as a professional man, was, in the same way, to be considered wise, and honorable, and just. The progress made in the melioration of human condition has not yet quite reversed the rule, but it has in a great measure destroyed it. Other considerations than those of wealth and profession are now taken into the account in estimating a man's influence and respectability; and there is evidently growing up a common sympathy in behalf of the laboring, self-educated man, towards whom so much injustice has been exercised in times past.

The measures we have proposed, all tend, and should be considered as so many instruments, to promote self-education. Our mechanic associations, our libraries, our collection of philosophical apparatus, our periodical, our apprentices' school, what are they but so many instruments and aids,

to encourage and promote self-culture—the compound lever which shall move each individual to the highest exercise of his mental and moral powers? Upon the influence of vigorous and intense self-education among mechanics, by means of the instruments named, and others connected with them, we base all our hopes of improvement and elevation in our order to a higher and better condition. I have no confidence in, and place no value upon, any of the measures proposed or any I can conceive of, as ends. If they have any value or are worthy of any consideration, it must be as means well calculated to promote self-cultivation, to arouse and stir the individual to make advances in the worthy culture of the capacities and powers with which he has been endowed by his Maker.

I rejoice at the efforts that are making in the world to place in the hands of every man the stoutest weapon of defence, a good education. I see in the movements for extending education in the old world and the new, by kings and republicans, an acknowledgment that a man is not a mere thing, but a unit among the spiritual creations of God; and that beneath the coarsest rags there beats a human heart, there throbs a human soul, having the capacity and the right to improvement that shall never end while eternity endures.

What more appropriate place than New-England, and among whom better than her mechanics can this idea be better acknowledged in its largest extent, and adopted as a practical principle? The few every where, and in all professions, and against the heaviest discouragement, will make progress and rise superior to the mass that rank with the foremost. If we labor for the few alone, we come short of our duty, and we fail in our enterprise. We must work for the mass and encourage each man to labor for himself like a true man. We must seek to get every man to throw as much mind as possible into all which he undertakes, and to induce him to have confidence and exercise an all-sustaining faith in his own powers of mental acquisition, and really and in fact to be learned, whether he appears so or not.

The work before us is not small, nor are our duties in regard to it light. It is said a view of the present state of society in our beloved country discloses the fearful fact that "our republican edifice at this time, is not sustained by those columns of solid and ever-enduring adamant, intelligence and virtue, but its various parts are only clinging together by that remarkable cohesion—that mutual bearing and support which unsound portions of a structure may impart to each other; and which, as every mechanic well knows, will for a time, hold the rotten materials of an edifice together, although not one of its timbers could support its own weight." If this be so, and there are too many startling indications of the fact, it is certain that unless a new substructure can be placed beneath every buttress and angle of our boasted Temple of Liberty, it will totter and fall and bury all indwellers in its ruins! Let us rather strive to save humanity from being thus buried in the dark grave of anarchy and ignorance. Let us devoutly pray and perseveringly labor to have intelligence, virtue and religion

"go forth,  
Earth's compass round,  
Till their high priesthood shall make earth,  
All hallowed ground."

"Ah! dearest Anna, for your love I'm dying,  
And at your feet I lie." "I see you're lying."



## Address of the Home League

To the People of the United States.

The Annual Convention of the HOME LEAGUE took place in this city, agreeably to the notice given in a former Magazine, on the 18th October last. The election of officers was as follows:—President, Gen. James Tallmadge, New-York; First Vice President, Governor Mahlon Dickerson, New Jersey; Second, James Brewster, Connecticut; Third, Dr. J. W. Thompson, Delaware; Fourth, Harmer Denny, Pennsylvania. Recording Secretary, L. D. Chapin; Corresponding do., T. B. Wakeman; Treasurer, William G. Lambert; of New-York. Central Committee or Council, Joseph Blunt, C. C. Haven, A. Chandler, J. D. F. Ogden, John Campbell, of New-York city; Samuel Oakley, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Joseph Burden, Troy, N. Y.; Charles S. Morgan, Virginia; John S. Riddle, Philadelphia, Pa.; Joseph Grinnell, Allen Putnam, of Massachusetts; Wm. B. Kinney, New Jersey.

FELLOW CITIZENS: When a country gifted as ours has been by the beneficent bounties of Providence, possessing every advantage of soil, climate, free institutions, and the blessing of profound peace, finds itself arrested in its onward career, its commerce languishing, its agricultural products a burden, its Internal Improvements suspended; its manufacturing and laboring classes without adequate employment, and the credit of the General Government, as well as that of many of the States, crippled or repudiated, it is certainly the duty, as well as the privilege of an Association, constituted as the Home League is, to present their views to the public with the hope of remedying some of the existing evils. Were our labors merely confined to sectional views, to the advancement of one portion of national interests in preference of any other, we might be suspected of narrow and selfish motives; but our principles and proceedings are known to be the reverse of these. Several conventions have been held in this city, composed of delegates from every section of the country interested in the protection of American labor, and the advancement of our home concerns. In all their discussions, animated by a spirit of patriotic investigation, impartial but not neutral, they have endeavored to enlighten the public mind with arguments based on facts, statistically deduced, rather than by abstract theories. The information sought for by some of the representatives in Congress, but refused, through the influence of party vassalage, has been obtained by us and placed before the people. This information, it is believed, was eminently serviceable in the formation of the Tariff now in operation; and were that measure allowed to exert its beneficial influence, undisturbed by sectional and party warfare, we should scarcely deem it necessary, at this time, to continue our labors.

But our country is lamentably divided by local preferences, produced, in some measure, by seemingly antagonistic interests. The machinations of political aspirants, aided by foreign and sectional influences, have a constant tendency to paralyze the free action of the people, and to subvert the public good. The abstruse dogmas of political economy, under the specious name of Free Trade, are artfully combined with party-creeds and official promises, so as to seduce our countrymen to throw away their elective franchise for that which profiteth them nothing. Thus our national interests are prostituted, and one would almost suppose we were scarcely able to walk without the aid of party leading-strings or foreign crutches. To be really

free, sovereign, and independent, to esteem national defence as much a right as that of individuals, to have a home and a policy of our own, deserving of our regard and protection, is rather deemed transcendental. We find popular leaders, and many of the public presses, daily warning against the protecting policy as an infringement on the constitution, and inconsistent with their enlightened notions of changing the selfish nature of man, and of revolutionizing the world by a universal non-resisting Free Trade. That which is known to be an imposture, professed, but never practised by England and now virtually repudiated by her, as well as abandoned by France, Russia, Germany, and nearly all the independent sovereignties in Europe, is adhered to by us as the "world's last hope." We become vain of wearing the cast off livery of foreign States, and the enemies of popular government exult in scorn to see how easily we are cajoled by them. To combat this fatal delusion, and to exhibit the history, principles, and policy of protection, as connected with our home interests, we shall now proceed to fulfil the duties assigned us by the members of the Home League.

Among the resolutions which were passed at our Anniversary were the following, to which we respectfully request your attention:

*Resolved*, That our first duty as American citizens is a preference to the country which is the land of our birth or the home of our choice; and that we are bound steadfastly to maintain those principles which will advance its prosperity. One of these principles, we believe to be, that of fostering all the industrial pursuits and useful arts that may tend to our support and independence as a nation. This Convention, therefore, openly takes the ground that all the revenue necessary for an economical and liberal administration of the Government should be levied by discriminating duties for the protection of American industry, the encouragement of the useful arts, and the support of our National Independence.

*Resolved*, That any policy by which adequate protection to American interests is to be subverted, would be a violation of the privileges now accorded to the industrious and enterprising citizens whose capital and labor are involved in the mutual interests of agriculture, manufactures, and mechanical pursuits; and would, moreover, be an infraction of that trust reposed in our Government, which is so essential to bind the people and the States to the Union.

*Resolved*, That this Convention, in common with the free industrial classes throughout the country, approves the general principle of protection for the sake of protection, not incidental, nor horizontal, and least of all, accidental; but a liberal, well-digested, and whatever its imperfections, most acceptable Tariff, being now passed, without compromise, by the independent votes of the friends of Home Industry, it will be our determined and most zealous aim to guard it from repeal, or the insidious attacks of hireling presses in foreign interest, and from being sacrificed by sectional or political enemies, or "base, revolting" friends.

*Resolved*, That as the example of the United States in offering reciprocal treaties, upon Free Trade principles, has been counteracted by a narrow system of foreign policy, favoring some portion of our home products to the great disparagement of others, and has been decidedly prejudicial to the general interests of the country, it is due to our national honor and welfare to be just in regard to our own States as well as friendly to foreign nations; and without abandoning a liberal spirit of international trade, we ought to maintain our own essential rights, and foster the growth and independence of our own country, in preference to any other.

*Resolved*, That the protection and promotion of the arts of peace constitutes an integral part of the strength and sovereignty of a nation, and deserve, as a defence, the patronage of Government as much as navies or standing armies. It is the decided opinion, therefore, of this Convention, that our country requires the formation of a HOME DEPARTMENT devoted to the industrial interest of the country, including those of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, mining, the fisheries, and Internal Improvements, which, in connection with commissioners of the customs, should steadily furnish reports to Congress and the country at large, by which our Legislators and our citizens generally may be benefited.

*Resolved*, That the members of this Convention, representing the united Home League of the whole country, disclaim, as they have ever done, a blind allegiance to any party; but, uniting with the independent and true friends of home interests of all parties, they seek to advance the general welfare of the whole country by the diffusion of patriotic sentiments and the practice of inalienable American principles.

*Resolved*, That a great change in public opinion having been brought about by the statistical facts and arguments published by the Home League Association, we now urge on the Central Committee the continuance of such publications. We wish farmers, especially, to see the value of our home market for those agricultural products they cannot send abroad without paying from 100 to 1,000 per cent more duties than are levied on imports taken in exchange for them, and we want our citizens generally to understand the fact, that protection is not for the benefit of monopolists at home, but to defend us against those abroad; for, with our home market secure against excessive imports of such goods as we can and ought to manufacture, every such article, *empty protected*, will become cheaper by the effect of home competition, and thus put an end to smuggling, as well as foreign rivalry.

*Resolved*, That a union of education and labor, is as advantageous to a young nation desirous to introduce the useful arts, as schooling and learning a trade is among the enterprising young men of an industrious community. The expense of introducing skill and costly experiments to obtain perfection in any mechanical and manufacturing pursuits, should be indemnified by those who are benefitted by it; and if your country is enriched by successful appropriations of individual capitalists for these objects, it is for its interest to protect them, or, at least, to pay the cost of learning the trades which enterprise and ingenuity have introduced.

*Resolved*, therefore, That protection is right in principle as well as practice. Every nation that adopts this policy advances in civilization and independence; all who neglect and abandon it, either remain poor and ignorant, or retrograde into barbarity.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to all our fellow-citizens who wish to see our own laboring men well-educated, well-clothed, and well-fed, to give preference to fabrics made at home by our own freemen, rather than to use imported luxuries for the maintenance of unfortunate foreign serfs.

*Resolved*, That the interests of agriculture and manufactures are one and indivisible, as demonstrated alike by the experience of our own and the history of other countries; that the importance of the home market, created by manufacturing, is strikingly exemplified by the fact, that the prices of land, of bread-stuffs, and provisions, were doubled during the operation of the Tariff policy; and although the exportation of the two latter has been diminished by foreign restrictions, the home consumption has vastly increased.

*Resolved*, That while the immense contractions of our currency within the last few years, inevitably causing a reduction of the prices of all products, has necessarily reduced the money prices of labor, we

rejoice to believe and know that, as soon as the new Tariff shall have had time to exert its fair and full effect in giving activity to business and steady employment to industry, the general condition of the laboring classes will be sensibly and permanently improved, and the actual reward of labor increased, whatever its money price shall be.

*Resolved*, That it is hereby recommended to the friends of the protection of home labor throughout the Union, to press the importance of this subject on the attention of the laboring men of the country in every practicable manner, and to require of the candidates for Congress especially, express and unequivocal avowals of their soundness on this question, and their determination to consider it secondary to no other interest, but to uphold faithfully the principle and policy of protection.

Such, fellow-citizens, are some of the leading principles and condensed arguments of the Association, which now authorizes us to address you. Before presenting our views in connection with them more fully, we deem it of some importance to give a brief statement of the origin and progress of what is called the Protective Policy in the United States.

Its history may be told in few words. There has been nothing constant in it, but change; nothing settled, but to keep it the bleeding victim of party warfare. Although entitled to boast of being first among our legislative enactments, the favored offspring of the Fathers of the Constitution, its claim to legitimacy has been, of late, boldly questioned. To repudiate it, has become the settled policy of those who first warmly espoused its adoption. The extremes of the Union have changed sides in regard to it. Its first friends were from the South; its earliest enemies, those at the North, who, at last, convinced of its advantages, now faithfully advocate its permanency. The Middle States, alone, have been its constant supporters. The West, generally, is in its favor; but her representatives have not uniformly voted for it, without some political compromise. Whilst, however, it has thus been always clearly espoused by a majority of the States, and been sanctioned by the delegated sovereignty of the people, as expressed by all their Presidents, from the days of Washington to the present time, (except the elder Adams, and he, we believe, was not opposed to it,) yet such has been the effects of party manœuvring and political log-rolling, that either by direct attacks or cunning abstractions, its energies have been crippled, and its very existence now remains an accident. A Tariff, it is true, has at length been passed, which acknowledges the principles of discriminative protection incidental to obtaining a revenue, but nothing is more certain than that nothing is yet decided as to its being continued; and under the influence of political inebriety, and vacillating legislation, no dependence can be placed upon it. We consider, therefore, the protective policy as completely unsettled now, as it ever has been. Its enemies still keep possession of the field, and are recruiting new levies to repair their late defeat; and unless greater confidence can in some way be continued, by which capitalists can have faith in the Government or security for their investments, the whole fabric of our domestic industry and internal improvements must be leveled in the dust.

The temporary repudiation of the existing Tariff, we regard as nothing. Friends and foes have been disappointed in their predictions of what it would

produce. Those who expected a miraculous change by its enactment, as immediate and palpable as that of converting water into wine, have been sadly out of time in their calculations. If the seed, however, is not childishly pulled out of the ground ere its fibres are allowed to germinate, abundant advantages will it produce in good season for every interest in the land. Its nature is essentially life-giving and conservative, and its influence will be home-felt. It recognises, in its features, a favoring of the whole commonwealth, instead of a sectional or foreign preference; and, with a few alterations, may be made a standard measure by which to shape our national improvements, and secure, by a permanent revenue, adequate protection.

But permanency, we apprehend, is not the leading interest with those who control popular governments; and we fear the present, as well as any other Tariff, that is fairly protective of the whole interests of the country, will be short-lived. A decided choice and action on the part of the people, will alone secure a PROTECTIVE GOVERNMENT; and without such a government the States will be like icebergs, terrible in conflict, and if divided, lost in a "sea of troubles." The election and preservation of a protective government, we look upon as the test question of the Union.

To conjecture what may be the future history of the protective system, would, under existing circumstances, be deemed idle or superfluous. New formations are now going on in the organic relations and commercial policy of the old world, the effects of which must be sensibly felt on our shores. War, with its volcanic eruptions, no longer disturbs and terrifies the nations, but peace is found to have its miseries which neither human wisdom nor fortitude can avert. Almost everything abroad seems to be going into a state of liquidation. There are premonitions in the decline and fall of states which it would be unwise in us not to be prepared for. In every way we must be affected by them; and whether the starving many, or the privileged few, are in the ascendancy; whether the stringent remedies, used to uphold their tottering existence, are to be relaxed or more rigorously enforced, this country must participate deeply in the result. There has not yet been time to form any conclusions upon the influence which our new treaty with England, and the existing Tariff, will have; but we doubt not they will be beneficial.

A more serious consideration is demanded in relation to our Home connexions. The great question, whether free American industry shall stand or fall, is a far more exciting and momentous subject of discussion. It cannot be expected that the two extremes of Northern and Southern disputants about Protection, who consider their interests to be wide as the poles asunder, can easily agree on any policy, although that policy should be ultimately and mutually advantageous. The one great obstacle which kindles irreconcilable hostility, and which, the more it is attempted to be suppressed, grows into more frightful dimensions, is sure to prevent even a compromise again on the subject of a Tariff. The banner of free trade is already hoisted by its uncompromising advocates at the South to obtain its sectional preferences, and the advocates and defenders of free labor in the Northern, Middle and Western States, seeking to pro-

tect themselves in their constitutional privileges, will not be fettered by any servile exactions. *The issue is a momentous one.* Those who have the Union to defend, and will defend it so long as they can enjoy its advantages, will not, we think, be unwilling to have the question of protection to free labor, or the security of a reciprocal commerce, decided by the great Western States, the agricultural yeomanry of the land, who are most interested in the matter. To them, then, we appeal confidently, solemnly to understand and settle this subject amicably and forever. Protection to their interests involves all that the manufacturing and free working citizens of the North and Middle States ask for. Home industry and home consumption, steady and thriving occupations for our laboring classes of both sexes, the promotion of internal and foreign commerce, the advancement of all our national improvements, consistent with the security of a sound credit, encouragement to the fisheries, mining interests, and the creation of a currency for the exchanges equal to specie in security, but with less risk and expense; these are some of the objects which the friends of American industry, the advocates of protection for the whole Union, have steadfastly and zealously asked for.

We will now proceed, with as much brevity as possible, to discuss the principles on which our advocacy of these measures are founded.

And first of all, we wish the public to understand our position. Entirely free from vassalage to any party, composed as the Home League is and has been of independent men of all parties, acting in favor of our home interests, we are not willing to be charged with being the exclusive advocates of rich monopolists merely. We are thoroughly and conscientiously convinced, by the most faithful investigation which our minds are able to give the subject, that the protective policy and an acknowledged PROTECTIVE GOVERNMENT, will conduce more to the advantage and growth of our common country, in all its interests, than any other course which can be devised. In asking protection for the free laborers of the Northern and Middle States, for the enterprising manufacturers of Lowell or Pittsburg, who have risked their capital in introducing the costly improvements and machinery of Europe, to establish our own independence and industry, we do not petition for a privilege militating with the general rights of the community. To monopoly of any sort, and the influence which monopolists, foreign or domestic, strive to maintain in our country, we oppose uncompromising hostility. We wish for home competition, and our home markets to ourselves, and such connexions only with other nations as will enable us to exchange what surplus products we have for a fair equivalent, on the principles of true reciprocity, value for value; but not to be compelled to take what we do not want, or what would injure the growth of any of our essential interests, when no foreign nation will offer us any such gratuitous preference.

Again, we reject with scorn the silly notions which some impute to us, of seeking to introduce the culture of articles unsuited to our soil and climate; such as tea, coffee, spices, and the like luxuries, because we ask the fostering aid of Government to establish and improve the arts of weaving, spinning, machine-making, mining, ship-building, &c., by which other governments protect the

interests of their subjects. We insist that *labor is the great common staple of the whole country* deserving and needing protection—that *free labor*, especially, requires defence against the encroachments of foreign pauper labor, and the sectional preference given to the products of slave labor, as long as no market is secured for the products of the free farmers and manufacturers of the North and West. We believe that a *discriminating and impartial protection* of the most promising pursuits of industry, for all classes of our citizens, according to their respective advantages of soil, climate, and facilities, is the first duty of popular government, whereby the greatest amount of wealth and comfort will be obtained for the whole community. We think that such protection should be *ample, positive, and not vacillating*; not *incidental, but special*; adequate to the security and growth of whatever interest is intended to be protected. Any shifting, half-way pretended protective policy, is no policy at all. It is a fraud on the patriotic believer in the good faith of our Government; and the effect of it, as already practised, is to be seen in the halting confidence placed by our capitalists in the continuance of the present Tariff. No new mills are set in motion, and many that were suspended still remain so. That protection which is merely for the sake of revenue, is as uncertain as the revenue itself, a mere mockery of the term. To the Committee, who have given the subject impartial and faithful investigation, no fallacy seems so absurd as that of refusing to discriminate decidedly what objects are worthy of protection in this country, except that of refusing to protect those so discriminated. Any trifling legislation of this sort; whether by excessive, transient, or half-way duties, under the mask of friendly interest for those who ask for favors in good faith or not at all, is a reproach upon any government. Those who are stretched on this rack cannot fail to consider extinction of existence as a greater boon than such doubtful protection.

That the free trade doctrine of open ports, and an unrestricted intercourse with communities composed of moneyed monopolists and a dependent pauper population, would necessarily place our few capitalists, and free, well-conditioned, laboring classes in a direct losing competition with their foreign rivals, cannot be doubted. Let us suppose, for the sake of seeing our exact situation in such an event, that the Tariff were entirely repealed; as an event which seems to be desired by some, and which would not be much worse than any temporising incidental protection. The facilities of improved navigation would immediately bring us into juxtaposition with our competitors in all employments. Our wheat, flour, provisions, and other products of our soil and industry would not, to be sure, be admitted into England or other European countries, where they are prohibited, or not wanted; but their manufactures, the products of their laborers, their capitalists, would have free scope in our markets. And, under these circumstances, what would be the condition of the American laborer in his own country? Is he a manufacturer? Unless labor declined to the prices given abroad, and capital was to be obtained at English rates of interest, ruin must inevitably ensue, deluged as our markets would be with foreign fabrics. Is he a farmer? What new outlet could he have for his

produce, to take the place of that steady consumption received from the hitherto protected, but now ruined manufacturers and laborers, who would be compelled, perhaps, to be his rivals instead of consumers? Is he a mechanic, or relying in any way upon his daily labor for the comforts of an independent support? Either foreign laborers would supersede him, or a reduction in the prices of his own labor, down to the standard which would be necessary to enable the manufacturers here to employ him, would take place; and thus, instead of any one growing rich by the experiment on this side of the Atlantic, we should all have to strip ourselves of our abounding comforts, and become losing partners with the poor depressed operatives of foreign countries, or be compelled to work like serfs to maintain moneyed aristocracies and governments loaded with debt. Our few capitalists who, by their superior enterprise and improvements, might be tempted to continue their works in operation, would have constantly to contend with the falling circumstances of foreign English manufacturers, broken down by the loss of their European markets, for, as long as they were selling out their goods here at a sacrifice, no American manufacturer nor joint stock company, ever so well endowed, could realize any profit. Let any one now say that we should be gainers by any change of condition like this. Are the free citizens of this country prepared to enter into partnership with a people so embarrassed? Would the country be benefitted by having London docks transferred to New-York harbor, or the shops of Sheffield, Birmingham, and Manchester opened in our cities, or half a million of paupers hired by our citizens to displace as many of our own free industrious workmen? Such, however, would be the result of open ports; and such the effect of foreign influence on our Home interests, deprived of protection.

Any one may see the effect of this leveling free trade system in the present condition of our commerce and navigation; brought about by our unfortunate treaties, falsely called reciprocal. Who now monopolizes the freighting business which once supported our enterprising ship owners? Danes, Swedes, Papenburgers, Hamburgers, and others, now take and bring a great deal of what we were once the carriers of, on such terms as they can get, and which their destitution of our accustomed comforts compels them to covet. Look into our sea-ports and see the fleets of splendid packets and carrying-ships, moored without employ, mated and dismantled as during the war or embargo. Listen to the clamors of our seamen, deprived of their once liberal wages, whilst not a freight is to be obtained that will remunerate an American ship owner, for the cost of carrying it. This is the free trade policy. This it is, to embrace a community of interests with the reduced dependants of impoverished and enslaved foreign states.

Let us now take a hasty glance at the reverse of this picture. Whilst our foreign commerce, which has ever been the pet interest of the whole country, costing us untold millions to establish it by diplomacy and to defend it with our navy, in order to create occupations for our foreign carrying-trade, finds itself prostrated by the effect of that policy which merchants engaged in foreign commerce generally uphold, the rapid increase of our coasting-trade, under the influence of what may

be called our navigation law, proves fully the advantage of protection. Indeed, were it not for this trade and the internal communications on our lakes and rivers, by steam and canal navigation, this country might almost as well be without its shipping interest. Their relative position is striking enough at present. Depressed as business has been of late, commerce within our own borders still goes on to an immense extent. It is not unusual to hear of vessels making voyages of fifteen to twenty days, from Buffalo to Chicago, and back, and realize more than European freights by them; in some instances, as high as \$6,000 to \$10,000. In the Express of this city, we see one vessel reported last month, as making over \$1,500 in less than five days, from Syracuse. This branch, too, of our national thrift, is sure to increase as long as it is protected; but the Free Trade notions of open ports, and free navigation for foreigners as well as ourselves, in our own waters, were to prevail, how long would it be before every coaster and steamboat would have to compete with such craft as now lays up our foreign marine?

The shipping interest, and every thing connected with our commerce on the ocean, is one of great importance; but it is in a most unprotected state, and what is worse, there does not appear to be any immediate effectual mode for protecting it. Existing treaties must be fulfilled, and prevailing prejudices, among commercial men, are not easily abandoned. For many years they have had the carrying-trade almost to the exclusion of every other flag, and, of course, were stout declaimers in favor of Free Trade, when free to themselves only; but now, things are changed; their foreign competitors are in the field, ravenous for a share of the spoils, and will avail themselves of the advantages which peace and free intercourse will now give them. Our ship-owners and seamen must now look at home for employ, or submit to the reduced wages and rates of freight which other carriers take. We see no other alternative.

Daily encroachments are made by England, under the sanction of treaty stipulations accorded to her, to circumvent our direct trade from the Atlantic sea-ports, by preferences to her colonial subjects, especially in Canada. Our western States are offered direct bribes, to abandon the sending their produce down our rivers, railroads, and canals; sure to find as good prices on the lakes connecting them, with British merchants privileged by their government to enter goods in England on better terms than those accorded to American shippers from our own ports. Witness the effect of a late regulation of their protective government once professing free trade so stoutly. The last steamer brings the following:

"The Board of trade has decided, that hams, *smoked and dried in Canada, from salted pork, imported from the United States*, are admissible at the duty of 3s. 6d. per cwt. On hams, imported direct from the United States, the duty is 14s. per cwt."

The warehousing system recently got up in our sea-ports, and now pressed so vehemently before Congress, we consider unfriendly to the protected interests generally, and not likely to benefit our shipping interest as anticipated. If all foreign vessels are allowed to bring all sorts of foreign goods and pile them up in our warehouses *ad libitum*, without paying duties, but ready to be re-exported in foreign vessels, or to take precedence

in our own market whenever there is an opening, thus keeping our own manufactures in perpetual abeyance, and interfering with our own shipping interest, we do not see the advantage that our country would derive by the operation. If we must give up the sound policy of collecting the revenue by cash payments on arrival, which is the most annoying angle of our defence in the eyes of our hostile rivals, let us, at least, do it with some defence to our own interest; let our shipping interests be preferred by a discrimination which they so much need. Instead of allowing all imports the benefit of the warehousing system *on credit*, let it be allowed only to goods imported in *American vessels*, and we should like it the better if restricted also to goods on American account. Let all other imports have the advantage of, and be subjected to, the warehousing scheme, but be liable to cash duties on arrival, as at present.

We do not desire to be brought into closer alliance, and more unrestricted intercourse with those who have too much advantage over us at present. If the warehousing system would achieve one half the blessings its friends count upon, we would gladly yield to its trial, although convinced of its general impolicy. But we are satisfied it is a delusion; one of those foreign schemes applicable to England, perhaps, in her present state, but ill suited and injurious to our growing republic. As members of the Home League, advocating the policy of protection for *all* our home interests, we should deplore the abandonment of the present system of cash duties, as inconsistent with a wise and liberal economy. But if the warehousing plan is to be introduced, we trust it will be placed on a footing in connexion with our coastwise regulations, *protective to our own navigation*, and not on the plan of what are called reciprocal treaties, yielding our own rights to foreigners by sacrifices of our own offering.

In proceeding further to discuss the policy of protection, it is due to the agricultural interest not to omit the claims which our farmers and northern producers have, upon a fair share of discrimination, in their favor. To them, the security of the home market for consumption is not only all-important, but a steady outlet for their surplus products should be secured. The sectional preference now existing in favor of the products of the South, cannot fail to be considered by the free and hardy yeomanry of the northern and western States, as partial to those who live under a milder sky, and have certain chartered privileges of which they are naturally tenacious. Our free workingmen cannot fail to view the advantage derived by slave labor, in any other light than a grievous monopoly. However constitutional it may be, they will so consider it; and unless the protecting arm of Government is allowed to be extended for their relief, without exciting the invidious reproaches of our Southern brethren, it should not be expected that they will be contented. If, as has been stated, labor is the great common staple of the country, which is every where entitled to protection, free labor is pre-eminently so, as constituting the vital element of our free institutions. The free farmer asks for a market for his wheat at a price equivalent to supporting him as a freeman, without seeking relief from poor laws, or employing slaves to till his lands. The free mechanic, also, who helps to sustain the farmer by consuming his produce

demands the right of making and selling his shoes, shovels, or other articles he is most expert in making, without being interfered with by the import of foreign fabrics, paid for by the exports of cotton. He wishes to work and maintain himself and family; but in an open market this is impossible, without coming down to the level of slave or pauper labor. Here, then, we see that free trade and free labor are incompatible, without reducing the freeman to the bare rates of subsistence accorded to the slave or serf.

Now, neither the farmer nor mechanic are contented to be disfranchised and debarred the privileges of freemen, whilst a portion of their own countrymen, possessing a sure market for the products of their slaves, deny them the right of living by free labor, unless reduced to the degradation of working for the same miserable subsistence allowed to slaves. Even viewed constitutionally, the owner of a thousand slaves, *chattels of industry*, or labor-saving machines, as they are called at the South, has surely no more right to be protected than the free farmer with a thousand cattle, or the free manufacturer with a thousand looms, *chattels of industry*. All are alike objects of protection; and whether planter, farmer, or manufacturer, are entitled to equal privileges. Any attempt to reduce the wages of the freeman to the servile standard, or to measure his rights by those of the slave, is preposterous, and not to be tolerated.

But it is not our object, in thus placing this most delicate question in a bolder view than usual, to deny any right of security or protection to that portion of our fellow-citizens who are supported by the peculiar privileges constitutionally enjoyed by them. But it is to combat their denial of similar protection to those, whose industry, skill and enterprise, require it at the North, and in the Middle and Western States. Protection is due to all—we mean adequate, positive protection, whether it is by a favorable climate, or a peculiar chartered grant, or a discriminating Tariff. Wherever labor, the great element of our growth and independence as a nation requires security and encouragement, there, the protecting hand of Government, should be stretched out with wise beneficence. Let this principle be adopted and steadily adhered to, and there will be an end to any invidious interference of one portion of our citizens with the rights and privileges of the other. We urgently entreat our Southern friends seriously to take this view of the subject, so momentous in its consequences, and not to countenance their governors and statesmen in using such terms as *robber and pirate*, towards the free farmer and manufacturer who asks only for a fair share of the protective fabric of Government which he helps build up and support. We entreat them to weigh well and not slightly, the value of our glorious Union, worthy in itself of all protection, but whose very existence depends upon the maintenance of free labor, free discussion, and free principles. It will be well if these considerations are received calmly, impartially, and with patriotic feelings. In such a light only, are they now presented.

Before closing our remarks in favor of the principles and policy of protection, we must be permitted to say a few words in favor of establishing A HOME DEPARTMENT of the government, which, in connexion with the commissioners of the Cus-

tom-House, we deem to be highly expedient. In the present changing and unsettled condition of all commercial States, seeking in every way to prefer their own interests, there is no way to guard our essential privileges and to maintain our independence, but by exercising the keenest vigilance, and understanding what is for our own benefit. Our general policy is essentially pacific. And whilst we admit the propriety of maintaining special departments for war and state concerns, we see no reason why the paramount relations of trade, agriculture, internal improvements, and domestic industry, should be left unprovided with an efficient and permanent bureau of superintendence devoted to our home interests. We trust the Government will, therefore, speedily be provided with an agency for this purpose. Such an establishment could not be considered as a useless expense. It would more than repay the cost, in seeking out and defending new channels for the enterprise and industry of our citizens, and in protecting us from hasty and vacillating legislation, subversive of all permanent prosperity. In the language of the present Secretary of the Navy, we assert that, "the wealth of a nation does not consist in the quantity of gold it may have in its treasury; the economy of a nation is not shown, only in the smallness of its expenditures. It is rich, only in proportion as its people are rich; and it is economical, only so far as it applies the public money to uses more valuable to the people who pay it, than the money itself. This is but another name for national thrift; but is the only sense in which national economy is of any value." A HOME DEPARTMENT, acting upon these principles, and A PROTECTIVE GOVERNMENT, wisely discriminating in the choice of pursuits for the exercise of the industry, intelligence, and enterprise of the people, furnishing steady occupation and security to all, would soon render the United States rich, powerful, and independent. Our union would thus be preserved; the high destiny we aspire to, be attained; and our country would long enjoy the proud distinction of being free, sovereign, and independent.

**POWERS THE SCULPTOR.**—The Philadelphia North American mentions a report, coming from this city, that Hiram Powers, the American sculptor, is dead, having been stabbed by an Italian artist. If this report is true, then indeed has Art lost one of its chiefest ornaments. The North American justly speaks in high terms of his great promise, which needed but experience and opportunity to place him first in the list of living sculptors.

**Hear what Sir Astley Cooper says,** on the subject of intoxicating liquors: "I never suffer ardent spirits in my house, because I think it an evil spirit. If persons using it could witness the *white livers*, the *dropsies*, and the shattered nervous systems which I have as the consequences of drinking, they would say that ardent spirits and poison are synonymous terms."

**THE TEAR OF SYMPATHY.**—The Charleston Courier, in calling attention to a concert, says, "any one can obtain admission by dropping a tear of sympathy in the shape of a quarter of a dollar at the door."

## The Improvement of Agriculture As an Art and a Profession;

### AN ADDRESS

AT THE ANNUAL CATTLE-SHOW AND FAIR OF THE MONROE COUNTY AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, IN ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCTOBER 28, 1842. BY HENRY COLMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

AGRICULTURE is the only object proper to this occasion. This subject may be viewed in various aspects and relations. I design to speak of its improvement and elevation as an art and a profession. Every thing in life, dependent for its exercise upon intelligence and skill, is susceptible of improvement; and, for aught that human sagacity can determine, of indefinite improvement. Who, in respect to any art or science, is competent to say there is the end? It is only they who, through ignorance or indolence, or prejudice or obstinacy, choose to remain at the bottom of the hill, who see nothing beyond them, and pretend that they can go no further. But those brave minds, who have struggled up the first summits, rugged and difficult as the ascent may have been, see a wide prospect and an expanding horizon before them. It is with them as with the traveler in the Alps; other and loftier summits, as he ascends, present themselves to his view, showing their bright peaks glistening in the sun-beams, stimulating his generous ambition with an irrepressible impulse, and inviting him onward to bolder efforts and nobler triumphs. Agriculture then admits of improvement. Its improvement depends on the intelligence and skill which are brought to bear upon it. There is no art or pursuit, where intelligence and skill find more scope for exercise, or more occasion to call them out, and to tax them to the extent of their power.

I shall endeavor to illustrate these sentiments. When you consider the limits which the occasion imposes, your candor will make due allowance for the necessarily superficial manner in which the duty must be performed.

The improvement of agriculture may be said to comprise two objects; first, the improvement of the art of cultivation, and second, the improvement of the condition and character of the cultivators. The improvement of the former is a small matter compared with that of the latter; the improvement of the latter, understood in its best sense, must essentially aid the improvement of the former.

I. An art is perfect, when it answers completely the end to which it is directed. The end of agriculture is to render the earth productive. The perfection of this art is when the earth is made to produce all that it is capable of producing, at the least expense, and without irreparably exhausting its productive powers. The expense of cultivation, and the exhaustion or ruin of the soil, are material considerations. Men engaged in business, or familiar with matters of finance, know how ill-judged and pernicious is that management of stock or capital, which, in seeking to make large dividends, is gradually, slowly it may be, yet certainly, exhausting the principal. Husbandry like this cannot be too severely condemned. It is as unnecessary as it is unwise, for it is among the beautiful and benevolent arrangements of Divine Providence that the earth should contain within itself a recuperative power; under good management it is ca-

pable of recovering its exhausted energies; and under a wise system of cultivation, manuring and rotation of crops, its fertility may not only be preserved but increased.

1. If we apply this test to our present husbandry, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that it is far from having reached the perfection of the art. If we look first at the amount of products, even in this favored region of Western New-York, the average yield falls far below the possible yield; and by the possible yield, I mean, not a mere theoretical or speculative production, but that which has actually been accomplished. Of wheat, some of the most intelligent farmers state that the average yield does not exceed, and this in the most favored districts, twenty bushels to the acre. Now I have known thirty bushels to be taken on large fields, forty bushels, fifty bushels, and upon one large tract sixty-four bushels per acre. I speak now of home production, and not of foreign countries. In this matter likewise, there is little reason to question these statements, as the wheat crop is easily, and almost always, measured with exactness, in the half-bushel or by weight; but reports of very large crops of Indian corn, are always distrusted by the skeptical, on the ground that the corn may have been measured in the ear, or only a portion of the field may have been measured, and the rest made matter of inference; or no allowance has been made of shrinkage. In respect, however, to Indian corn, making all the abatements for error that the incredulous may require, it will appear that such yields have been obtained as should make the farmers, who are satisfied with the meagre crops usually obtained, at least open their eyes, if, in truth, such men have any eyes to open. I have been exceedingly surprised when informed by farmers in Western New-York, whose good judgement and intelligence cannot be distrusted, that the average yield of Indian corn does not exceed twenty-five bushels to the acre. New fifty bushels are not an extraordinary crop. I have known seventy-five bushels per acre to be the ordinary yield of one farmer, whose cultivation was extensive. I have had authentic information of the crops of Indian corn of one farmer, having for years exceeded one hundred bushels per acre, shelled and measured accurately in the half-bushel, in the spring. I have known, upon the most undoubted testimony, one hundred and twenty-eight and one hundred and thirty-two bushels per acre produced in localities which seemed most inauspicious.

In respect to grass, the crop of hay does not probably average more than one and a half ton per acre. Now I have known many crops of three tons per acre on extensive fields; and in one case I knew more than twenty-nine tons to be taken in the same year in two cuttings upon six acres of land. In respect to potatoes, the yield is probably not more than two hundred bushels per acre. I have produced crops of more than four hundred and eighty bushels, and have known repeatedly seven hundred bushels per acre, and in one instance, at the rate of more than twelve hundred bushels per acre.

I might instance other crops; but it is sufficient to have referred to these, to show that our husbandry in general, in respect to its productiveness, is far inferior to what it may be. In many cases our soil is not inferior to any which the sun shines

upon. There is in our climate no hindrance to the highest measure of production. The large crops to which I refer, are the result of skilful and superior cultivation. They do not come by chance. They show what skill and labor can effect. It will be said that they involve an expensive cultivation, but in every case within my knowledge, they have rendered an ample return for all the labor and expense incurred. An observing farmer will perceive that in most cases a few extra bushels in the yield, constitute all the profit of a crop. Thirty bushels to the acre may barely pay the expenses of cultivation; but fifty bushels, without any increase of land, or labor in planting, cultivating or harvesting, may leave a clear profit of twenty bushels per acre. It will be said that such cultivation exhausts the soil. It does not exhaust the soil any more than poor cultivation exhausts the soil; and it is followed with this remarkable difference, that it affords the means of enriching the soil and restoring its exhausted energies, which poor cultivation does not. Who ever heard that a farm became exhausted by good cultivation? Whose farms are in the best condition—the farms of those who grow the poorest, or those who raise the largest crops? Farms may be exhausted by growing the same crop too often in immediate succession on the same land; by carrying off the products from, instead of consuming them on the farm, and thus returning nothing to replenish the soil in the form of manure; but under a wise and skilful and liberal husbandry, it would be difficult to find a country exhausted of its fertility by production. Look at our immense forests, and calculate what an enormous amount of vegetable matter is contained in the timber upon an acre of ground. But is the soil impoverished or enriched by it? Is not the vegetable pabulum, the food of plants, constantly increased by the growth of this heavy timber? Would land become more rich by leaving it uncovered and without plants? Does a naked fallow enrich the soil? A fallow may benefit the farmer by the destruction of noxious weeds. The land is benefitted by being stirred, and exposed to the influence of the air, and dew, and frost, and rain. But would a fallow, kept constantly clean, and extended even through a series of years, do anything to increase the fertility of the soil? Undoubtedly a large portion of the carbon of which plants are composed, of the food of plants, is derived from the atmosphere, of that which is above the ground and that which is within the ground; but as undoubtedly this is received only through the organization of the plant, through its leaves and stem. The living plant itself decomposes the atmosphere, and appropriates to its own growth and nourishment that which it requires. So, likewise, it decomposes the vegetable matter already existing in the soil in a state of decay, and recovers the food, which, in the dissolution of a previous vegetable growth, has there been stored up for it, and is held ready for its use. With the exception of the salts or the mineral substances which are found in plants, and which in any case constitute comparatively a very small portion of their substance, they derive all their food and nourishment from the air, either directly or indirectly; directly through the leaves and stem by a process of absorption well understood, in which the elements of the air are decomposed and its carbon appropriated; and indirectly through the decayed vegetable matter or humus of the soil,

itself, the product of former vegetable growth. So far then from vegetable production serving to impoverish the soil, it is the means of increasing its fertility. In proportion as we cultivate and enrich our lands from their own resources, under a judicious arrangement and management, they become constantly more and more fertile. By the beneficent constitution of Divine Providence, the earth, while it contributes to the support of man and beast, is designed to become more productive, or to keep up its richness, from its own activity. It is like the fountain of true charity, and beautifully emblematical of the Divine beneficence; the more it expends, the more its abundance increases. It is like the human mind; the more active it is rendered, the more its powers are invigorated; the more it does, the more it can do; and the more its treasures are poured out, the more its fulness is enlarged. The great object of the art of agriculture is therefore yet to be achieved. What has been done once, can be done again. There is no monopoly of power in this case. Nature is uniform in her laws and operations. It is an old saying that "fortune favors the brave;" that is, men find their power increase with their activity; according to the Latin proverb, "they are able because they believe themselves able." In many respects they command fortune. Taking advantage of the simplest of nature's laws, and using her forces as she designed they should be used, she is never wanting on her part, but seconds every effort for improvement; and the more readily and cheerfully as these efforts are the more spirited energetic and determined. If any man has raised one hundred bushels of corn, or sixty bushels of wheat to an acre, who will pretend that it cannot be done again? No farmer, who deserves to be called a farmer in the highest sense, and to take rank among the noblest of this nature's nobility, the lords of the soil, ought to remain content until he has done it. When he has accomplished this, then he should not be satisfied until he has done even much more than this. There is undoubtedly a limit beyond which we cannot advance. All human attainments are necessarily finite. But who knows where this limit is? Who ever went so far as to be certain that he could go no farther? The difference between that which cultivation has produced already in some hands, and that which is ordinarily produced, is very great, and sufficient to occupy the enterprise and ambition of most farmers for a long time to come. But let them make the attempt to do all they can do, or rather all that can be done. They may not succeed at once. Few men succeed at once in any great enterprise. But let them try again, and again, and again. If, after doing their best, they fall short of the goal of their hopes and expectations, yet there is a great pleasure in trying. There is a great satisfaction to a generous mind in the mere pursuit of a good and useful object. An immense benefit comes to the community from an example of intelligent and persevering exertion. Let there be a generous ambition and a constant stimulus to enterprise in all the departments of human industry and activity. When the heart beats, the impulse is felt throughout the frame; and you cannot quicken the stream of life in any one part, without accelerating the circulations through the whole body. Go on, then, trying always to do better and better. The farmers have been too often the sport of the rest of the community



for their sluggishness, their indifference, to improvement, and their incredulity in respect, both to what may be done, and even in respect to what has been done, where any thing extraordinary has been effected. Injustice has often, but not always, been done to them in this matter. They should shake off this apathy. They should awake up. While every other art is advancing in the career of improvement, almost with the speed of a locomotive engine, they should whip up their team, and not be distanced in the competition. There is a beautiful circumstance connected with agricultural emulation. In many of the pursuits of life, one man gets rich by making another man poor. He climbs the ladder by putting his foot on another man's shoulder; or, he builds his own dwelling out of the fragments of his neighbor's, which he has undermined. This is often a crying injustice, and inflicts many bitter mortifications, or arouses vindictive and tiger-like passions. Emulation in agricultural improvement enkindles no such baleful fires. A man can make no improvements in husbandry, without at once extending the knowledge and advantages of them to others. The enlargement of the capacities of the soil, and every increase of its productions, confers as immediate benefit upon the whole community.

Another question arises in this case, which I must not pass over. This high cultivation involves a great expense, and with the common cheapness of land every where, can we afford the expense? Is it not better to get the same amount of crop from a large number of acres of land cultivated slightly and imperfectly, than from a smaller number cultivated with more liberality, care and expense? Is it better for a farmer to get his one hundred bushels of wheat from five acres of land cultivated superficially, or from two acres cultivated thoroughly, and in the best manner? I believe in general the latter will be found the preferable husbandry in every case; but where circumstances are favorable, where there are energy and capital, I have no doubt; and my answer to the question is, not only to get one hundred from the two acres, but to get two hundred and fifty from the five acres.

It is an excellent rule, that whatever we do, we should do as well as possible. I do not refer in this case to what may be called the ornamental in farming, but to all that is substantial and practical. A poor man, who is without means, and struggling single-handed under these difficulties which overwhelm so many of our farmers in their setting out in life, may be excused for getting along as he best can; but not so with men, who have it in their power to cultivate their farms in the best manner, who farm not for pleasure but for profit, and to whom farming is as much a profession and trade, as any other business is to any other man. In other departments of business, it will, I believe, be generally found true, that the more careful and thorough the workmanship, the more successful is the result. Agriculture forms no exception to the general rule; and the more thoroughly and perfectly this art or business is conducted, so much the more certain is the ultimate success. In my opinion, a farmer can never produce too much; I mean of that which he can keep. He may grow too much of that which is perishable. He may raise too many potatoes and turnips, because these must be lost, if not consumed within the year. He

may raise too much live stock, children always excepted; too many pigs, cattle and horses; for exclusive of what their growth may do towards paying for their consumption, the market for them is always capricious and uncertain, and the expense of their keeping goes on whether the market is good or not. What this expense is, where a considerable stock is kept, that man can best tell who looks at his magnificent mow of hay in the autumn, and his granaries crowded with their golden treasure, which makes his eyes glisten with tears of joy, and then, after keeping his hungry stock through the long winter without any improvement of the market, looks where his mow of hay was, and enters his vacant corn barn, echoing back from its emptiness his foot steps, and is then obliged to wipe away the scalding tears of repentance and disappointment. But grain crops, with care, are imperishable; and there is seldom a case in which in the course of two or three years the provident farmer, in almost any situation, may not find a good market for whatever of grain he may have to spare.

Under the direction of a sound judgement, therefore, as to the kind of produce, a farmer cannot produce too much. Our farmers labor under great disadvantages for want of capital. To the proper management of a farm, some floating capital is as necessary as in any branch of trade or business. The inquiry of most farmers is, with how little labor they can get along? The inquiry should be, how much labor can be used to advantage? I speak now not of men, who are farming for pleasure, but for profit. No part of a farm should lie unimproved; and what the farmer does use and cultivate he should seek to make as productive as possible. The universal complaint is that labor is expensive. It is expensive. It ought to be. On high authority we are charged "not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn;" and the faithful laborer, in every department of business, is entitled to an equitable compensation, and to a full share of the products of his own toil. The man, who has the meanness to grudge this reward, deserves himself to be a slave; and to be doomed with other slaves, more worthy than himself, to his salt herrings and his peck of Indian meal, delivered on Monday morning for his week's allowance. With us, however, in general there is no just ground of complaint. If the labor applied to agriculture were unprofitable in all cases, it would then be best to abandon the business entirely, or until labor is reduced to that standard of price, at which it can be used to advantage for any object, without stint and without concern. But we have not yet seen that time. In all my intercourse with farmers, even with labor at the rates which it has maintained among us, where the farming has been judicious, and extraordinary casualties or circumstances are excepted, I have never known a case in which a full compensation has not been had for the labor applied. We can, therefore, afford to apply it as extensively and liberally as the land will admit of. We can afford to an acre of land all the labor and capital which are requisite to make it produce as much as possible. Our labor, when concentrated, is likely to be most effectual. Most men say, cultivate a little land and cultivate it well. If you farm for profit, I say, cultivate a good deal of land and cultivate it well; but do not attempt to cultivate any more than you can culti-

vate in the best manner. In this way your land will be in a course of gradual improvement; whereas, by the other system of cultivation, the condition of your farm is likely to be growing worse instead of better. In the latter case you may get larger returns for less money; that is, more for less money, or more in proportion to the money expended; but in the former case, by a thorough cultivation, you get more for more. In the superficial cultivation, your returns are necessarily limited and comparatively small; in the thorough cultivation, your crops are large and abundant; and, as I have before stated, the extra product is commonly clear profit. I do not know that I am understood, in a case where it is rather difficult to explain myself. But I will more fully illustrate it. A farmer cultivates his 20 acres of wheat at 7 dollars per acre, and gets for his 140 dollars 400 bushels of wheat; that is at the rate of 35 cents per bushel; or, he expends 12 dollars upon the cultivation, and gets a return of 800 bushels, which is at the rate of cost of 30 cents per bushel, besides leaving his land in a high condition of improvement for the succeeding crop. Or, he cultivates 20 acres of Indian corn, at 15 dollars per acre, which produce 25 bushels to the acre, at 60 cents per bushel; or, he expends 30 dollars per acre in the cultivation, and gets a return of 75 bushels per acre, at a cost of 40 cents per bushel. This seems to me a fair statement of the case of the comparative expediency of a cheap and superficial, or a thorough and liberal cultivation. This statement may not meet all cases; for there are peculiarities of local and domestic condition, which must effect every farmer's management; but I believe there can be no mistake in the general principles.

2. It is not merely in the amount of produce that our agriculture requires improvement, but likewise in regard to the nature or kind of crops. Let us consider the wheat crop, for example. The wheat crop is the great product of Western New-York. It is generally calculated that the wheat crop fails here about once in five years; that it is injured or destroyed by rust, by mildew, by insects or by other causes. Some of these causes are beyond human control; some we can control, either in the way of prevention or remedy. I cannot now go into a discussion of these matters. Now some of the occasions of failure may be supposed, and so some persons confidently assert, to be dependant upon the particular kind of wheat we sow. We all know that some kinds are much more productive and better than others; some yielding much more in quantity; some excelling others in weight; some making more flour from the same weight; some making better flour than others. Here, then, there is great room for improvement; for inquiring whether we have got the best, and if we have, how we shall keep it the best. In the celebrated agricultural museum at Edinburgh, there are not less than 95 different varieties of wheat, presenting great distinctions in yield, amount of flour, earliness of ripening, and exposure to disease or injury.\* When such a wide field presents itself to choose from, it is easy to see how much remains to be effected by experiment, observation, inquiry and skill. The same remarks apply with equal force to other articles of product, and as

much to the improvement of the like stock of the farmer, as to his vegetable productions.

3. A vast field of improvement opens before us in respect to new articles of produce. It is less than a century since the potato came into general use for the table. To us it seems difficult to imagine what should have supplied its place, and how men could have lived without it. The extraordinary cultivation of the flat turnip, within the memory of persons now living, revolutionised the husbandry of England. The cultivation of that invaluable root, the ruta-baga, is comparatively modern in England as well as in this country. Several grasses are cultivated with great success in other countries, which, as yet, are not known among us. Silk, destined, I believe, to be a most important article of domestic husbandry, is yet scarcely looked upon with patience. Immense improvements are still to be made in the stock of domestic animals. Even so late as the last century, the common hog was not known in some parts of Scotland; and when one, which was brought into the country by some man of uncommon enterprise, at one time got loose and appeared grunting in the streets of the neighboring village, the whole population was as much alarmed as if a wild beast had broken out of a traveling menagerie; and they appeared with bludgeons and pitchforks to destroy him; while the religious part of the community, supposing it was a veritable personage himself whom I feel diffident about naming, came out, with the schoolmaster at their head, with an open Bible in his hand, to see if they could not "lay the evil spirit."

Few of us are too young not to remember when that most valuable of all his kind, the Merino sheep, was introduced into the country; and now he is followed by the useful Southdown, the broadspread Dishley, and the magnificent Cotswold and Leicester sheep. So it is with the beautiful race of Improved Short Horned Cattle, which the honorable enterprise of many of our public-spirited citizens have introduced into the country, and by means of which our farmers are enabled at once to avail themselves of the improvements of older countries, made with the highest skill, and at an immense expenditure of labor and money, during more than half a century.

The uses of the plants we cultivate are not yet half developed. Who would have dreamed, five years since, of obtaining from 600 to 1,000 pounds of sugar from an acre of corn stalks? Yet this amount has been obtained the present year in Indiana; and a most creditable gentleman, from Delaware, informed me a few days since, that there was a strong confidence that over three thousand pounds may be obtained from an acre. Then again comes the oil from lard, which creates serious apprehensions that the grand sport of hunting whales in the Pacific is to yield place to the humble office of trying out hog's fat over a kitchen fire. Our swine are to make a high advance in public respect, since they are likely to beautify our habitations and directly assist in the composition of the highest works of genius. How difficult it is for us to imagine any limits to improvement. How vain to suppose that a century hence, those who then live shall not look back upon our advances with the same disdainful compassion with which we look back upon those, who have gone as far before us.

\* Le Coteur, I think, enumerates more than 150 different species

4. In cultivation, and in the implements of husbandry, there is immense room for improvement. Look at a modern cast-iron plough of the most improved pattern, and compare it with the ploughs used fifty years, or even thirty years ago, in its lightness, its ease of draft, its facility of repair, and especially in the manner in which it performs its work. Look at the modern cradle, compared with the sickle. Look at one of Green or Gilson's straw-cutters, compared with the old Dutch cutting-box. Look at Hussey's grain reaper, compared with even the most improved cradle, swung by the most expert hand, and say where is the march of improvement to be arrested? Look at that most excellent machine for the purpose intended, Hatch's sowing machine. Look at the subsoil plough, which, with underground draining, is now working wonders in Scotland, trebling the product of land, and converting the worn out and barren into rich and productive soils.

What a wide field for improvement is opening upon us in regard to manures! This is an immense subject; and I dare not enter upon it. A process is now spreading among ourselves for converting straw and every other refuse vegetable substance, which it formerly required months, and almost years, to bring into a condition for use, into the best condition for application in a single fortnight, at a very moderate expense.\* Various artificial manures are coming before the public for trial. We have ceased to wonder at the miracles which gypsum performs because they have become familiar. Bone-dust, poudrette, nitrate of soda, and various forms of ammonia, are presenting themselves for the use of the farmer, and furnishing him with the elements of fertility in the most concentrated, efficient and portable form. Sixty vessels have this year sailed from England to the Pacific, to bring home that most powerful of all manures, GUANO, or the excrements, as it is supposed, of sea birds, found in almost inexhaustible quantities on the Peruvian coast. The application of manures, likewise, is a subject full of curious inquiry, and where science, founded upon the most learned and subtle experiments, has a great work to perform.

I might dwell upon these important subjects, but I must not trespass upon your indulgence. The very suggestion of these topics, displays the immense field for inquiry and improvement which lies open to agriculture, and where the enterprising and inquisitive, the truly wise and the truly learned, are invited to gather a rich harvest.

II. I proceed to speak of the other subject suggested; that is, the improvement of the Farmers themselves. It will be seen, from what has been said, that agriculture is a great art; and that its improvement demands the highest exercise of the highest powers of the mind. If there was ever a subject presenting food for intellectual inquiry, that subject is agriculture, involving, as it does, the most subtle operations, and the deepest mysteries of nature. It is the mind which constitutes the true dignity of our nature. Without it, man would be a mere machine; with it, he becomes a divinity. It is for the farmers to come to a knowledge of the true character of their great calling, and place it where it belongs, among the liberal professions, and among the most exalted of sciences. Formerly, whenever there was a lame or deformed child in the family, it was thought he

would do for a tailor or a minister; and if he was a dunce or a blockhead, he would answer for a farmer. These prejudices are gone, and that stock is nearly worked out. Agriculture is assuming its proper place among the pursuits of men; and, yielding to none under heaven, in usefulness, in honesty, and intrinsic respectability, let us seek to prove, that while it presents objects to call out and interest, it is every way worthy of the application of the most improved talents which ever fell to the lot of man.

Agriculture is not a mere physical effort or labor. It is a science. It is a branch of intellectual philosophy; and its improvement and perfection, if ever it is to reach perfection, are as dependent upon the application and instrumentality of mind, intellectual perception, intellectual skill, knowledge, I will add genius, as any art or science, which is the subject of man's power or attainment.

I am aware that this is not the light in which it is usually regarded. This public sentiment in this respect needs to be reformed and strengthened. Justice has not been done to this art. It is encouraging to believe, that, in this matter, public opinion is undergoing a favorable change. I am anxious to see agriculture occupying the place among the humane, liberal, and intellectual arts, which belongs to it. But if it would reach and maintain that station, it must prove itself deserving. It may be carried to the throne by acclamation; but, as the public judgement is constantly becoming more enlightened and severe, it cannot maintain its ascendancy unless it is worthy of it. The laurels will be plucked from its brow, if they are not the rewards of merit. It can prove itself worthy to rank among the liberal and enlightened arts, only by becoming itself liberal and enlightened. Study, inquiry, reading and knowledge, are as much demanded for the advancement and perfection of agriculture, as for that of any art or science. We may expect from science, inquiry, and the efforts of genius, the same advantages here as in any other place or objects where they may be applied.

I should be glad, on this occasion, fully to illustrate these sentiments. They are important; essentially connected with productiveness of the art, with the elevation of the agricultural profession in the public regard, and the increase of the comforts and happiness of the rural and laboring classes. But I must restrict myself in this case, and I shall therefore speak of agriculture simply as a profession.

1. Agriculture is usually regarded merely as a mode of gaining a subsistence, or of acquiring property. As a means of subsistence, none is more sure or more honest. That which cultivation causes the earth to yield, impoverishes no one, but enriches all. As an instrument of acquiring wealth, it would be idle to pretend that it can be made the means of sudden, rapid, or extraordinary accumulation, or be compared with the numberless means and inventions, how honest or reputable I will not say, which exist in the community; but an industrious and skilful agriculturist is ordinarily sure of an honest competence, and secure from many perils to virtue and to possession, incident to almost every other pecuniary pursuit. This, however, is a low and narrow view of this subject. To regard the acquisition and accumulation of wealth as the end of life demonstrates the sordidness of the mind. Such a man has yet to take the first lesson

\* *Bemmer's method.*

in the philosophy of human happiness. We are to look upon agriculture, not merely as a means of subsistence or accumulation, but as a profession, pursuit, condition of life. Every man is bound to provide for himself as far as he has the ability of doing it, and to perform his part in providing for those who are incapable of providing for themselves. He has the power of doing this, and the power is the demonstration of the duty. It is not reasonable nor just that any man should subsist on the labors of other men, unless he render in some form an equivalent for those labors. The rights of men are equal, and their duties are correspondent. Every man living in a community, and nature forbids that any man should live out of it, should do what he can for the benefit of that community. This duty grows out of the natural sense of justice, implanted in the heart, and is sanctioned by the high authority of religion. But the community is best served by a division of labor. There must be much physical and much intellectual labor expended; and to work with advantage, their forces must in most cases, be combined. All physical labor wears out life, degrades man, prevents his elevation, and shuts him out from some of the highest motives to improve himself, and some of the purest gratifications of which his nature is capable. All intellectual labor is equally a waster of life; exhausts the spirits; often disqualifies men from rendering the best practical services to the community; and not seldom lifts men into a world of mere fiction, to delude them with gilded visions, which make the common blessings of life distasteful, lead them to disdain its ordinary and most useful labors, and render them the feverish victims of discontent, melancholy or despair. If the sufferings of men, whose lives have been exclusively devoted to literary pursuits, or to mere intellectual labor, could be depicted on canvass, in their variety and extent, in all their strong colors and deep shadings, we should shudder at the picture. If we could see the tortures of ill success, the corrodings of envy, the terrible disappointments of ambition, the mortifications of vanity, sensitive to the slightest breath of censure, the pangs of neglect, the burning pains of an excited competition, and the writhing agonies of utter failure to win the meed of popular applause, where the consciousness of merit was well founded, and the promises of success were brilliant, the humblest laborer, who honestly earns his daily bread by his toil and sweat, would find little occasion for the envy with which these classes are so often regarded. He would see reason to acquiesce in a condition, which, if not open to the honors of literary success, is not subjected to the perils and mortifications of failure; and if it supplies no wreaths to adorn his brow, is sure not to be doomed to bleed under a crown of thorns. I would not speak with disparagement of any of the honest professions and any profession is honest which is innocent and useful. In a civilized community, the wants of men are multiplied to a great extent. As plenty increases, luxury must be expected to increase; and when luxury increases, artificial wants are multiplied, as insects are hatched out under a summer's sun. Artificial wants become transformed into actual wants. Nor would I limit the wants of men to that which is absolutely necessary. Man is bound, in humble gratitude, to enjoy as well as to live. He may seek the elegant and the ornamental, as well

as the necessary and the useful. So far from being a sin to enjoy the blessings which Providence puts within our reach, it is a duty; and equally a duty to increase them to their utmost capacity. What privileged dweller in the country can look upon this beautiful world, and regard it merely as a House of Correction, a vast Penitentiary, in which man's only portion is to toil, to be miserable and to die. In order to produce the greatest sum of good, in order to provide for the subsistence, and comfort, and happiness of every one, and of all, many hands and heads must be at work, and variously employed; much physical labor must be exerted, much mental labor called into action, many muscles must be strained, many brains quickened. How beautiful it is, when all these physical and all these mental energies are stimulated and invigorated; and at the same time controlled, and directed, and applied, by the highest principles of our moral nature, and the best affections and sentiments of the heart. I will cast no disparagement upon any of the useful ornamental professions in life, upon any profession, however humble, which in any way or form contributes to the subsistence of men, their improvement, or innocent happiness. All happiness is innocent, which is according to nature. Every sense and faculty with which our Creator has endowed us, in its natural and healthful exercise, is pleasurable and delightful. God intended it should be used; of course under those wholesome restraints which, reason, experience and religion teach us, are essential in order to maintain the health and freshness of the faculty itself, and, in fact, to receive the largest amount of enjoyment. Now I do not say that one honest and useful occupation is above another, or below another. I do not say that the agricultural occupation is above the learned profession; nor will I admit that the medical, or the legal, or the clerical profession, is above the agricultural profession. I will not admit, where fidelity and moral worth are equal, that the employer is above the laborer, or the laborer above the employer, the artisan above the scholar, or the scholar above the artisan, the officer of justice who interprets the laws and metes out its severest penalties, and so tries to make men virtuous, above the charming writer of poetry, who, by his exquisite delineations of character, or his soaring and brilliant flights of fancy, seek to make them happy. To make men happy is one way to make them virtuous. I believe with that delightful writer of fiction, who has recently visited us from the fatherland, and whose delineations appear like transferring life itself to the canvas, and are benevolently designed to show how many real diamonds lie concealed under the heaped-up rubbish of society which we trample under foot; I say, I believe with him, that "there is nothing high because it is high in place, and nothing low because it is low in life." After making all these allowances, I shall give no just cause of offence, in saying of the occupation of the farmer, that none is in itself more honest, none more respectable, none has stronger claims upon the regards of the community for its usefulness, none is more favorable to virtue, and none is more sure in all reasonable rewards to industry, temperance, frugality, and good conduct. If men want the goods of this world upon other terms, whatever may be their *apparent success*, they will discover in the end that they have been playing a

losing game. Now how much heart-ache, how much head-ache, how much folly and how much frippery, how much indelence, how much dissipation, how much avarice, how much fraud, how much plunder, how much oppression, how much mad ambition, how much disappointment, how much mortified pride, how much actual suffering and gripping poverty, would be extinguished, if only one half the loafers and mere idlers in the community, the speculators, the brawling politicians, the useless lumber accumulated in all the professions, the miserable quacks in all three of the departments, those who kindle quarrels that they may run off with the booty, and leave both parties in default; those who cure all sorts of diseases with all sorts of nostrums; and those who profess to have found some new mode of getting to heaven other than the good old way of "fearing God and working righteousness," if only one half the mere fashionables in city and country, if one half the idle and profligate young men, whom we see tied on to the ends of cigars, crowding all public places, and the idle young women who flaunt about the exuberance of their vanity in the cast-off clothes of the silk-worm, but, poor souls! never could think of touching the caterpillar himself; I say, if only half of these crowds could be induced to get by their own hands an honest living from the bountiful earth. What a beneficent change would take place, if they would expend half the mental energy, or half the physical energy, in supplying their own wants by their own labor, which are now thrown away, and leave them only a miserable burden and tax upon the industry of others; if not callous to the shame of dependance, at least knowing nothing of that generous sentiment of honor, and that lofty sense of honest competence and usefulness, which belong only to those whose hands minister to their necessities, who wear the fleeces of the flocks which they themselves have reared, and gather the bread from fields which they themselves have cultivated.

2. I know with what disdain many persons look upon the profession of the farmer. "It is a dirty business," say they. This offends the pride of many of these fine people, who think themselves made of porcelain and not of common clay. It is dirt, however, which is easily washed off; but there is a good deal of dirt which men are apt to get upon themselves in their profession and occupations, which the burning tears of penitence will not even scald off. "But it has to do with manures and offends the refined taste." Oh! the nonsense and folly of fools! and yet, in the wonder-working providence of God, this refuse becomes the creator and the source of beauty, and is to be converted into flowers, coveted as the richest ornaments to deck even the brow of maiden majesty, and into fruits as fair and luscious as ever hung from the boughs of Eden. "But then the farmers and the farmer's habitations are vulgar, and ungainly, and slovenly, and offensive. There is no order; neatness is utterly renounced; the gates are unhung; the fences are down; broken vehicles and scattered wood piles encumber the door yards, and old hats and baize petticoats ornament the broken windows. The hogs get into the kitchen, and never discover that they are not at home until they are warned with the broomstick to quit. The hair of the bare-legged and unwashed children, looks as if they had been laid out in the snow to whiten, and had never been combed but with a

piece of apple-tree brush. The mistress of the house is slipshod, and appears as though she had crawled out of a grease closet to toast herself at the cooking stove; and the master, poor man! seems to have been afflicted with the hydrophobia from his youth, and to have been subjected daily to a regular daubing from his eyes down, with mud and tobacco juice." But I'll not finish the picture; and I will admit that in too many cases it is true to the life. You may say any thing of its shamefulness, its disreputableness, its offensiveness, that you please, and I will agree to all of it. But none of it is necessary, no more than it is necessary in the palace yard. It is stated by intelligent travelers, that the cow-stables of the Dutch farmers are so perfectly clean that you might even dine in them without offence; and that no Dutch farmer is ever suffered to come into his house from his work, until he has exchanged his dirty shoes at the door for a pair of clean slippers. I knew that a monarchical government prevails in those countries, the spirit of which probably diffuses itself into all the departments of society. But if our wives in this republican country have not here power enough, of which some of us (I say it with all diffidence) surely can have no doubt, I would move for an application at once to the Legislature, to give them the complete sovereignty of their own domicils, provided only that they will keep their own shoes up to the heel, their aprons clean, their caps tied and their children washed; and provided also, that they will renounce and denounce and never suffer their premises to be polluted by that accursed and filthy Virginia weed, which is the bane of all decency, and the corrupter of all good manners; but send it after its twin brother, whiskey, who seems fast going, by general acclamation, to his own proper place. Where that place is, it might not be civil for me to say, though I believe no honest man could doubt.

There is no reason why a farmer's premises should not present an example of perfect neatness and order; why there should not be "a place for every thing, and every thing in its place;" why the cess-pool of the sink should be open under the window; why the pig-stye should make a part of the family habitation; or why, indeed, there should be any thing on the premises to offend the most delicate and sensitive. I can show you many an example of this beautiful neatness and order.

The religious sect called Shakers are models in this respect. They find no difficulty in keeping every thing in order. The most severe cleanliness reigns in every part of their premises. They effect this by a rigid system of neatness and order. There is no difficulty in doing this, where you may secure the voluntary co-operation of the household; and there is in such arrangements, steadily and resolutely maintained, as much economy of time as there is of health and comfort.

I can point to innumerable individual habitations, and I had almost said, such has been the powerful influence of example, to whole villages, where the same habit of neatness and order universally prevail; and where, consequently, the air itself is breathed with a healthier and heartier inspiration.

3. Happy would it be for our farmers if, in addition to renouncing that slovenliness, which far too generally prevails, and which in truth in every case involves not an inconsiderable loss of property, and making exactness and order triumphant in

every part of their premises, they would seek to render their premises as beautiful as they can be made. Appearances should be studied in every thing connected with their farms and houses. There is no class of men in any condition of life, who have within their reach more of the materials and elements of beauty, and at a cheaper rate, than the dwellers in the country. Trees, plants, flowers, vines, are every where to be had for the mere trouble of getting, in some of those half-days or half-hours which occur in the busiest conditions of life, and which are so carelessly squandered by men who forget that the largest sum is composed of units, as atoms make up the mountain, and drops form the ocean.

I would have them study the principles of refined taste in the construction of their farm buildings, and observe the rules of architectural proportion and architectural beauty in all their erections, whether it be a wig-wam, a log-cabin, a stable, or even a pig-stye. But why should we do this? Because these proportions are not matter of arbitrary determination, but they are fixed in nature. The violation of them is always offensive; the observance of them always gives pleasure. Such erections cost no more than buildings constructed with an entire disregard to them. Then again in the construction and condition of farm implements and vehicles, though I would not encourage any useless finery, yet I would have them made in the best manner, and kept in the best condition. This should be done on the plainest principles of economy. An implement, a wagon, or a carriage, that is neatly painted and varnished and kept clean, will be so much the more carefully used. In general what men most value they will most care for; what they take most pains to keep, they will take most pains in using; what those about you see you value, unless in cases of extraordinary perversity, they will value. How constantly do we hear the expressions, "it is new, don't deface it;" "it is clean, don't soil it;" or, "it is dirty, or broken, or old, I don't care for it." Send two children into the street; let one be a bare-headed, bare-footed ragamuffin, with a face which perhaps never had more than one thorough washing, hair that never heard of any finer comb than his own greasy fingers, and a mouth about which are grimed in and stupefied in relief, the remains of a week's broth or porridge, and nobody would think of giving him a hand to help through any mud puddle or even any gutter, unless where they thought he would be drowned; and this only perhaps because the admonitions of conscience might be a little stronger than their disgust at the sight of him; and if he should get run over in the street, you would hear no other remark than that he was a dirty dog and might have got out of the way. On the other hand, send a sweet little girl into the street, looking like a new blown rose with the glistening dew drops hanging from its leaves, with her neat bonnet without a shade upon its lustre, her frock emulating the snow drift in its whiteness, her unsoiled stockings indicating the perfection of nature's statuary beneath them, her shoes reflecting the brightest polish of art, and, above all, her face as clean, as fair, as transparent as you know her untainted mind is under all this, and there is not a chimney-sweep so low that he would not give her the side-walk, nor a clown, even among the most clownish, who would not, if

he dared to touch her, wipe his hands upon his clothes, and with delight carry her half a mile over the crossings, rather than that she should soil, I had almost said, even the sole of her slipper. I hope you will pardon the homeliness of my illustrations. I wish to be understood; and in firing among the crowd if I should happen to wound any one, I trust I shall not bring blood; for my arrows are sent on a hostile mission, and they are neither barbed nor poisoned.

I would have the windows of the farm house adorned with flowers, not in rusty tin measures and old black-glazed tea pots, and glass bottles with the necks broken off, but in whole and handsome flower pots, or neatly painted wooden boxes, for they really cost nothing. I would have the piazzas or porches trellised with vines even with scarlet runners, if nothing better can be had. I would have the door yard filled with flowers and shrubbery, and the road-side lined with trees; here a clump and there a single line, mingling the varieties as nature mingles them, cultivating them for fruit and cultivating them for mere ornaments and beauty. But this is all, you will tell me, for appearance sake? Well, is appearance nothing? Did you think nothing of appearance when you chose your wives; and nothing of your own appearance when you wished them to confirm the election? But why should the pleasures of sight be so lightly esteemed? Why should they be spoken of in the language of disdain or indifference? Are they not as rational, as respectable, as valuable, as abundant, as innocent, as the pleasures of the other senses? Are they not, indeed, the very elements of some of the most refined pleasures of the mind and heart? Has God given us the sense of sight, so wonderful, so capacious, so infinitely varied in its resources and objects, for no purpose? Is appearance nothing? What is more studied throughout the Creator's works? What object is there in nature, from the highest to the lowest, animate or inanimate, swimming in the sea or in the air, on the surface, or buried in the earth, which is not, upon examination, found to be as beautiful, as if it were finished for no other purpose than to be looked at? Take the shell that lies in the bottom of the ocean, the bird that bathes his wings in Heaven's purest light, the flowers that carpet the earth with their varied splendor, the glittering stars that light up the deep arches of the skies with an eternal glory, take the combination of the countless elements of beauty, when the morning slowly lifts up the veil of night, and, as at the dawn of the creation, reveals the glories of the visible world, or when spring breathes upon the earth, and recalls the dead to life, and myriads and myriads of forms of new beings come forth at her voice; take the descending sun as he reclines upon his western throne, and wraps around him the gorgeous robe of an unrivaled majesty; take the perfection of beauty as seen in a nearer but more transcendent form, in man himself, in his symmetrical stature, in the well-turned limbs, in the web of unrivaled softness and texture, which covers him, in the tints of his complexion, in the grace of his movements, in the melody of his voice, in the eloquence of the eye, pouring out the fires of genius or radiant with the charms of the affections, and so speak to the soul; and will men say that appearance is nothing, and that the pleasures of the sight are not to be valued and cultivated? I

say that appearance is always to be regarded; that we cannot render our homes too beautiful and attractive. Our first object should be to make our dwellings as convenient and comfortable as art can make them; our second object should be to render them to an equal extent tasteful and elegant. Do what we can, and all we can, we shall fall far short of rivaling even the simplest forms and combinations of nature.

We should do this on the ground of self-interest. Separate from the pleasures which we ourselves derive from it, it essentially increases the value of our estates. The beauty of a place, the ornamental trees and shrubs, even the garden flowers which embellish it, are always objects of attraction to a purchaser. We should do this from considerations of benevolence. Buildings erected in good taste and proportions, and exhibiting a refined judgement and skill, and grounds highly cultivated and embellished charm the eye of the traveler or passer by, and allow us to impart most bountifully without diminishing our own store. But there is another influence not to be overlooked. Habits of order and neatness, mere personal cleanliness, still more the cultivation of a taste for beauty in ourselves and in every thing which surrounds us and comes under our control, are in themselves promoters and securities of virtue. They become so by inspiring self-respect, and exalting our sense of character. The man who is known to respect himself, is always, in a measure, for that reason alone, secure of the respect of others. He finds in that fact a protection from incitements within to wrong and unworthy actions, or against degrading and dishonorable propositions from without. There are likewise a natural sympathy and connexion between the love of natural beauty and the love of moral beauty. Respecting that in the physical world which is neat, useful, regular, symmetrical and elegant, we come naturally to love and venerate in the moral world that which is of a corresponding type and character. Whatever tends in the best sense to inspire or strengthen a sentiment of the dignity of our nature, serves to secure us from that which is degrading, unworthy and dishonorable. Personal appearance and personal manners are of vastly more importance in a moral view, than men in general are willing to consider them. Vulgarly and slovenliness lead to low tastes and pursuits. I am not anxious to see the race of gentlemen farmers, technically so called, increased, though I feel no prejudice against them; but I am very anxious that farmers should be gentlemen. I have no partiality for the kid-glove style of farming; but on the other hand I cannot see why the farmer should go with his hands unwashed. I have not a little contempt for a farmer, who would consider himself above performing any labor which the business of the farm might render necessary, whether it be standing in the ditch or treading down the manure heap; but I cannot think it necessary to his proper character as a farmer, that he should carry about him, when his services are finished, the badges of his employment, to the discredit of his own appearance or to the offence and discomfort of others.

4. I may be thought to have unnecessarily enlarged upon these homely topics; but I am anxious by every means in my power, limited and humble as that power is, to make the agricultural profession attractive and respectable, and to remove from

it every thing that is repulsive even to the most cultivated minds. I detest all false pride; I perfectly nauseate that affection of sensibility or superior delicacy, which considers any of the honest labors of the farm as degrading, or any of the operations of nature as improper for their inquiry or unworthy of their observation; but the pride of neatness, and order, and decency, and modesty, is to be respected as an essential element in good breeding and in virtue. I mean, then, simply to say that there is not, on the part either of men or women, the slightest incompatibility between any household or out-door care, any domestic service, any farm labor whatever, and the highest intellectual cultivation, the utmost delicacy and refinement of taste and manners, and the most genuine courtesy and politeness, which are to be found in any condition of life, and which in their true character constitute the charm of social intercourse.

I recollect on one occasion passing the night at the house of an agricultural friend in another State. He had been brought up to mercantile life in England, and was a man of excellent education and extensive reading. He had retired from business to a farm, where he designed to pass the evening of his days in the calm pursuits of rural life, to which he was enthusiastically attached. He possessed an independent fortune, but his sound judgement and experience admonished him that an entire remission of labor would be fatal to his peace if not to his health; and that the true secret of rational and solid enjoyment lay in the constant, reasonable and healthful exertion of the bodily and mental powers, in the pursuit of some worthy object. Without regard therefore to his fortune, he determined to devote a reasonable portion of his time to the improvement of his farm, to cultivating it in the best manner, and to rendering it as productive as possible; and to make this an object of pursuit as he would have done if his living had depended on it. He had three grown up daughters, who had enjoyed and improved the best advantages of a polite and substantial education which wealth in England could afford. They sympathized in their father's views, and with their brothers took their full share of the labors of the farm.

I found the house as I expected to find it; neatness and order and simple elegance presiding in every department, and "books and work and healthful play" dividing the hours, and placing listlessness and fretfulness and *ennui* at defiance. My attention was first directed to a beautiful mahogany bee-hive of three stories, and so attached to one of the windows that it was easy at any time by removing a slide to see the busy and indefatigable colonists at their tasks. The order and industry of this household, "skillfully building their cells and gathering honey all the day from every opening flower," were an index to the condition of the well regulated family, whose hospitality I was enjoying.

I shall say nothing of my dreams that night; for that I confess was the golden age of youth and the starry season of poetic fancy and illusion. I will not say what angels in white hovered around my bed, decked my chamber with the fairest flowers, and shook from their lily white hands the sweetest perfumes over my pillow. I rose at the peep of dawn, while as yet night was struggling with the morning as if reluctant to quit her hold; and objects were yet covered with that grey light, which

forms the transition state from night to day. I was determined to ransack the premises, before the family should be stirring, and my first visit was to the barn-yard to see the cows, which I have always regarded as among the best benefactors of man, and with a veneration approaching almost the idolatry with which the same beneficent animal is regarded by the natives of Hindoostan. But I found that I was anticipated; for the well known sound of the streaming milk at once struck my ears, and, as I entered, the vision of one of those charming girls, who had bid me a kind good night a few hours before, presented itself before me, not in my mind's eye, but in real form and substance. With a neat tie cap, a plain cape-bonnet, partly and, I believe, a little silly thrown back, a short loose gown, a white apron, the very emblem of purity, her locks neatly combed on each side of her high forehead after the style of the Madonna, and her face as radiant with the freshness of health as now the morning became radiant with the purest light, what object could have been more beautiful? Even my kind wife would have forgiven my admiration. "Hers," she told me, "was the care of the milk establishment;" and never did I enjoy a higher honor than to carry her full pails into a dairy room, presenting in its fixtures and its products, in its white and golden treasures, the perfection of neatness and order. This was the first duty of the morning; and when the breakfast hour arrived, the same bright vision in a style of simple elegance, "when least adorned adorned the most," presided at the cheerful meal, dispensing not merely the products of her dairy skill and the delicious bread and condiments made by other fair hands in the household, but intermingling with these the brilliant treasures of a ripened intellect and a well cultivated mind, and the charms of an unaffected and improved politeness.

5. I proceed now to the consideration of a means of elevating the agricultural profession of more importance, because of much more efficient influence, than any to which I have referred; and that is education, knowledge, intellectual improvement.

I have already said that the glory of man is his mind. If his animal nature is curious, and wonderful and beautiful, his intellectual nature is transcendent and divine. This places him at the head of the animal creation. In his mind as in the seed lie the undeveloped elements of moral growth and the secret sources of that energetic authority, which subjects the most powerful elements of the physical world to his sceptre, and makes him "the monarch of all he surveys." In an art, involving many of the most wonderful operations—and agriculture is that art—dealing in the most subtle agencies in nature, and presenting even to the casual observer, in cultivation and in vegetable and animal growth, a succession of miracles, where is there more occasion for the most subtle inquiries of philosophy?

To the careless observer the deposit of a seed in the earth, its germination, its after cultivation, its progressive growth and its ultimate maturity, are matters of such every day occurrence, that they create no surprise, and are seldom remarked. But they are all replete with wonders, which in their solution have hitherto defied to a large extent the most subtle searchings of the most subtle minds. Where does life repose in this dried kernel, so small and to all appearance so utterly in-

ert? What secret agency swells and protrudes the germ? By what power does it force its way above the surface and gradually expand its leaves and put forth its flowers, and mature its fruits? How and where does it gather and assort, and at its pleasure use or reject the various materials which go to form the stem, the leaves, the flower, the fruit? How does it construct its exquisite cells and pierce its delicate tubes, and elaborate its juices, and drink in the subtle gases that float around it, keeping that which it needs, sending back that which it does not need, doing that by its own spontaneous energy, which the chemist deems the highest triumph of his skill, and framing its wonderful organism, and compounding its peculiar odors, and mixing in exact proportions its beautiful colors; and all this while, be the situation or soil, the appliances or manures what they may, remaining true to its kind, so that the gases do not change into the umbelliferous plants, nor the bulbous roots transform themselves into the cereal grain? Beyond all question all these operations go on according to fixed laws, perfectly simple in their operation if we could but understand that operation; and no more the effect of chance or accident, or direct interference of the divine artist than any other of the regular operations of the material world. But what are the influences and effects of seed and soil, of heat and light and electricity and gravity, of dew and rain, and air, and manure, and culture, by what power exerted, by what circumstances controlled, all these are matters for philosophical inquiry, and as yet can scarcely be said to have been approached. The rearing and improvement of live stock, and the whole subject of comparative anatomy and animal philosophy, are matters likewise coming directly within the province of the Farmer, full of food for the inquisitive mind, and opening a wide field of inquiry. Is education then of no value to the Farmer? His knowledge no use to him? Is his profession a matter of mere servile and animal toil? Has the mind no work to perform here? Is this art to form an exception to every other?

How far is this art in any country from having reached the highest point of productiveness; where and when, indeed, has the actual capacity of a single acre been tested? Is there no room for inquiry, for the exertion of the highest powers of the mind to determine this point? The same remarks apply with equal force to the rearing and management of live stock. Any man who compares an Improved Durham Short Horn or a full-blooded Merino or Dishley Sheep with the common stock of the country, and does not perceive how much has been effected by the exertion of the highest measure of intelligence and skill directed by science, and how much more is yet to be hoped for by renewed and continued efforts, seems doomed to a hopeless stupidity.

If at the same time we look back to what has been gained in the actual increase of the products of agriculture, we shall see equal reason to acknowledge the advantages derived from the application of mind to this art, and to take courage in view of what may hereafter be gained. I have already touched upon this subject. Half a century ago fifty bushels of Indian corn to the acre would have been regarded as an extraordinary yield. A crop of a hundred bushels is not now uncommon, and more than one hundred and seventy have



been produced in this State. In Scotland a few years since thirty bushels of wheat would have been beyond the average yield even of the best cultivation. Under a system of under-draining and subsoil ploughing, sixty are now not uncommon. It is not long since the system of leaving half the ground fallow was deemed indispensable in order to recruit the exhausted lands; now by a judicious rotation, alternating white and green crops, the land is kept uninterruptedly in production.

Education may be considered in two respects; first as general, embracing all the common subjects of reading and inquiry; second as specific, limiting itself to the particular objects of the agricultural art. Both are equally conducive to the respectability of the profession. We see every where what an influence and standing the high cultivation of the mind gives to every man, who has it, in our community. No official station, no mass of wealth so elevates a man; and even if we were cursed with the aristocratic distinctions, which prevail in other countries, such is the spreading influence of intelligence, that the cultivation of the mind would enable the man to overtop them all. To attain excellence in any art the principles of that art require to be made the objects of specific inquiry and study. But giving to these considerations all the prominence we may, success in any art or science will essentially depend, not merely and not more, upon the knowledge of the particular principles or elements connected with it, than upon the strengthening and enlargement of the mind by general knowledge.

We must likewise observe an obvious distinction between the knowledge of the practice of and the knowledge of the principles of an art. Men may thoroughly understand the principles of an art without knowing any thing of its manipulations. The philosopher may investigate and explain with the greatest advantage to the common farmer the principles of vegetation and the operation of manures without himself having even so much as reared a single flower or stuck even a garden spade into the ground. In order to a successful practice the art must be learnt as well as the science, the execution as well as the theory. The best prospect of success is when they are united; when science directs the application of art, and art in its turn demonstrates the lessons and shows the proper qualifications and necessary limitations of scientific principles.

To render the profession as respectable as it may be they should be combined. The farmer's vocation in this respect presents singular and extraordinary advantages. His season for relaxation from toil in our favored climate furnish enviable opportunities for reading and inquiry. Besides this none of the labors of the farm, excepting where they are excessive, require any intensity of application or any abstraction of mind which would interfere with the most active exercise of the intellectual powers on subjects quite foreign from this immediate occupation. The farmer may commune intimately with nature even when bending over his hoe; he may talk reverentially with God about his wonder-working providence from between the handles of his plough; and he may often in his fields hear the deep voice of a divine philosophy speaking to his soul, as the shepherds heard a message from Heaven, while they were counting

the stars and watching their sleeping flocks upon the plains of Judea.

There is another singular advantage connected with the profession of the farmer; and one which applies to comparatively few other of the laborious occupations of life. The farmer's labors, with scarcely an exception, are all healthful. They are pursued in the open air where there is free play for the limbs and room for the expansion of the lungs. There is no deformity springing from unnatural positions or distorted motions; and no exhaustion or laceration of the most delicate parts of his frame, from a confined atmosphere or one surcharged with poisonous or deleterious elements. Add to this that the natural and healthful exercise of the muscular powers gives vigor and energy to the mind. Their influence is reciprocal; their sympathy is indissoluble. To render therefore the profession of agriculture respectable; to make it as productive as it may be made; to further its improvement, and to derive from it all the pleasures which are capable of being derived from it or associated with it, let us see to the improvement of our minds. Let us pursue knowledge with an insatiable thirst. Let us encourage for ourselves and others every attempt and means to advance the improvement of the intellect and to stimulate inquiry. We may thus convert what has hitherto been regarded, and not wholly without truth, a sordid and degraded profession, into one of the highest pursuits of philosophy. But do not limit your notions of education to the mere teaching of the schools and the mere routine of collegiate discipline. This is comparatively nothing. The great object of scholastic institutions and studies is not so much the communication of knowledge as the teaching men the proper use of their own faculties in order to acquire knowledge for themselves. When men leave their schools therefore the work of education has scarcely begun. They have learnt only the use of the tools; they are now to practice the trade. They must now educate themselves; and what is so valuable as self-education? Examples are not wanting in our country and in other countries in times past and in times present, of self-taught men, who have risen to a high eminence in science, while daily occupied in the distracting cares of life or the offices of a laborious trade. Such examples have a mighty eloquence; and speak in terms of persuasion, which no voice can emulate.

In all these respects, as I have said, the farmer is particularly favored. Books are attainable in unstinted abundance; and objects and facts, the only infallible teachers, are constantly unfolding themselves to his observation. Experiment is a powerful instructor. Let him read; let him inquire; let him try; and above all let him observe. Let him search into the causes of things. Let him follow nature into her hiding places; and, if he can, compel her to answer his inquiries. She is sometimes coy; and will sometimes need asking more than once; and sometimes requires urging, before she will say any thing. But let him remember that "a fair lady was never won by a faint heart." Perhaps, like some others, she may sometimes say no, when she means yes. When the profession thus becomes enlightened, and its simplest operations are converted into experiments in philosophy and inquiries after truth, no pursuit is more respectable or more happy. Where the man

of cultivated mind in the performance of his daily labors finds "sermons in stones and books in the running streams," sees every object and every operation in nature radiant with the lessons of wisdom and the manifestations of a benevolence, as boundless as the universe and as ceaseless as eternity, in what situation or pursuit is the true dignity of human nature, as far as it rests upon the exercise and proper use of the mind, more illustrated?

7. In addressing such an audience as this, however, I need not add that in this as in every other profession and department of life, there is an honor and a dignity far higher than any which springs from mere intellectual improvement, let that have reached the highest wreaths with which philosophy was ever yet crowned. Without this all other gems become dim. I cannot but be understood to mean, that of moral virtue and piety. It has not come in my way to speak of this, but virtue is the offspring of truth; and piety is only another name for wisdom. Without these no business nor condition of life can have any true honor. To these the agricultural pursuit is not unfriendly; may I not rather say, to these no pursuit nor profession in life can be more congenial. The labors of agriculture tend to allay rather than to stimulate the passions. The seclusion and calmness of rural life are favorable to habits of reflection and self-possession; and if not without their perils to virtue, (for what condition in human life is exempt from them,) present as few as fall to the lot of humanity. To the cultivation of the religious affections, an elevated and habitual piety, what condition is more favorable than that in which man seems brought into immediate contact in all his labors with that infinite energy which "worketh all in all;" and where the blessings which he enjoys seem dispensed to him, not through any secondary instrumentality, but as it was directly from the divine hand? What heart should be touched with love if not his, who sees every where the wonderful, abundant, daily and ceaseless provision for the various wants of that infinite and varied family, which no mind can number, ever springing up in a ceaseless flood of being? What heart would be touched with reverence if not his, who is admonished daily and hourly to commune with God, in the changing seasons and the alternations of day and night, seed-time and harvest; and who, as the priest of nature, is called upon to make the earth, carpeted with flowers, the altar of sacrifice to the great Author of all the beauty and beauty of the creation, in His open temple, vocal with anthems of praise from every thing that lives, and lit up by His own quenchless fires?

8. We shall better understand the advantages, the means of good, the abundant sources of the purest happiness, which appertain to it, and the true honor and dignity of agriculture as a profession and pursuit, when we cease to estimate every good in life by a pecuniary standard. I have already said that as a source of sudden and great wealth it cannot be recommended to the aspiring; but as a certain means, where intelligently and industriously pursued, of competence and substantial independence, none takes rank before it. In its exemption from the common and inevitable perils incident to all business pursuits, none equals it. It is an observation of a man of long experience and most extensive acquaintance with the mercantile

community in the city of Boston, for example, that out of every ten merchants or persons engaged in trade or commerce, eight become bankrupt or die insolvent. The failures in the great commercial cities throughout our country within the past six years have been numerous beyond account, and most disastrous and afflictive. Whoever hears of the bankruptcy or insolvency of industrious and frugal farmers, unless when leaving their plain and proper pursuits, they are lured by the hope of sudden wealth into the treacherous and delusive paths of speculation?

9. Of all the conditions of men, and I have mingled with every variety, I believe in truth that none is so independent as that of an industrious, frugal and sober farmer; none affords more the means of contentment and substantial enjoyment; none where the education has not been neglected presents better opportunities for moral and intellectual improvement; none calls more loudly for religious gratitude; none is suited to give a more lively and deeper impression of the goodness of God. Some years since in the most rugged parts of New Hampshire, among its craggy cliffs and rude and bold mountains, I was traveling on horseback and came suddenly upon a plain and moss-covered cottage in the very bosom of a valley, where the brave settler had planted himself on a few acres of land, which alone seemed capable of cultivation. Every thing about the residence bespoke industry and care. Being fatigued I stopped to ask refreshments for my horse. A hale young girl of about fifteen, bareheaded and barefooted, but perfectly modest and courteous, with all the ruddiness of Hebe, and all the nimbleness and vigor of Diana, went immediately for an armful of hay and a measure of oats for my horse; and then kindly spread a table, with a cloth as white as the snow drift, and a bowl of pure milk and brown bread for his rider. I never enjoyed a meal more. I offered the family pay for their hospitality, but they steadily refused, saying that I was welcome. I was not willing thus to tax their kindness and therefore took out a piece of money to give to one of the children that stood near me. "No," said the parents, "he must not take it; we have no use for money here." "Heaven be praised," said I, "that I have found a people without avarice. I will not corrupt you;" and giving them a hearty thank-offering, wished them God's blessings and took my leave. Now here were these humble people, with a home, which, if it were burnt down to-day, their neighbors would rebuild for them tomorrow, with clothing made from their own flocks by their own hands, with bread enough, and beef, pork, butter, cheese, milk, poultry, eggs, &c. in abundance, a good school of six months in the year, where their children probably learnt more, because they knew the value of time, than those who were driven to school every day in the week and every week in the year, with a plain religious meeting on Sunday, where without ostentation or parade they meet their neighbors to gather the gossip of the neighborhood, to exchange friendly salutations, to hear words of good moral counsel and to worship God, in the most simple but not the less acceptable form, and above all here were hearts at peace with the world and with each other, full of hospitality to the passing stranger, unranked by avarice and undisturbed by ambition. Where upon earth, in a humble condition or in any

condition, shall we look for a more beautiful example of true independence, for a brighter picture of the true philosophy of life?

### The Silk Culture.

*Extract from the Annual Report of the New-England Silk Convention, held at Northampton, Mass. Sept. 1842.*

#### STATEMENT OF MR. I. R. BARBOUR, OF OXFORD, MASS.

It is thirteen years since I began carefully to examine the great principles on which the Silk Business, as a business of this country, is based. For six years I have been personally engaged in it—extending my grounds yearly. I have now five acres of trees, chiefly *Multicaulis* and large leaf Cantons, and intend to extend my grounds yet more, making this business the leading object of attention on the farm. In feeding worms, I have no startling results to give. In 1839, with my 2d crop I overstocked and lost money. My 4th crop, in 1841, hatched the middle of August, did not pay for itself. My last crops, this year, hatched and fed in the rains of August and September, did but indifferently well. All the rest of my crops during the six years, have yielded a much better profit than ordinary agricultural productions; and my belief in regard to the entire feasibility of the silk enterprise, at first derived from a somewhat extensive course of reading, is now ripened into a full and well settled assurance.

I wish to advert to a few points that may not be noticed by others.

**TREES.**—I set mine on dry, warm land, in a state of middling fertility, 4 by 2 feet, one root in a place, like other trees. Managed in this way, I fully believe they are safe from the dangers of winter, any where between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. The unripe ends of the limbs may, or may not be injured; but this is of no consequence, as they should all be headed down in the spring. On the other hand, by laying my trees, and leaving them to stand as they grow, I have lost many thousands. The reason is obvious, although, as in most cases, it is experience that has suggested that reason. They do not form roots. In the other way, the roots extend and fill the ground.

2. In the spring, I cut my trees down within about two inches of the ground, reserving a few standing for early feed. This process adds greatly to the quantity of foliage.

3. For years I have thought much in regard to the best kind of building for feeding. In Europe, they feed chiefly in enclosed buildings, with the temperature regulated by artificial means. In China, they feed altogether in open places.—Which is the best for us? I raise the question in the earnest hope that it may arrest the attention of Silk Growers throughout the country, and be fully tested the coming season, by extended experiments—only adding two things. (1.) Our climate, in the same parallels of latitude, is essentially the same with that of China. (2.) Some of the best cases of successful feeding that have come to my knowledge, were conducted on the Chinese plan, the worms having an obstructed circulation of air from the first, and taking their chance as to the changes of the weather.

4. My experience fully testifies against late feeding. The first third is worth more than the last two thirds of the season.

The regular extension of the Silk business

may now be anticipated. (1.) It has outlived the disastrous revulsion of 1839. (2.) All our agricultural journals are now friendly, and most of them are zealously engaged in promoting it. (3.) The political press is every where ready to publish any candid statements on the subject. (4.) Unprincipled speculators in trees have all left the field, and the whole Silk business has fallen into new and better hands. They did the cause immense mischief. By their operations in 1839, and especially in the wanton destruction of their trees in 1840, they practically proclaimed that mulberry trees have no intrinsic value. It has taken the regular Silk Growers two or three years to undo the mischief. Yet we have, in a very desirable and encouraging degree, done it. Trees are now appreciated, and some sales made at small prices. From this time, the Silk business cannot be extended at all without creating a corresponding demand for trees. (5.) The New Tariff, by placing the business on a level with other great interests of the country, gives it a passport to the confidence of business men. (6.) Our manufacturers, in some cases, are now shaping their business in reference to taking up Silk. Others will do the same, as the times shall seem to justify. This aids the growing of silk. (7.) The amount of Silk made in years past has been rapidly increasing each year just about doubling upon the preceding year. In all the States where legislative bounties are given, we have the means of showing this increase with great precision. I called upon our State Treasurer in Boston a few days since, and he kindly gave me the following statement, showing how the matter stands in Massachusetts:—

1836.....	71.37	1840.....	1233.59
1837.....	198.00	1841.....	2111.42
1838.....	350.52	1842—to Oct. 1.	3351.91
1839.....	434.62		

In view of these results, secured amidst all the multiplied discouragements that we have had to contend with, what may be hoped for now that we have surmounted these discouragements and gained public confidence? (8.) Another consideration, calculated to urge the business forward, is found in the fact that all our present agricultural staples are extremely depressed, and are likely to remain so. The market is completely glutted.—Our farmers must take up something new, or their sufferings will be prolonged indefinitely. In this crisis Silk comes to their aid. In the production of this article, they cannot glut the market for one whole generation most assuredly.

**TRANSPLANTING EVERGREENS.**—A work on Landscape Gardening, by J. Downing, of Newburg, N. Y. contains much matter valuable to horticulturists. His remarks on transplanting Evergreens, are entitled to particular attention—but few persons being successful in their praise-worthy attempts to transplant our beautiful Evergreens from their native forest to the gardens of the town:

"Most of our horticultural maxims are derived from English authors, and among them, that of always planting evergreens either in August or later in Autumn. At both these seasons, it is nearly impossible to succeed in the temperate portions of the United States, from the different character of our climate at these seasons. The genial moisture of the English climate renders transplanting comparatively easy at all seasons, but especially

in winter; while in this country, our Augusts are dry and hot, and our winters generally dry and cold. If planted in the latter part of summer, Evergreens become parched in their foliage, and soon perish. If planted in autumn or early winter, the severe cold that ensues, to which the newly disturbed plant is peculiarly alive, paralyses vital action, and the tree is so much enfeebled that, when spring arrives, it survives but a short period. The only period, therefore, that remains for the successful removal of Evergreens here is the spring. When planted as early as practicable in the spring, so as to have the full benefit of the abundant rains so beneficial to vegetation at that season, they will almost immediately protrude new roots, and regain their former vigor.

Evergreens are, in their roots, much more delicate and impatient of dryness than deciduous trees; and this should be borne in mind while transplanting them. For this reason, experienced planters always choose a wet or misty day for their removal; and in dry weather we would always recommend the roots to be kept watered and covered from the air by mats during transplanting.

When proper regard is paid to this point, and to judicious selection of the season, Evergreens will not be found more difficult of removal than other trees.

Another mode of transplanting large Evergreens, which is very successfully practised among us, is that of removing them with frozen balls of Earth in mid-winter. When skillfully performed, it is the most complete of all the modes, and is so different from the common method, that the objections we have just made to winter planting, does not apply to this case. The trees to be removed are selected, the situations chosen, and the holes dug, while the ground is yet open in autumn. When the ground is somewhat frozen, the operator proceeds to dig a trench around the trees at some distance, gradually undermining it, and leaving all the principal mass of roots embodied in the ball of the earth. The whole ball is then left to freeze pretty thoroughly, (generally till snow covers the ground,) when a large sled, drawn by oxen, is brought as near as possible, the ball of earth containing the tree rolled upon it, and the whole is easily transported to the hole previously prepared, where it is placed in the proper position; and as soon as the weather becomes mild, the earth is properly filled in around the ball. A tree, either Evergreen or deciduous, may be transplanted in this way, so as scarcely to show, at the return of growth, any ill effects from its change of location."

**POWER OF INDUSTRY.**—It was a beautiful expression of a Chinese sage, that by time and industry a mulberry leaf becomes a silk shawl. If the following statement be correct, it affords a still more striking proof of what human ingenuity can accomplish. In the manufacture of steel, an article may be raised from one half penny to 35,000 guineas! A pound of crude iron costs one half penny; it is converted into steel, into watch-springs, every one of which is sold for half a guinea, and weighs only the tenth part of a grain; after deducting for waste, there are in a pound weight 7,000 grains. It affords steel for 70,000 watch-springs, the value of which, at a half guinea each, is 35,000 guineas.

#### Effects of Expansion.

A cannon-ball, when heated, cannot be made to enter an opening through which, when cold, it passes easily. A glass stopper sticking fast in the neck of a bottle may be released by surrounding the neck with a cloth taken out of warm water, or by immersing the bottle in the water up to the neck; the ring binding is thus heated and expanded sooner than the stopper, and so becomes slack or loose upon it. Pipes for conveying hot water, steam, &c. if of considerable length, must have joinings that allow a degree of shortening and lengthening, otherwise a change of temperature may destroy them. An incompetent person once undertook to warm a large manufactory by steam, from one boiler. He laid a rigid main pipe along a passage, and opened lateral branches through holes into several apartments, but on his first admitting the steam, the expansion of the main pipe tore it away from all its branches. In an iron railing, a gate which may be loose and easily shut or opened, in a warm day may stick, owing to there being a greater expansion of it, and of the neighboring railing, than of the earth on which they are placed. Thus, also, the centre of the arch of a bridge is higher in warm than in cold weather; while, on the contrary, in a suspension or chain-bridge, the centre is lowered. The iron pillars, now so much used to support the front walls of houses, of which the ground stories serve as shops with spacious windows, in warm weather really lift up the wall which rests upon them, and in cold weather allow it again to sink or subside to a degree considerably greater than if the wall were brick from top to bottom.

The pitch of a piano forte is lowered on a warm day, or in a warm room, owing to the expansion of the strings being greater than the wooden framework; and in cold weather the reverse will happen. A harp or piano which is well tuned in a morning drawing-room cannot be perfectly in tune when the crowded evening party has warmed the room. Bell-wires too slack in summer, may be of the proper length in winter. There exists a most extraordinary exception, already mentioned, to the law of expansions by heat, and contractions by cold, producing unspeakable benefits by nature, namely, in the case of water. Water contracts according to the law only down to the temperature of forty degrees, while, from that to thirty-two degrees, which is its freezing point, it again dilates.

A very curious consequence of this peculiarity is exhibited in the wells of the glaciers of Switzerland and elsewhere, that when once a pool or shallow well on the ice commences, it goes on quickly deepening itself until it penetrates on the earth beneath. Supposing the surface of the water originally to have nearly the temperature of the melting ice, or thirty-two degrees, but to be afterward heated by the air, and instead of the water being thereby dilated or specifically higher and detained at the surface, it becomes heavier the more nearly it is heated to forty degrees, and therefore sinks down to the bottom to the pit or well, but there, by dissolving some of the ice, and being consequently cooled, it is again rendered lighter, and rises to be heated as before, again to descend; and this circulation and digging cannot cease until the water has bored its way quite through. [Arnott.]

**Lime-Plaster of Paris.***To the Editor of the Massachusetts Ploughman :*

SIR: I have seen the article of lime, as manure, thoroughly discussed in your paper, and am satisfied with the result, for I am loth to see the public led into error of any kind, especially on so important a subject as farming, which I consider of the first importance, as it is the source whence we derive our food and raiment.

About thirty years since, after I had acquired a little property in trade, I felt a great interest in Agriculture, not having cultivated that miserly, selfish disposition that so many do who grow rich and hoard up their money, when it does neither themselves nor any one else any good. The consequence was, I purchased a part of the Brinley Farm, so called, with an intention of making it a patten farm, but soon afterward I was unfortunate, and lost a great part of my property by the failure of a few unprincipled scoundrels; and instead of turning my farming to pleasure, as I had intended, I was obliged to turn it to profit.

I had a great opinion of lime, which I got by reading English authors and conversing with what were called gentlemen farmers, and tried it on a small scale, and should have used more but for the expense; but in no instance could I ever see any benefit from it.

But, sir, this was not the result of another experiment which I tried on a large scale. Increasing through Pennsylvania, which I frequently did, I heard much said of the benefits of Plaster of Paris; a great many of the farmers, I was told, would come fifty miles to Philadelphia, in the time of the last War, and give twenty dollars per ton for Plaster, and let their manure go down stream rather than to be at the trouble to cart it on to their lands. I do not speak of this as approving of it, for I think every farmer ought to make as much manure as possible. I was told the way the Dutch farmers used it there was to sow clover and put one or two bushels of plaster to the acre and plough in the crop and sow wheat. I was informed in Baltimore that a great deal of land on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which had been worn out by raising tobacco and corn, had been reclaimed by the use of plaster. Having got my ideas so raised, the first thing I did after I got a piece of land was to try it, and in three weeks after I applied it. On examination, I thought as the Queen of Sheba did when she visited King Solomon, "the half had not been told me;" it was applied to a piece of loamy soil which had recently been laid down and one crop of hay cut from it, say half a ton to the acre. On the first examination after the plaster was applied, there was three times as much grass as where there was none. A part of this piece of land has been kept for a pasture ever since and never has been ploughed, and I think I can safely say there is not another piece of land in town that produces more feed; it has frequently been plastered since, and occasionally ashes have been applied as a top-dressing. The manure the cattle have dropped has every year been gathered up and put into the manure heap, so that it has no other dressing than plaster and ashes, except the urine from the cattle.

Well, being so well pleased with the result of this small experiment, I tried it on a large scale on my farm with as favorable results. On many places three bushels of plaster would make more

grass grow than twenty loads of manure. I fenced off nine acres that had been fed very close by sheep for a number of years; this was the highest part where the sheep had generally lain through the nights; this was plastered at the rate of three bushels to the acre; the next season it pastured from May to September twelve cows, at the rate of three-fourths of an acre to a cow, and they had as much feed as they could eat, and on a great part of it we could have mowed a good crop in hay time.

From this time people began to use plaster considerably, and found a very great benefit from it; many of the old pastures which were covered over with mess were converted into beautiful fields of clover; but, strange to tell, just on the eve when our pastures began to be clothed with a beautiful verdure and our farms bid fair to produce double what they were wont to do, there was a story got up by some gossip, which spread like wild-fire, that this plaster which had produced such wonderful effects was not what it was 'cracked up to be'; that it would ruin the land if we continued to use it; if it did not happen in our day, it would in that of our children; that it would run our land all out, and our children would become beggars. Now as this story, like other bugbears, has had its day, I find they are beginning very moderately to use it again. I hope that no farmer will rest satisfied until he has given it a fair trial; the expense is very trifling; at present I believe it can be bought for two dollars per ton; that it will not cost more than twenty-five cents per bushel, three bushels per acre, which is a great plenty; that the expense of manuring an acre is seventy-five cents, which will pay but a small part of the expense of carting on any other kind of manure if you had it given to you. Wherever the plaster will do any good, it ought to be applied; and the only way I know of is to try it. On some land it will do no good, I am confident. I had a large piece of plain on my farm, on which I could not see the least benefit from it; this was a deep, black loam, and rather moist; as soon as I went from this plain, over all the hills it worked wonders.

Yours, with respect,  
Frammingham, Jan. 2, 1843.

BENJ. WHEELER.

**LOUNGERS—IDLENESS.**—The idle levy a heavy tax upon the industrious, when, by frivolous visitations, they rob them of their time. Such persons beg their daily happiness from door to door, as beggars their daily bread; and like them sometime meet with a rebuff. A mere gossip ought not to wonder if we evince signs that we are tired of him, seeing that we are indebted for the honor of his visit, solely to the circumstance of his being tired of himself. He sits at home till he has accumulated an intolerable load of ennui, and sallies forth to distribute it among all his acquaintances. [Exchange.]

Old Cotton Mather caused to be printed in glaring capitals, and in a conspicuous place in his *Sanctum*, the admonitory words—"BE SHORT." He realized too sensibly the value of time to suffer, willingly, any, even the most minute portion of it, to be squandered in vain intercourse with those who sometimes visited him with no other view than merely the prospect of escaping from themselves.

## How to do Good.

The duties of life are not all of the great and exciting sort. There are many duties in every day; but there are few days in which one is called to mighty efforts or heroic sacrifices. I am persuaded that most of us are better prepared for great emergencies, than for the exigencies of the passing hour. Paradox as this is, it is tenable, and may be illustrated by palpable instances.—There are many men who would, without the hesitation of an instant, plunge into the sea to rescue a drowning child, but who, the very next hour, would break an engagement, or sneer at an awkward servant, or frown unjustly on an amiable wife.

Life is made up of these little things. According to the character of household words, looks, and trivial actions, is the true temper of our virtue. Hence there are many men reputed good, and, as the world goes, really so, who belie in domestic life the promise of their holiday and Sunday demeanor. Great in the large assembly, they are little at the fire-side. Leaders, perhaps, of public benevolence, they plead for universal love, as the saving principle of the social compact: yet, when they are among their dependents, they are peevish, morose, severe, or in some other way constantly sinning against the law of kindness.

Why do you begin to do good *so far off*?—This is a ruling error. Begin at the centre and work outwards. If you do not love your wife, do not pretend to such love for the people of the antipodes. If you let some family grudge, some peccadillo, some undesirable gesture, sour your visage toward a sister or a daughter, pray cease to preach beneficence on the large scale.

What do you mean by "doing good?" Is it not increasing human happiness? Very well! But *whose* happiness? Not the happiness of A, B, or C, in the planet Saturn, but that of fellow terrestrials; not of the millions you never see, so much as that of the hundreds or scores whom you see every day. Begin to make people happy. It is a good work—it is the best work. Begin, not next door, but within your own door; with your next neighbor—whether relative, servant, or superior. Account the man you meet the man you are to bless. Give him such things as you have.—"How can I make him or her happier?" This is the question. If a dollar will do it, give the dollar. If advice will do it, give advice. If chastisement will do it, give chastisement. If a look, a smile, or warm pressure of the hand, or a tear will do it, give the look, smile, hand, or tear. But never forget that the happiness of our world is a mountain of golden sands, and that it is your part to cast some contributory atom almost every moment.

I would hope that such suggestions, however hackneyed, will not be without their influence

"On that best portion of a good man's life,  
His little, nameless, unremembered acts  
Of kindness and of love."

In a season of great reverses and real suffering in the mercantile and manufacturing world, there is occasion for the luxury of doing good. The happiest mechanic I ever knew was a hatter, who had grown rich, and who felt himself thereby exalted only in this sense, that his responsibility as a steward was increased. It was sacred wealth,

"For God, who gave the riches, gave the heart  
To sanctify the whole, by giving part."

The poorest man may lessen his neighbor's load. He who has no gold, may give what gold cannot purchase. If religion does not make men who profess it mere ready to render others happy, it is a pretence. We are to be judged at the last by this rule. The inquiry is to be especially concerning our conduct toward the sick, the prisoner, the pauper, and the foreigner. The neighbor whom we are to love is our next door neighbor: that is, the man who falls in our way. The Samaritan knew this. It was but a small pittance he gave: the poorest among us may go and do likewise.—Do not allow a townsman, or a stranger, or even an emigrant, to suffer for lack of your endeavors. It will cost you little, but it will be much to him.

"'Tis a little thing  
To give a cup of water; yet its draught,  
Of cool refreshment, drained by fevered lips,  
May give a shock of pleasure to the frame,  
More exquisite than when nectarian juice  
Renews the life of joy in happiest hours.  
It is a little thing to speak a phrase  
Of common comfort which by daily use  
Has almost lost its sense; yet on the ear  
Of him who thought to die unmoored 't will fall  
Like choicest music."

Let no one be surprised at my quoting choice poetry to mechanics. Servile bores may stare in amazement; but the *American* mechanic is no bore.—Who shall dare to say that the poorest journeyman may not reach forth his hand in the garden of the muses? And who shall deny to the honest laborer the solace of doing good? It is the best work in the worst times. Help others and you relieve yourself. Go out, and drive away the cloud from that distressed friend's brow, and you will return with a lighter heart. Take heed to the *little things*—the trifling, unobserved language or action—passing in a moment. A syllable may stab a blessed hope: a syllable may revive the dying. A frown may crush a gentle heart: the smile of forgiveness may relieve from torture. He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much; and he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much.

CHARLES QUILL.

FARM BUILDINGS.—A man of any taste or calculation may be supposed to set his house and his barns in the best spot, having regard to his own comfort and that of his cattle. But how often we find the northwest corner of the house the only side which can be entered in the winter season? And how often is the cow yard on the wrong side of the barn, cold and comfortless? Cattle that are obliged to stand in the cold will eat more than such as have sufficient warmth. Cattle need not be shut up in a close barn, to breathe corrupted air; but they must not be exposed to the winds or to rain. If they have a shelter, and the north winds are kept out, they will lie warm enough if they run loose, though the barn or the barn cellar may be open on the south.

The winters of Maine are so cold that it is astonishing to find so few dwelling-houses protected on the north by evergreen trees.

These abound in all parts of the State, and they may most easily be planted in such a situation as to render any dwelling-house warmer and handsomer. A very few minutes will be sufficient to plant a pine, a spruce, a fir, or a hemlock, if the farmer knows how to set them.—But the truth is, not one in a hundred knows how to transplant an evergreen tree. They take up any kind of deciduous tree, stripping all the

bark from the roots in their attempt to obtain long ones. But these long roots are of no kind of service when the bark is off.

An evergreen should always be taken up with a clump of soil adhering to the roots; but these roots need not be long ones. One foot in length will be sufficient when the tree is only 5 or 6 feet high.

If any one would know the difference of temperature in different places, let him go in a cold day, wind in the north, on the north side of an evergreen forest. Then let him traverse the south side. He will find that one half the fuel will answer his purpose when he is on the south side.

Evergreen trees should never be set on the south side of a barn or of a house. They keep off the sun at a season when we want all his heat. But all deciduous trees will lose their leaves in such seasons as not to be in our way during winter.—The expense of setting a few forest trees about a house and barn is so small that any laboring man may have his cottage more highly ornamented than many rich people are disposed to. Good taste in these matters should be cultivated. Looks are of no small consequence in the sale of a farm. Appearances sometimes deceive, but they are always important. We live, not to eat and drink merely, but to improve our taste and every other faculty that is given us. [Maine Cultivator.

A TABLE, showing the total value of Imports and Exports, in dollars, of the United States in each Commercial year, commencing on the 1st day of October, and ending on the 30th of September, for a period of 21 years; and exhibiting, also, the excess of Imports and Exports in each year for the same period.

Years.	Value Imp'ts.	Value Exp'ts.	Excess Imp'ts.
1821...	\$62,858,724	64,974,382	
1822...	83,241,541	72,160,281	11,081,260
1823...	77,579,267	64,699,030	2,880,237
1824...	80,549,007	75,986,657	4,562,350
1825...	96,340,075	99,535,388	
1826...	84,074,477	77,595,322	7,379,153
1827...	79,494,068	82,324,827	
1828...	88,509,824	72,264,686	16,245,138
1829...	74,492,527	72,314,671	2,176,856
1830...	70,876,920	73,849,508	
1831...	103,191,124	81,310,483	21,880,541
1832...	101,029,266	87,676,943	13,852,323
1833...	108,118,311	90,140,433	17,977,878
1834...	126,521,332	104,336,973	22,184,359
1835...	149,895,742	121,693,577	28,202,165
1836...	189,880,035	128,663,040	61,316,995
1837...	140,989,217	117,419,376	23,569,741
1838...	113,717,404	108,486,616	5,230,788
1839...	162,092,132	121,018,416	41,063,716
1840...	107,141,519	132,085,946	
1841...	127,946,177	121,851,808	6,094,369
Excess of Exports.			
1821.....	\$2,338,658		
1825.....	3,195,313		
1827.....	2,830,759		
1830.....	2,972,588		
1840.....	24,944,427		

Our readers, from the above, can make their own figuring and calculations, and then judge how far the doctrine of FREE TRADE will benefit us. One thing is clear—that in 20 years last past, our Imports have exceeded our Exports to the amount of TWO HUNDRED FORTY-NINE MIL-

LIONS, THREE HUNDRED SIXTY-SIX THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-FIVE DOLLARS.

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN have recently been taken possession of by a French squadron, which sailed with secret orders from France, and of which the destination was not known until the intelligence, that the Marquesas groups had been formally occupied for the King of the French. These islands extend from 7.51 to 10.25 S. lat. and from 139.49 to 140.16 W. long.

The principal island of the groupe is *Nooa-heeva*, which lies in 8.54 and 140.25.

Under what pretext or for what purposes the French have occupied these islands is not very apparent. They were first discovered in 1596 by MENDANA, a Spanish navigator, and were long known by his name. They were lost sight of till again seen by Captain Cooke on his last voyage, in 1779—and by Vancouver. We next hear of them from a Yankee Captain Ingraham, who visited them in 1791—and in the same year Captain Marchant, of the French ship *Solide*, having, as Commodore Porter in his journal alleges, heard at Canton of the discovery of Captain Ingraham, visited the groupe and called it *Revolution Islands*. Commodore Porter, in his famous cruise in the Essex frigate during the last war, passed some time at Nooaheeva, the finest of the groupe—landed his stores, stripped and repaired his ship, and by the aid of the natives erected dwellings, store-houses, &c.

The climate is delightful, and the bread fruit tree abundant. The natives are a fine race—the women handsome, the men bold and hardy, as the Commodore, who permitted himself to take sides with his marines, in an intestine war, had occasion to find. The record of the slaughter there committed by his order upon the unoffending natives, and of the licentiousness which he sanctioned in the intercourse with the native women, are among the reminiscences which the Journal, addressed by the Commodore to his son! might better have omitted.

But the material point at this moment, and in reference to this French movement, is that Commodore Porter on the 13th November, 1813, made a formal declaration of his taking possession of these islands on the part of the United States, and received the submission of the natives, as founded on priority of discovery, conquest and possession, which could not be disputed. He scouted the pretensions in behalf of the French, as wholly unfounded. The Boston Daily Advertiser, we perceive, characterizes the inhabitants as cannibals. Commodore Porter examined into this, and although a white man who was found among them insisted that they were so, the Commodore, who spent a long time on the island, and saw them in war, at their festivals and elsewhere, discredits the story.

The Commodore gave the name of *Washington's Island*, the fine and spacious bay of that island he named *Massachusetts bay*. Sandal wood abounds in these islands. Yet we are not aware that much, if any, intercourse has been kept up with them by our countrymen—while with the Sandwich islands, and Owyhee particularly, ly-

ing some 30 degrees to the northward and 16 degrees to the west of them, we have constant intercourse.

What effect this French occupancy is to have upon our claims of discovery and possession, upon the course of our Government, or upon our commerce in the Pacific, remains to be seen.

[American.]

**STEAMBOAT EXPLOSIONS—RAUB'S SAFETY VALVES.**—The explosion of steam boilers are much more frequent and disastrous in the Western and South-western than in the Northern and Eastern waters. The mighty streams of the great West, and the waters of the Atlantic Ocean, along our extensive seaboard, are by these dreadful occurrences, crimsoned with some of the best blood of the American people. Who can ever forget the awful fate of the Moselle, Helen McGregor, Puleaski and Medora, when hundreds, we had almost said thousands, were blown to atoms, and sent, without warning or preparation, to an untimely grave! The heart sickens at the bare recital of these solemn tragedies. Although these dreadful accidents are far more common in the South and West, yet we have had many explosions at the North, as the following list will show: The steamboat United States exploded in Long Island Sound, when nine were killed; The William Peacock, Buffalo, N. Y., fifteen killed; General Jackson, Hudson river, twelve killed, thirteen scalded; Ohio, Hudson river, five killed, several scalded; New-England, Connecticut river, fifteen killed, ten scalded; Advocate, Hudson river; Franklin, Hudson river, one killed; Swiftsire, Hudson river, five killed; Chief Justice Marshall, Hudson river, eleven killed, two scalded. The above are but a few of the terrible steamboat explosions in our very midst within a few years past. These painful calamities might be avoided at a very trifling expense. When will the proprietors of steamboats consult their own interests, and have a little more regard for suffering humanity? The long catalogue of unfortunate beings above enumerated, have passed away. The poor widow and orphan can never more enjoy their society and protecting hand. The dead can never be recalled.—But we can protect the living by guarding ourselves against future accidents; and the people of this country should rise up as one man and force upon every steamboat Raub's Safety Valves, which are a sure preventive against explosions. Let it be sounded throughout the land, that a great discovery has been made, which will be a certain protection of human life; that will protect many a happy domestic circle from sudden bereavement; that will free us from the dangers of having the dearest objects of our affections torn from our bosoms, and scattered in bleeding fragments over the surface of the waters. It is high time that the public took this matter into their own hands. And we do most earnestly hope that the period is not far distant, when the whole American People will be aroused to a sense of their danger in steamboat traveling, in the absence of some sure protection against explosions, and demand that these valves be attached to every steamboat on the American waters.

☞ We heartily concur in the entreaties of the above article, which we copy from the *Express*.—It is high time the attention of the whole country were aroused to the subject. Having taken some pains to

learn its character, we are confident that this Safety Valve is what it professes to be, as the certificates of many eminent engineers establish. It has already been adopted by the *South America* and the *Curtis Peck* of this City, as well as by many other boats, and we trust is destined to be universally resorted to. Its cost is trifling, and the room it takes, the attendance it requires, next to nothing.

From the New-Haven Herald.

**Atmospheric Phenomena.**

\* \* \* To persons not accustomed to see any unusual phenomenon in the heavens, such a fiery appearance of the clouds must be very terrific. Ignorance, in such cases, is a calamity. I had seen more wonderful appearances in the clouds or heavens, and was not in the least disturbed.

In the dark day, May 19, 1780, the heavens were covered with a dense cloud for three or four hours; the legislature was in session at Hartford, and such was the darkness that business could not be transacted without candles. During this time the clouds were tinged with a yellow or faint red for hours, for which no cause has been assigned. I stood and viewed this phenomenon with astonishment, but I had not any fear that the world was coming to an end.

In the evening of March 29th, 1782, an extraordinary light spread over the whole hemisphere from horizon to horizon, north and south, east and west. The light was of a yellowish cast, and wavy. The waving of the light was visible, and some persons heard or imagined they heard a slight rustling sound. I then resided in Goshen, Orange County, New York, and stood half an hour on a bridge over the Wall-Kill, to witness this extraordinary phenomenon, but I saw no person that was frightened at the sight.

In the year 1783, a great part of Europe was for weeks overspread with a haze of atmosphere, which caused great consternation. The churches were crowded with supplicants. The astronomer Lalande attempted to allay the fright by endeavoring to account for the appearance, which he ascribed to an uncommon exhalation of watery particles, from the great rain of the preceding year. But at last the cause was ascertained to be smoke from the great eruption of the volcano Heekla, in Iceland, which covered more than three thousand square miles with burning lava, in some places to the depth of forty-feet. I had this account from Dr. Franklin, who was in Europe at the time.

In a late paper, published by the Millerites, I saw an article, stating that the northern lights foretell something terrible. The writer seems not to know that in the high northern latitudes, in the sixteenth degree and northward, northern lights are of daily occurrence, and so have been from time immemorial. So illuminated are the heavens that persons may often see to read by the night.

These lights occasionally come so far South as to illuminate the sky in our latitude. Sometimes they do not appear for many years. At the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century those lights were not seen for a long period, and when they re-appeared, about the year 1717, our ancestors, who had not seen or heard of them, were all alarmed, and actually supposed the day of judgement had come.



During my life I have been so much accustomed to see northern lights, falling stars, so called, and fire balls, that they have long since ceased to excite my curiosity.

Nearly thirty years ago I read an article in a Vermont paper, stating that the Northern light, on a certain evening, was so low as to be visible between the spectator and a distant mountain.

New-Haven, Dec. 30th, 1842.

N. WEBSTER.

#### Lead and Copper Trade of the West.

The lead trade of the West is rapidly on the increase. The amount smelted in Wisconsin and in the vicinity of Galena, the present season, exceeds the total number of pounds produced in the whole United States, two years ago.

Lead mines are now worked in eight States; and at the taking of the census in 1840, the following particulars were gathered:

There was mined in

New-Hampshire.....1,000 lbs.	Illinois.....8,775,000 lbs.
New-York.....670,000 "	Missouri.....5,285,455 "
Virginia.....878,648 "	Wisconsin.....15,129,350 "
North Carolina.....10,000 "	Iowa.....300,000 "

Total number of pounds.....31,239,453

The last Galena paper contains a statistical account of the amount shipped from that place for the last three years; which includes the amount mined in Illinois and Wisconsin.

In 1840 it was .....	23,904,350 lbs.
1841 " .....	32,438,280
1842 " .....	32,388,130

Within the last eighteen months an excellent road has been opened from Milwaukee to the Mississippi, passing through the mining district, which will be much used hereafter in sending lead to the East by way of the lakes. Already the business has commenced, and last year (1842) 26,840 pigs of lead were shipped at Milwaukee for New York, weighing 1,888,700 pounds, besides 2614 kegs of shot.

When the canal is finished through Wisconsin, this vast lead freight will be floated through the lakes and Erie canal to market. It now gives employment to hundreds of keel and flat bents from Galena to St. Louis, where it is re-shipped for New Orleans, and then again re-shipped for New York or Europe. By way of the lakes and Erie canal, it could be accomplished in 15 days.

The copper mining business of Wisconsin is becoming one of great importance. In 1841, about 25,000 pounds were shipped east. The past year, it has greatly increased, and we learn that new smelting establishments are being erected at Cassville and Dodgeville.

Northern Michigan will, at some future day, also become a great mining district. Mr. Featherstonhaugh's report to the General Government, represents it as abounding with valuable minerals. In this, Mr. Owen's Geological Report agrees, and more recently, the State of Michigan has had the territory explored by the State Geologist, Dr. Houghton. He has made his first report to the Legislature, and will soon make his second.

Of the abundance of copper and lead the Doctor has the fullest confidence. In opening a vein, with a single blast he threw out nearly two tons of copper ore, and with it were numerous masses of pure copper, from the most minute speck to forty pounds in weight! Of the ores examined, their purity

proved to be from 51 per cent. down to 21. The great mines of Cornwall, in England, have not produced over 12 per cent. since 1771, and since 1822, have not averaged over 8 per cent. The ore worked in Wisconsin averages about 25 per cent.

There is a copper rock on the Antonagon river, estimated to weigh between three and four tons. A piece of it chiseled off by the Doctor and analyzed, contained 98 per cent. of pure metal. While at Detroit a friend of ours showed us a piece which he cut from the mass, weighing four pounds, and such was its toughness that he broke twenty-two chisels in obtaining it.

The lead trade of Wisconsin and Galena is already a business of a million dollars a year. In a few years that of copper will equal it.

The lead business has already become an article of importance in our foreign trade. We find, by referring to the English statistics, that only ten years since Great Britain exported to this country 9,792,000 lbs. The tables are now turned. For the past five years we have imported none of the article, and in 1841 commenced the exportation of large quantities of it to England.

The English have heretofore supplied the China market, where immense quantities of it are used in lining tea chests, &c. Three years ago, the Boston merchants made shipments of the article to Canton, and, being able to undersell the British, the trade in one year increased to an export of 1,510,136 lbs. The exports the past year have greatly exceeded the previous one.

In 1830, the product of all the lead mines in the country was a little rising 10,000,000 lbs., and we imported for our own consumption. In 1841, we not only supplied ourselves, but a regular export of it is now made to the following foreign countries, which heretofore have been mostly supplied by England, viz: Russia, Hanse Towns, France on the Mediterranean, Cuba, Hayti, Texas, Mexico, Central Republic of America, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentine Republic, New-Grenada, Asia, and Africa.

[Roch. Dem.]

“THE ELEMENTS OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY: embracing the General Principles of Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Optics, Electricity, Galvanism, Magnetism, and Astronomy, illustrated by several hundred engravings, designed for the use of Schools and Private Learners”—by Professor GALE of the New-York University: a new and neat edition of this well-known work has been issued on the plan of the cheap publications of the day, selling for *fifty cents*. It may be had at the office of this paper, or on application to any of its agents.

“J. R. who writes us from Utica complaining that we published on page 115 of THE LABORER a statement of Merchandise Imported into this country from 1834 to 1840 which differs from the official Report of the same made to the last Congress, is requested to rub his glasses smartly, and see if the mistake is not entirely in his own reading.—The Table we published on page 115 was expressly got up to show what amount of Revenue would have accrued to the Government from 1834 to '40 inclusive, upon imports subjected to a duty of 25 per cent. or over by the Tariff of Sept. 11th, 1841, under Tariffs of 25, 37½, 50, 55 and 58 per cent. respectively; and, to do this, it necessarily and expressly deducted the amount of Imported Goods re-exported, on which the duties are returned at Drawback.”—J. R. has only to read carefully the caption of the table on p. 115 to discover his mistake.

# THE AMERICAN LABORER,

Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry.

By Greeley & McElrath.

MONTHLY.

Volume I....Number 12.

Office No. 160 Nassau-street,  
Near the City Hall, Park. }

NEW-YORK, MARCH, 1843.

{ Price..75 cents a year.  
{ Twenty Copies for \$10.

## CONTENTS

### OF THIS (MARCH) NUMBER:

I..BRIEF EDITORIALS.....	Page 353 to 354
II..THE GROUNDS OF PROTECTION—Remarks of H. GREELEY at the Tabernacle, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1843, in Public Debate.....	355 to 364
III..THE FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY OF THE FREE TRADE ECONOMIST—By WM. ATKINSON.....	365 to 372
IV..PROTECTION AND THE FARMING INTEREST— In review of Gov. Shannon's Inaugural on Protection—By Mr. FISHER, of Ohio.....	373 to 376
V..MR. JAMES WADSWORTH'S ADDRESS before the N. Y. State Agricultural Society.....	377 to 380
VI..SHEEP IN THE WEST.....	380 to 381

With this number we close the publication of THE AMERICAN LABORER. It may perhaps be resumed at some future day, if the public exigencies and wishes should call for it. But we commenced it with the expressed purpose of making it complete within a single volume, and we have kept that purpose steadily in view. We have compressed within it the most important and pertinent of the facts, arguments, and considerations on which we rest the cause of Protection to Home Industry. We could multiply and vary these illustrations to infinity, but their substance is here. We cannot see how they can be properly studied and understood without producing or strengthening a conviction of the policy, the imminent necessity of Protection.

But the Statistics of the Population, Production, Wealth and Business of our Country embodied in this work are alone worth the price of the volume. Those prepared and submitted by the Home Industry Convention of April, 1842, are especially instructive, and can hardly be found elsewhere. Those who have preserved their numbers, or who may procure the complete volume, will find them of decided value for reference and use at all times prior to the taking of the next Census in 1850.

Finally, we have been enabled to make room for a liberal amount of matter of a more general and miscellaneous interest—relating to the improvement of Agriculture, of the Mechanic Arts, New Inventions, &c. &c. with able essays tending to the Intellectual and Moral elevation of our People, and especially of the Laboring Classes. We cannot doubt that this department of The Laborer has met with universal approbation.

—Our task is ended; its results are before the Country. We have never enjoyed a wide circulation, for our undertaking has made no noise, and has neither appealed to the Political passions nor the 'Light Reading' tastes of the hour. Yet we

hope our little work has done good in its day and generation; we know it is capable of doing it.—We have a considerable number of full sets of The Laborer, which we shall immediately put up in half binding, and offer for sale at \$1 per volume. We hope the friends of Protection will take care that these are immediately put where they may exert their proper influence on Public Opinion, by placing copies in our various Libraries, Lyceums, Reading Clubs, Debating Clubs, &c., where the works in advocacy of 'Free Trade' usually abound and none on the other side. To facilitate this, we will send 13 copies of the full work, in half binding, for \$10, to any order accompanied by the cash. Will not the friends of Protection act promptly on this suggestion?

The Editor of The Laborer, not having hitherto devoted any considerable portion of its pages to his own writings, herewith presents an argument made by him for the cause of Protection in a Public Debate at the Tabernacle, on the evening of the 10th ult. It covers but a part of the ground, but it aims to treat that with the plainness and precision of elementary induction, and to answer some of the more common and specious assumptions of 'Free Trade.'

We present in this number an extract from "The Principles of Political Economy, by Wm. Atkinson," a recent English work, which reviews the doctrines and arguments of the Free Trade philosophers with searching penetration and scathing power. The whole work is one of the very best we ever read on the general subject, being the substance of a case submitted on behalf of the Hand-Loom Weavers of England, by Mr. Atkinson, to the Commission appointed by Parliament to inquire into their condition, and the general depression of Trade. There is a freshness in its views, a vigor in its arguments, a fearlessness in its disquisitions, and, above all, a Christian morality at its basis, which we have sought in vain in most of the modern writings on the subject. This work ought to be widely circulated in this Country, yet it is wholly unknown, and the great cost of the English copy, (\$3) will prevent its dissemination. Indeed, we cannot find a copy for sale at any price, and knew of but two in the Country. (England produces this class of treatises on Political Economy for Home use only, and the opposite for profuse exportation.)

We propose to reprint this work in an economical form, so that it may be sold for 25 cents, and sent by Mail for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  cents, if the public will aid us to do so. We will send 10 copies for \$2 post-paid if printed, or return the money if sufficient encouragement is not afforded. Or we will send 5 copies and a volume of The Laborer for \$2. What say the friends of Protection? Shall Atkinson's admirable and conclusive work be printed and disseminated? Let us hear from you.

It is now evident that no change will be made in the Protective features of the New Tariff at this Session, and probably no change at all. A Warehousing System may be adopted, but with such precautions as will guard against any mischief to the National Industry. We incline to the belief, however, that no such measure will be adopted.

Congress will adjourn *sine die* on the 4th inst. The next will not be called to meet in Extra Session, as has been suggested, but will meet on the first Monday in December next.

From the Massachusetts Ploughman.  
To Mechanics.

Your wages are now low and your resources limited; you in particular who have lived by the boot and shoe business. Your wages are reduced to less than half the prices that were given but two years ago, and some of you can get no business in your line.

In many, very many, of our towns you have built up new and handsome villages and have added much to the taxable property of the country. We farmers are pleased to see you flourish, for you furnish us with markets for our produce; but we should like to see you a little more independent than you are, or can be, while you have nothing but your trades to resort to in the ever fluctuating phases of manufacturing demands. We would have you no more dependent on 'Boss' than he is on you.

We hope we shall never see the condition of our mechanics so low as the same classes are in Europe; and a remedy, or rather a guard, against the evils that are suffered there, is much to be desired.

How are we to contrive to increase the manufacturing population of New England without following the errors of the Old World? There a laborer is trained to one employment only; he is not even allowed to pursue a calling to which he was not apprenticed. A silk weaver must continue to weave silk and to know nothing else through life. He goes like his own shuttle in the track prescribed and his whole mind is fixed to a single object. He is wholly dependent on his employer, and when the business of the trade is dull, or when it suits the convenience or whim of the master to lower his wages he must quietly submit; or combining with a host of his brethren he strikes for higher wages and exposes himself to a prosecution for conspiracy.

Now the most effectual guaranty against such a state of vassalage in this country, will be, to let the mechanic have two strings to his bow. Let no man be confined exclusively to one employment.

Should it be objected that we should never thus attain to so great perfection in any of the mechanic arts, our answer is that we thus multiply the resources of the laborer, and what is lost in manual skill will be made up in mental improvement.

We would see you have more independence—not manifested in clamors against Boss for not paying such wages as you demand—but in showing that you can live without him as well as he can without you. When, therefore, you are again prosperous, lay up a part of your wages, buy a house-lot if you live in the country, and have a garden and fruits of your own. One or two acres will enable you to keep a cow and a pig, and you may raise your own garden vegetables and an abundance of delicious fruits. Then let prices be high or low, 'It's all one to Dandy,' as the Scotchman said.—The potatoes, the milk, the pork, and the poultry, will feed as many in hard times as in times of high prices. The cultivation of your premises will give you pleasure and employment, provided your mind is well trained. Your children will learn more of nature in the garden than in the workshop, and you will have the means of keeping them from idleness when your garden needs attention.

We know of no better means to render the mechanic as independent as his employer. Political brawlers may rail at rich manufacturers and pretend much friendship for the poor laborer, when an election is pending; but the most effectual means of guarding against the oppression of the employer is to show him that you can live without him—that you have two strings to your bow.

Fluctuations in business and in prices may always be expected, but they may be generally guarded against. The farmer now suffers less than any class of mechanics or traders. He lives more on his own products, and so far as the consumption of his own family is concerned he is a gainer by low prices. His groceries and his clothing were never procured so cheaply as at the present time. And though he will find it hard to raise large sums this season from the sale of his produce he has the means of lying on his oars till opportunities are more favorable. The mechanic may never enjoy the independence of the farmer—but by a partial imitation he may approximate to the same condition. He may live in some degree within himself and be less dependent on the whim of employers.

'BOOK FARMING.'—Mr. U. R. Marshall of Bradford, Merrimack County, N. H. who has taken the Visitor several years, and so far regarded the recommendation of ditching and draining low swamp lands as to try the experiment on ground which had never borne any thing, commenced by hiring the ditching of a lot of about two acres.—Some of the lookers-on freely gave the opinion that his labor and expense would be thrown away; but he now says that three dollars a day would have been cheap labor to him rather than leave the land unimproved. He sends us a sample of Herd-grass raised on his land the second year after the ditching, some of which, now it is dry, is more than six feet in length.

It is the tallest and stoutest Herdsgass or Timothy we have ever seen. [Monthly Visitor.

WESTERN RAILROAD.—Receipts for the week ending Feb. 4th; Passengers, \$2866; Freight, Mail, &c. \$3096. Total, \$5,762.

## The Grounds of Protection.

## REMARKS OF H. GREELEY,

At the Tabernacle, New-York, Feb. 10th,  
1843, in Public Debate on this  
resolution:

"Resolved, That a Protective Tariff is conducive  
to our National Prosperity."

AK. JOSEPH BLUNT, Neg. SAMUEL J. TILDEN.  
HORACE GREELEY. PARKER GODWIN.

[Reported for the American Laborer.]

Mr. President and Respected Auditors:

It has devolved on me, as junior advocate for the cause of Protection, to open the discussion of this question. I do this with less diffidence than I should meet able opponents and practical disputants on almost any other topic, because I am strongly confident that you, my hearers, will regard this as a subject demanding logic rather than rhetoric, the exhibition and proper treatment of homely truths rather than the indulgence of flights of fancy. As sensible as you can be of my great deficiency as a debater, I have chosen to put my views on paper, in order that I may present them in as concise a manner as possible, and not consume my hour before commencing my argument. You have nothing of oratory to lose by this course; I will hope that something may be gained to my cause in clearness and force. And here let me say that, while the hours I have been enabled to give to preparation for this debate have been few indeed, I feel the less regret in that my life has been in some measure a preparation. If there be any subject to which I have devoted time, and thought, and patient study, in a spirit of anxious desire to learn and follow the truth, it is this very question of Protection; if I have totally misapprehended its character and bearings, then am I ignorant, hopelessly ignorant indeed. And, while I may not hope to set before you, in the brief space allotted me, all that is essential to a full understanding of a question which spans the whole arch of Political Economy—on which abler men have written volumes without at all exhausting it—I do entertain a sanguine hope that I shall be able to set before you considerations conclusive to the candid and unbiassed mind of the policy and necessity of Protection.

Let us not waste our time on non-essentials. That unwise and unjust measures have been adopted under the pretence of Protection, I stand not here to deny; that laws intended to be Protective have sometimes been injurious in their tendency, I need not dispute. The logic which would thence infer the futility or the danger of Protective Legislation would just as easily prove all laws and all policy mischievous and destructive. Political Economy is one of the latest-born of the Sciences;

the very fact that we meet here this evening to discuss a question so fundamental as this proves it to be yet in comparative infancy. The sole favor I shall ask of my opponents, therefore, is that they will not waste their efforts and your time in attacking positions that we do not advance and hewing down straw giants of their own manufacture, but meet directly the arguments which I shall advance, and which, for the sake of simplicity and clearness, I will proceed to put before you in the form of Propositions and their Illustrations, as follows:

**Proposition I.** A NATION WHICH WOULD BE PROSPEROUS, MUST PROSECUTE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY, AND SUPPLY ITS VITAL WANTS MAINLY BY THE LABOR OF ITS OWN HANDS.

—Cast your eyes where you will over the face of the earth—trace back the History of Man and of Nations to the earliest recorded periods, and I think you will find this rule uniformly prevailing, that the Nation which is eminently an Agricultural and Grain-Exporting Nation—which depends mainly or principally on other Nations for its regular supplies of Manufactured fabrics has been comparatively a *poor* Nation and ultimately a *dependent* Nation. I do not say that this is the *instant* result of exchanging the rude staples of Agriculture for the more delicate fabrics of Art, but I maintain that it is the inevitable *tendency*. The Agricultural Nation falls in debt, becomes impoverished, and ultimately subject. The palaces of 'merchant princes' may emblazon its harbors and overshadow its navigable waters; there may be a mighty Alexandria, but a miserable Egypt behind it; a flourishing Odessa or Dantzic, but a rude, thinly peopled Southern Russia or Poland; the exchangers may flourish and roll in luxury, but the producers famish and die. Indeed, few old and civilized countries become largely exporters of grain until they have lost, or by corruption are prepared to surrender, their independence; and these often present the spectacle of the laborer starving on the fields he has tilled in the midst of their fertility and promise. These appearances rest upon and indicate a law, which I shall endeavor hereafter to explain. I pass now to my.

**Proposition II.** THERE IS A NATURAL TENDENCY IN A COMPARATIVELY NEW COUNTRY TO BECOME AND CONTINUE AN EXPORTER OF GRAIN AND OTHER RUDE STAPLES AND AN IMPORTER OF MANUFACTURES.

—I think I hardly need waste time in demonstrating this proposition, since it is illustrated and confirmed by universal experience, and rests on obvious laws. The same Country has abundant and fertile soil, and produces Grain with remark-

able facility; also, Meats, Timber, Ashes, and most rude and bulky articles. Labor is there in demand, being required to clear, to build, to open roads, &c. and the laborers are comparatively few; while in older Countries Labor is abundant and cheap, as well as Capital, Machinery and all the means of the cheap production of Manufactured fabrics. I surely need not waste words to show that, in the absence of any counteracting policy, the new Country will import, and continue to import, largely of the fabrics of older countries, and to pay for them, so far as she may, with her Agricultural staples. I will endeavor to show hereafter that she will continue to do this long after she has attained a condition to manufacture them as cheaply for herself, even regarding the money cost alone. But that does not come under the present head. The whole history of our Country, and especially from 1782 to '90, when we had no Tariff and scarcely any Paper Money—proves that, whatever may be the Currency or the internal condition of the New Country, it will continue to draw its chief supplies from the Old,—large or small, according to its measure of ability to pay or obtain credit for them—but still, putting Duties on Imports out of the question, it will continue to buy its Manufactures abroad, whether in prosperity or adversity, inflation or depression.

I now advance to my

**Proposition III.** IT IS INJURIOUS TO THE NEW COUNTRY THUS TO CONTINUE DEPENDENT FOR ITS SUPPLIES OF CLOTHING AND MANUFACTURED FABRICS ON THE OLD.

—As this is probably the point on which the doctrines of Protection first come directly in collision with those of Free Trade, I will treat it more deliberately, and endeavor to illustrate and demonstrate it.

I presume I need not waste time in proving that the ruling price of Grain (as also of Manufactures) in a region whence it is considerably exported, will be its price at the point to which it is exported, less the cost of such transportation. For instance; the cost of transporting Grain hither from large grain-growing sections of Illinois was last fall sixty cents; and, New-York being their most available market, and the price here ninety cents, the market there at once settled at thirty cents. As this adjustment of prices rests on a law obvious, immutable as gravitation, I presume I need not waste words in establishing it.

I proceed, then, to my next point. The average price of Wheat throughout the world is something less than one dollar per bushel; higher where the consumption largely exceeds the adjacent production lower where the production largely exceeds

the immediate consumption. (I put out of view in this statement the inequalities created by Tariffs, as I choose at this point to argue the question on the basis of universal Free Trade, which is of course the basis most favorable to my opponents.) I say, then, if all Tariffs were abolished to-morrow, the price of wheat in England, that being the most considerable ultimate market of surpluses, and the chief supplier of our manufactures, would govern the price in this country, while it would be itself governed by the price at which that staple could be procured in sufficiency from other grain-growing regions. Now Southern Russia and Central Poland produce wheat for exportation at thirty to fifty cents per bushel; but the price is so increased by the cost of transportation that at Dantzic it averages some 90 and at Odessa some 80 cents per bushel. The cost of importation to England from these ports being 10 and 15 cents respectively, the actual cost of the article in England, all charges paid, and allowing for a small increase of price consequent on the increased demand, would not, in the absence of all Tariffs whatever, exceed one dollar and ten cents per bushel; and this must be the average price at which we must sell it in England in order to buy thence the great bulk of our Manufactures. I think no man will dispute or seriously vary this calculation. Neither can any reflecting man seriously contend that we could purchase forty or fifty millions' worth or more of Foreign Manufactures per annum, and pay for them in additional products of our Slave Labor—in Cotton and Tobacco. The consumption of these articles is now pressed to its utmost limit—that of Cotton especially is borne down by the immense weight of the crops annually thrown upon it, and almost constantly on the verge of a glut. If we are to buy our Manufactures principally from Europe, we must pay for the additional amount mainly in the products of Northern Agricultural industry—that is universally agreed on. The point to be determined is whether we could obtain them abroad cheaper—really and positively cheaper—all Tariffs being abrogated, than under an efficient system of Protection.

Let us closely scan this question. Illinois and Indiana, natural grain-growing States, need Cloths; and, in the absence of all Tariffs, these can be transported to them from England for two to three per cent. on their value. It follows, then, that, in order to undersell any American competition, the British Manufacturer need only put his cloths at at his factory *five* per cent. below the wholesale price of such cloths in Illinois in order to command the American market. That is, allowing a fair breadth to be manufactured in or near Illinois

for three dollars and a quarter per yard, cash price, in the face of the British rivalry and paying American prices for materials and labor, the British manufacturer has only to make that same cloth at three dollars per yard in Leeds or Huddersfield, and he can decidedly undersell his American rival, and drive him out of the market. Mind I do not say that he *would* supply the Illinois market at that price *after* the American rivalry had been crushed; I know he *would not*; but so long as any serious effort to build up or sustain Manufactures in this country existed, the large and strong European establishments would struggle for the additional market which our growing and plentiful country so invitingly proffers. It is well known that in 1815-16, after the close of the Last War, British Manufactures were offered for sale in our chief markets at the rate of "*pound for pound*"—that is, the goods of which the first cost to the manufacturer was \$4 44 were offered in Boston market at \$3 33, duty paid. This was not sacrifice—it was dictated by a profound forecast. Well did the foreign fabricators know that their self-interest dictated the utter overthrow, at whatever cost, of the young rivals which the war had built up in this Country, and which our Government and a majority of the People had blindly or indolently abandoned to their fate. William Cobbett, the celebrated Radical, but with a sturdy English heart, boasted upon his first return to England that he had been actively engaged here in promoting the interests of his country by compassing the destruction of American Manufactories in various ways which he specified—"sometimes (says he) by Fire." We all know that great sacrifices are often submitted to by a rich and long established stage-owner, steamboat proprietor, or whatever, to break down a young and comparatively penniless rival. So in a thousand instances, especially in a rivalry for so large a prize as the supplying with Manufactures of a great and growing Nation. But I here put aside all calculations of a temporary sacrifice; I suppose merely that the foreign manufacturers will supply our Grain-growing States with Cloths at a trifling profit so long as they encounter American rivalry; and I say it is perfectly obvious that, if it cost three dollars and a quarter a yard to make a fair broadcloth in or near Illinois, in the infancy of our arts, and a like article could be made in Europe for three dollars, then the utter destruction of the American manufacture is inevitable. The Foreign drives it out of the market and its maker into bankruptcy; and now our farmers, in purchasing their cloths, 'buy where they can buy cheapest,' which is the first commandment of Free Trade, and get their cloth of England at three dollars a yard. I maintain that this would not last a

year after the American factories had been silenced—that now the British operator would begin to think of *profits* as well as bare cost for his cloth, and to adjust his prices so as to recover what it had cost him to put down the dangerous competition. But let this pass for the present, and say the Foreign Cloth is sold to Illinois for three dollars per yard. We have yet to ascertain how much she has gained or lost by the operation.

This, says Free Trade, is very plain and easy. The four simple rules of Arithmetic suffice to measure it. She has bought, say a million yards of Foreign Cloth for three dollars, where she formerly paid three and a quarter for American; making a clear saving of a quarter of a million dollars.

But not so fast—we have omitted one important element of the calculation. We have yet to see what effect the purchase of her Cloth in Europe, as contrasted with its manufacture at home, will have on the price of her Agricultural staples. We have seen already that in case she is forced to sell a portion of her surplus product in Europe, the price of that surplus must be the price which can be procured for it in England *less* the cost of carrying it there. In other words: the average price in England being one dollar and ten cents, and the average cost of bringing it to New-York being at least fifty cents and then of transporting it to England at least twenty-five more, the net proceeds to Illinois cannot exceed thirty-five cents per bushel. I need not more than state so obvious a truth as that the price at which the surplus can be sold governs the price of the whole crop; nor indeed if it were possible to deny this would it at all affect the argument. The real question to be determined is not whether the American or the British manufacturers will furnish the most cloth for the least *cash*, but which will supply the requisite quantity of Cloth for the least *Grain* in Illinois. Now we have seen already that the price of Grain at any point where it is readily and largely produced is governed by its nearness to or remoteness from the market to which its surplus tends, and the least favorable market in which any portion of it must be sold. For instance: if Illinois produces a surplus of five millions bushels of Grain, and can sell one million of bushels in New-York, and two millions in New-England, and another million in the West Indies, and for the fifth million is compelled to seek a market in England, and, that being the remotest point at which she sells, and the point most exposed to disadvantageous competition, is naturally the poorest market, that farthest and lowest market to which she sends her surplus will govern to a great extent if not absolutely, the price she receives for the whole

surplus. But, on the other hand, let her Cloths, her wares, be manufactured in her midst, or on the junctions and water-falls in her vicinity, thus affording an immediate market for her Grain, and now the average price of it rises, by an irresistible law, nearly or quite to the average of the world. Assuming that average to be one dollar, the price in Illinois, making allowance for the fertility and cheapness of her soil, could not fall below an average of seventy-five cents. Indeed, the experience of the periods when her consumption of Grain has been equal to her production, as well as that of other sections where the same has been the case, proves conclusively that the average price of her Wheat would exceed that sum.

We are now ready to calculate the profit and loss. Illinois, under Free Trade, with her 'workshops in Europe,' will buy her cloth twenty-five cents per yard cheaper, and thus make a nominal saving of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in her years' supply; but, she thereby compels herself to pay for it in wheat at thirty-five instead of seventy-five cents per bushel, or to give over *nine* and one-third bushels of wheat for every yard under Free Trade, instead of four and a third under a system of Home Production. In other words, while she is making a quarter of a million dollars by buying her Cloth 'where she can buy cheapest,' she is losing nearly Two Millions of Dollars on the net product of her grain. The striking of a balance between her profit and loss is certainly not a difficult, but rather an unpromising operation.

Or, let us state the result in another form: She can buy her cloth a little cheaper in England, Labor being there lower, and Machinery more perfect, and capital more abundant; but in order to pay for it she must not merely sell her own products at a corresponding low price, but enough lower to overcome the cost of transporting them from Illinois to England. She will give the cloth-maker in England less Grain for her Cloth than she would give to the man who made it in her midst; but for every bushel she sends him in payment for his fabric, she must give two to the wagoner, boatmen, shipper and factor who transports it there. On the whole product of her industry two-thirds is tolled out by carriers and bored out by Inspectors, until but a beggarly remnant is left to satisfy the fabricator of her goods.

And here I trust I have made obvious to you the law which dooms an Agricultural Country to inevitable and ruinous disadvantage in exchanging its staples for Manufactures, and involves it in perpetual and increasing debt and dependence. The fact, I early alluded to; is not the *reason* now apparent? It is not that Agricultural communities are more extravagant or less industrious than

those in which Manufactures or Commerce preponderate—it is because there is an inevitable disadvantage to Agriculture in the very nature of all distant exchanges. Its products are far more perishable than any other; they cannot so well await a future demand; but in their excessive bulk and density is the great evil. We have seen that while the English Manufacturer can send his fabrics to Illinois for less than five per cent. on their first cost, the Illinois farmer must pay two hundred per cent. on his Grain for its transportation to English consumers. In other words: the English manufacturer need only produce his goods five per cent. below the American to drive the latter out of the Illinois market, the Illinoian must produce wheat for *one-third* of its English price in order to compete with the English and Polish grain-grower in Birmingham and Sheffield.

And here is the answer to that scintillation of Free Trade wisdom which flashes out in wonder that *Manufactures* are eternally and especially in want of Protection, while Agriculture and Commerce need none. The assumption is false in any sense—our Commerce and Navigation cannot live without Protection—never did live so—but let that pass. It is the interest of the whole country which demands that that portion of its Industry which is *most exposed* to ruinous foreign rivalry should be cherished and sustained. That wheat-grower, the grazier is protected by ocean and land; by the fact that no foreign article can be introduced to rival his except at a cost for transportation of some thirty to one hundred per cent. on its value; while our Manufactures can be inundated by foreign competition at a cost of some two to ten per cent. It is the grain-grower, the cattle-raiser who is protected by a duty on Foreign Manufactures, quite as much as the spinner or shoemaker. He who talks of Manufactures being protected and nothing else, might just as sensibly complain that we fortify Boston and New-York, and not Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.

Again: You see here our answer to those philosophers who modestly tell us that their views are liberal and enlightened, while ours are benighted, selfish, and un-Christian. They tell us that the foreign factory-laborer is anxious to exchange with us the fruits of his labor—that he asks us to give him of our surplus of grain for the cloth that he is ready to make cheaper than we can now get it, while we have a superabundance of bread. Now, putting for the present out of the question the fact that though *our* Tariff were abolished, *his* would remain—that neither England, nor France, nor any great manufacturing country would receive our Grain untaxed though we offered so to take their goods—especially the fact that they never *did*

so take of us while we were freely taking of them—we say to them, “Sirs, we are willing to take Cloth of you for Grain; but why prefer to trade at a ruinous disadvantage to both? Why should their be half the diameter of the earth between him who makes coats and him who makes bread, the one for the other? We are willing to give you bread for clothes, but we are not willing to pay two-thirds of our bread as the cost of transporting the other third to you, because we sincerely believe it needless and greatly to our disadvantage. We are willing to work for and buy of you, but not to support the useless and crippling activity of a falsely directed Commerce: not to contribute by our sweat to the luxury of your nobles, the power of your kings. But come to us, you who are honest, peaceable and industrious; bring here your machinery, or, if that is not yours, bring here your sinews; and we will aid you to reproduce the implements of your skill. We will give you more bread for your cloth here than you can possibly earn for it where you are, if you will; but come among us and aid us to sustain the policy that secures steady employment and a fair reward to Home Industry. We will no longer aid to prolong your existence in a state of semi-starvation where you are: but we are ready to share with you our Plenty and our Freedom here.”—Such is the answer which the friends of Protection make to the demand and the imputation: judge ye, whether our policy be indeed selfish, un-Christian and insane.

I proceed now to set forth my

**Proposition IV. THAT EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE WHICH WE NEED CAN ONLY BE MAINTAINED BY MEANS OF PROTECTIVE DUTIES.**

You will have seen that the object we seek is not to make our Country a Manufacturer for other Nations, but for herself—not to make her the baker and brewer and tailor of other people, but of her own household. If I understand at all the first rudiments of National Economy, it is best for each and all Nations that each should mainly fabricate for itself, freely purchasing of others all such staples as its own soil or climate proves ungenial to. We appreciate quite as well as our opponents the impolicy of attempting to grow coffee in Greenland or Glaciers in Malabar—to extract blood from a turnip or sunbeams from cucumbers. A vast deal of wit has been expended on our stupidity by our acuter adversaries, but it has been quite thrown away, except as it has excited the hollow laughter of the ignorant as well as thoughtless. All this, however sharply pushed, falls wide of our true position. To all the fine words we hear about

‘the impossibility of counteracting the laws of Nature,’ ‘Trude regulating itself,’ &c. &c. we bow with due deference, and wait for the sage to resume his arguments. What we *do* affirm is this, that it is best for every nation to make at home all those articles of its own consumption that can just as well—that is, with nearly or quite as little labor—be made there as any where else. We say it is not wise, it is not well, to send to France for boots, to Germany for hose, to England for knives and forks, and so on; because the real cost of them would be less—even though the nominal price should be slightly more—if we made them in our own country, and the facility of paying for them would be much greater. We do not object to the occasional importation of choice articles to operate as specimens and incentives to our own artisans to improve the quality and finish of their workmanship—where the Home competition does not avail to bring the process to its perfection, as it often will. In such cases, the rich and luxurious will usually be the buyers of these choice articles, and can afford to pay a good duty. There are gentlemen of extra polish in our Cities and Towns who think no coat good enough for them which is not woven in an English loom—no boot adequately transparent which has not been fashioned by a Parisian master. I quarrel not with their taste: I only say that, since the Government *must* have Revenue and the American artisan *should* have Protection, I am glad it is so fixed that these gentlemen shall contribute handsomely to the former and gratify their aspirations with the least possible detriment to the latter. It does not invalidate the fact or the efficiency of Protection that foreign competition with American workmanship is not entirely shut out. It is the *general* result which is important, and not the exception. Now he who can seriously contend, as some have seemed to do, that Protective Duties do not aid and extend the domestic production of the articles so protected might as well undertake to argue the sun out of the heavens at mid-day. All experience, all common sense condemn him. Do we not know that our Manufactures first shot up under the stringnet Protection of the Embargo and War? that they withered and crumbled under the comparative Free Trade of the few succeeding years?—that they were revived and extended by the Tariffs of 1824 and ’28? Do we not know that Germany, crippled by British policy which inundated her with goods yet excluded her grain and timber, was driven years since to the establishment of her “Zoll Verrëin” or Tariff Union—a measure of careful and stringent Protection, under which Manufactures have grown up and flourished through all her many States? She has



adhered, steadily, firmly to [her Protective Policy, while we have faltered and oscillated; and what is the result? She has created and established her Manufactures; and in doing so has vastly increased her wealth and augmented the reward of her industry. Her public sentiment, as expressed through its thousand channels, is almost unanimous in favor of the Protective Policy; and now, when England, finding at length that her cupidity has overreached itself—that she cannot supply the Germans with clothes yet refuse to buy their bread—talks of relaxing her Corn-Laws in order to coax back her ancient and profitable customer, the answer is “No; it is now too late. We have built ‘up Home Manufactures in repelling your rapacity’—we cannot destroy them at your caprice. What ‘guaranty have we that, should we accede to your’ terms, you would not return again to your policy ‘of taking all and giving none as soon as our’ factories had crumbled into ruin? Besides, we ‘have found that we can make cheaper—really ‘cheaper—than we were able to buy—can pay ‘better wages to our laborers and secure a better ‘and steadier market for our products. We are ‘content to abide in the position you have driven ‘us. Pass on!”

But this is not the sentiment of Germany alone. All Europe acts on the principle of self-Protection; because all Europe sees its benefits. The British journals complain that, though they have made a show of relaxing in their own Tariff, and their Premier has made a Free Trade speech in Parliament, the chaff has caught no birds; but *sic* *hostile Tariffs*—all Protective in their character, and all aimed at the supremacy of British Manufactures—were enacted within the year 1842.—And thus, while schoolmen plausibly talk of the adoption and spread of Free Trade principles, and their rapid advances to speedy ascendancy; the practical man knows that the truth is otherwise, and that many years must elapse before the great Colossus of Manufacturing monopoly will find another Portugal to drain of her life-blood under the delusive pretence of a commercial reciprocity. And while Britain continues to pour forth her specious treatises on Political Economy, proving Protection a mistake and an impossibility, with her Parliamentary Reports and Speeches in praise of Free Trade, the shrewd Statesmen of other nations humor the joke with all possible gravity, and pass it on to the next neighbor, yet all the time take care of their own interests, just as though Adam Smith had never speculated or Peel soberly expatiated on the blessings of Free Trade, looking round occasionally with a curious interest to see whether any body was really taken in by it.

I have partly anticipated, yet I will state distinctly my

*Proposition V. PROTECTION IS NECESSARY AND PROPER TO SUSTAIN AS WELL AS TO CREATE A BENEFICENT ADJUSTMENT OF OUR NATIONAL INDUSTRY.*

“Why can’t our Manufacturers go alone?” petulantly asks a Free Trader; “they have been protected long enough. They ought not to need it any more.” To this I answer that if Manufactures were protected as a matter of special bounty or favor to the Manufacturers, a single day were too long. I would not consent that they should be sustained one day longer, than the interests of the *whole* Country required. I think you have already seen that not for the sake of Manufacturers but for the sake of all Productive Labor, should Protection be afforded. If I have been intelligible, you will have seen that the purpose and essence of Protection is LABOR-*SAVING*—the making two blades of grass grow instead of one. This it does by ‘planting the Manufacturer as nearly as may be by the side of the Farmer,’ as Mr. Jefferson expressed it, and thereby securing to the latter a market for which he had looked to Europe in vain. Now the market of the latter is certain as the recurrence of appetite; but that is not all. The Farmer and the Manufacturer, being virtually neighbors, will interchange their productions directly, or with but one intermediate, instead of sending them reciprocally across half a Continent and a broad ocean, through the hands of many holders until the toll taken out by one after another has exceeded what remains of the grist. ‘Dear bought and far-fetched’ is an old maxim, containing more *essential* truth than many a chapter by a modern Professor of Political Economy. Under the Protective policy, ‘instead of having one thousand men making cloth on one continent and an equal number raising grain on the other, with three thousand factitiously employed in transporting and interchanging these products, we have ever two thousand producers of Grain and as many of Cloth, leaving far too little employment for one thousand in making the exchanges between them. This consequence is inevitable: although the production in either side is not confined to the very choicest locations, the total product of their labor is twice as much as formerly. In other words, there is a double quantity of food, clothing and all the necessaries and comforts of life to be shared among the producers of wealth, simply from the diminution of the number of non producers. If all the men now enrolled in Armies and Navies were advantageously employed in Productive labor, there would doubtless be a larger dividend of comforts and necessities of life for all, because

more to be divided than now and no more to receive it: just so in the case before us. Every thousand persons employed in needless transportation and in factitious Commerce are so many subtracted from the great body of Producers from the proceeds of whose labor all must be subsisted. The dividend for each must of course be governed by the magnitude of the quotient.

But if this be so advantageous, it is queried, why is any legislation necessary? Why would not all voluntarily see and embrace it? I answer, because the apparent individual advantage is often to be pursued by a course directly adverse to the general welfare. We know that Free Trade asserts the contrary of this, maintaining that if every man pursues that course most conducive to his individual interest, the general good will thereby be most certainly and signally promoted. But to say nothing of the glaring exceptions to this law which crowd our Statute-books with injunctions and penalties, we are every where met with pointed contradictions of its assumption, which hallows and blesses the pursuits of the gambler, the distiller and the libertine, making the usurer a saint and the swindler a hero. Adam Smith himself admits that there are avocations which enrich the individual but impoverish the community. So in the case before us. A. B. is a farmer of Illinois, and has much grain to sell or exchange for goods. But, while it is demonstrable that if *all* the manufactures consumed in Illinois were produced there, the price of grain must rise nearly to the average of the world, it is equally certain that A. B.'s *single act*, in buying and consuming American cloth, will not raise the price of grain generally, nor of *his* grain. It will not perceptibly affect the price of grain at all. A solemn compact of the whole community to use only American fabrics would have some effect, but this could never be established, or never enforced. A few Free Traders standing out, selling their Grain at any advance which might accrue and buying 'where they could buy cheapest,' would induce one after another to look out for No. 1, and let the public interests take care of themselves, and the whole compact would fall to pieces like a rope of sand. Many a one would say, "Why 'should I aid to keep up the price of Produce? 'I am only a *consumer* of it"—not realizing or caring for the interest of the community, even though it less palpably involved his own; and that would be an end. Granted that it is desirable to encourage and prefer Home Production and Manufacture, a Tariff is the obvious way and the only way in which it can be effectively and certainly accomplished.

But why is a Tariff necessary after Manufactures are once established? 'You,' say, 'says a

Free Trader, 'that you can Manufacture cheaper 'if Protected than we can buy abroad; then why 'not do it *without* Protection, and save all trouble?' Let me answer this cavil:

I will suppose that the Manufactures of this Country amount in value to One Hundred Millions of Dollars per annum, and those of Great Britain to Three Hundred Millions. Let us suppose also that under an efficient Protective Tariff ours are produced five per cent. cheaper than those of England, and that our own markets are supplied entirely from the Home Product. But at the end of this year, 1843, we, concluding that our Manufactures have been protected long enough and ought now to go alone, repeal absolutely our Tariff, and commit our great interests thoroughly to the guidance of 'Free Trade.' Well: at this very time the British Manufacturers, on making up the account and review of their year's business, find that they have manufactured goods costing them Three Hundred Millions, as aforesaid, and have sold to just about that amount, leaving a residue or surplus on hand of Fifteen or Twenty Millions' worth. These are to be sold, and their net proceeds will constitute the interest on their capital and the profit on their years' business. But *where* shall they be sold? If crowded on the Home or their established Foreign Markets, they will glut and depress those markets, causing 'a general decline of prices and a heavy loss, not merely on this quantity of goods, but on the whole of their next years' business. They knew better than to do any such thing. Instead of it they say, "Here is the American Market just thrown open to us by a repeal 'of their Tariff; let us send thither our surplus 'and sell it for what it will fetch." They ship it over accordingly, and in two or three weeks it is rattling off through our Auction Stores, at prices first five, then ten, fifteen, twenty, and down to thirty per cent. below our previous rates. Every jobber and dealer is tickled with the idea of buying goods of novel patterns so wonderfully cheap, and the sale proceeds briskly, though at constantly declining prices, till the whole stock is disposed of and our market is gorged to repletion.

Now the British Manufacturers may not have received for the whole Twenty Millions' worth of Goods over Fourteen or Fifteen Millions; but what of it? Whatever it may be is clear profit on their year's business in cash or its full equivalent. All their established markets are kept clear and eager; and they can now go on vigorously and profitably with the business of the new year. But more: they have crippled an active and growing rival; they have breached a new market, which shall ere long be theirs also. Let us look at our side of the question.

The American Manufacturers have also a stock of Goods on hand, and they come into our market to dispose of them. But they suddenly find that market forestalled and depressed by rival fabrics of attractive novelty, and selling in profusion at prices which rapidly run down to twenty-five per cent. below cost. What are they to do? They cannot force sales at any price not utterly ruinous; there is no demand at any rate. They cannot retaliate upon England the mischief they must suffer—her Tariff forbids; and the other markets of the world are fully supplied and will bear but a limited pressure. The foreign influx has created a scarcity of money as well as a plethora of goods. Specie has largely been exported in payment, which has compelled the Banks to contract and deny loans. Still, their obligations must be met; if they cannot make sales, the *Sheriff* will, and must. It is not merely their surplus, but their whole product and property which has been depreciated and made unavailable at a blow. The end is easily foreseen: Our Manufacturers become bankrupt and are broken up; their works are brought to a dead stand; the Laborers therein, after spending months in constrained idleness, are driven by famine into the Western wilderness or into less productive and less congenial avocations; their acquired skill and dexterity, as well as a portion of their time, are a death loss to themselves and the Community; and we commence the slow and toilsome process of rebuilding and rearranging our industry on the one-sided or Agricultural basis. Such is the process which we have undergone twice already. How many repetitions shall satisfy us?

Now will any man gravely argue that we have made Five or Six Millions by this cheap purchase of British goods—by 'buying where we could buy cheapest?' Will he not see that though the *price* was low, the *cost* is very great? But the apparent saving is doubly deceptive; for the British manufacturers, having utterly crushed their American rivals by one or two operations of this kind, soon find here a market, not for a beggarly surplus of Fifteen or Twenty Millions, but they have now a demand for the amount of our whole consumption, which, making allowance for our diminished ability to pay, would probably still reach Fifty Millions per annum. This increased demand would soon produce activity and buoyancy in the general market; and now the foreign manufacturers would say in their consultations, "We have sold some millions worth of goods to America for less than cost 'in order to obtain control of that market; now we 'have it, and must retrieve our losses'"—and they *would* retrieve them with interest. They would have a perfect right to do so. I hope no man has understood me as implying any infringement of the

dictates of honesty on their part, still less of the laws of trade. They have a perfect right to sell goods in our markets on such terms as we prescribe and they can afford; it is *we*, who set up our own vital interests to be bowled down by their rivalry, who are alone to be blamed.

Who does not see that this sending out our great Industrial Interests unarmed and unshielded to battle against the mail-clad legions opposed to them in the arena of Trade is to ensure their destruction? It were just as wise to say that, because our people are brave, therefore they shall repel any invader without fire-arms, as to say that the restrictions of other nations ought not to be opposed by us because our artisans are skillful and our manufactures have made great advances. The very fact that our manufactures are greatly extended and improved is the strong reason why they should not be exposed to destruction. If they were of no amount or value, their loss would be less disastrous; but now the Five or Six Millions we should make on the cheaper importation of goods would cost us One Hundred Millions in the destruction of Manufacturing Property alone.

Yet this is but an item of our damage. The Manufacturing classes feel the first effect of the blow, but it would paralyze every muscle of Society. One hundred thousand artisans and laborers, discharged from our ruined factories, after being some time out of employment, at a waste of millions of the National wealth, are at last driven by famine to engage in other avocations—of course with inferior skill and at an inferior price. The farmer, gardener, grocer, lose them as customers to meet them as rivals. They crowd the labor-markets of those branches of industry which we are still permitted to pursue, just at the time when the demand for their products has fallen off and the price is rapidly declining. The result is just what we have seen in a former instance: all that any man may make by buying Foreign goods cheap he loses ten times over by the decline of his own property, product or labor; while to nine-tenths of the whole people the result is unmitigated calamity. The disastrous consequences to a nation of the mere derangement and paralysis of its Industry which must follow the breaking down of any of its great Producing Interests have never yet been sufficiently estimated. Free Trade, indeed, assures us that every person thrown out of employment in one place our capacity has only to choose another; but almost every working man knows from experience that such is not the fact—that the loss of a situation through the failure of his business is oftener a sore calamity. I know a worthy citizen who spent six years in learning the trade of a hatter, which he had just perfected in 1798, when

an immense importation of Foreign Hats utterly paralyzed the manufacture in this country. He traveled and sought for months, but could find no employment at any price, and at last gave up the pursuit, found work in some other capacity, and never made a hat since. He lives yet and now comfortably, for he is industrious and frugal; but the six years he gave to learn his trade were utterly lost to him—lost for the want of adequate and steady Protection to Home Industry. I insist that the Government has failed of discharging its proper and rightful duty to that citizen, and to thousands and tens of thousands who have suffered from like causes. I insist that if the Government had permitted without complaint a foreign force to land on our shores and plunder that man's house of the savings of six years of faithful industry, the neglect of duty would not have been more flagrant. And I firmly believe that the People of this country are One Thousand Millions of Dollars poorer at this moment than they would have been had their entire Productive Industry been steadily protected, on the principles I have laid down, from the formation of the Government till now. The steadiness of employment and of recompense thus secured, the comparative absence of constrained idleness, and the more efficient application of the labor actually performed, would have vastly increased the product—would have improved and beautified the whole face of the country; and the Moral and Intellectual advantages thence accruing would alone have been inestimable. A season of suspension of labor in a community is one of aggravated dissipation, drunkenness and crime.

But let me more clearly illustrate the effect of foreign competition in raising prices to the consumer. To do this, I will take my own calling for an example, because I understand that best; though any of you can apply the principle to that with which he may be better acquainted. I am a publisher of a newspaper, and suppose I afford them at a cheap rate. But the ability to maintain that cheapness is based on the fact that I can certainly sell a large edition daily, so that no part of that edition shall remain a dead loss on my hands. But if there were an active and formidable Foreign competition in newspapers; if the edition which I printed during the night were frequently rendered unsaleable by the arrival of a foreign ship freighted with newspapers early in the morning, the present rates could not be continued: the price must be increased or the quality would decline. I presume this holds equally good of the production of calicoes, glass, and pen-knives as of newspapers, though it may be somewhat modified by the nature of the article to which it is applied. That it does hold true of sheetings, nails and thou-

sands of articles is abundantly notorious. I have not burdened you with statistics—you know they are the reliance, the stronghold of the cause of Protection, and that we can produce them by acres. My aim has been to exhibit not mere collections of facts, however pertinent and forcible, but the laws on which those facts are based—not the immediate manifestation but the ever-living necessity from which it springs. The contemplation of these laws assures me that those articles which are supplied to us by Home Production alone are relatively cheaper than those which are rivaled and competed with from abroad. And I am equally confident that the shutting out of Foreign competition from our markets for other articles of general necessity and literal consumption which can be made here with as little labor as any where could be followed by a corresponding result—a reduction of the price to the consumer at the same time with increased employment and reward to our Producing Classes.

But, Mr. President, were this only on one side true—were it certain that the price of the Home product would be permanently higher than that of the Foreign, I should still insist on efficient Protection, and for reasons I have sufficiently shown. Grant that a British cloth costs but \$3 per yard; and a corresponding American fabric \$4, I still hold that the latter would be decidedly the cheaper. The fuel, timber, fruits, vegetables, &c. &c., which make up so large a share of the cost of the Home product, would be rendered comparatively valueless by having our workshops in Europe. I look not so much to the nominal price as to the comparative facility of payment. And where cheapness is only to be attained by a depression of the wages of Labor to the neighborhood of the European standard, I prefer that it should be dispensed with. One thing must answer to another; and I hold that the farmers of this country can better afford, as a matter of pecuniary advantage, to pay a good price for manufactured articles than to obtain them lower through the depression and inadequacy of the wages of the artisan and laborer.

You will understand me, then, to be utterly hostile to that idol of Free Trade worship, known as Free or unlimited Competition. The sands of my hour are running low, and I cannot ask time to examine this topic more closely; yet I am confident I could show that this Free Competition is a most delusive and dangerous element of Political Economy. Bear with a brief illustration: At this moment common shirts are made in London at the incredible low price of *three cents per pair*. Should we admit these articles free of duty and buy them because they are so cheap?—Free Trade says Yes; but I say No! Sound

Policy as well as Humanity forbids it. By admitting them, we simply reduce a large, and worthy, and suffering class of our population from the ability they now possess of procuring a bare subsistence by their labor to unavoidable destitution and pauperism. They must now subsist upon the charity of relatives or of the community—unless we are ready to adopt the demoniac doctrine of the Free Trade philosopher Malthus, that the dependent Poor ought to be rigorously starved to death.—Then what have we gained by getting these articles so exorbitantly cheap?—or rather, what have we not lost? The labor which formerly produced them is mainly struck out of existence; the poor widows and seamstresses among us must still have a subsistence; and the imported garments must be paid for: where is our speculation? But even this is not the worst feature of the case: The labor which we have here thrown out of employment by the cheap importation of this article is now ready to be employed again at any price—if not one that will afford bread and straw, then it must accept one that will produce potatoes and rubbish; and with the product some Free Trader proceeds to break down the price and destroy the reward of similar labor in some other portion of the earth. And thus each depression of wages produces another, and that a third, and so on, making the circuit of the globe,—the aggravated necessities of the Poor acting and reacting upon each other, increasing the omnipotence of Capital and deepening the dependence of Labor, swelling and pampering a bloated and factitious Commerce, grinding down and grinding down the destitute, until Malthus's remedy for Poverty shall become a grateful specific, and amid the splendors and luxuries of an all-devouring Commercial Feudality, the squalid and famished Millions, its dependents and victims, shall welcome death as a deliverer from their sufferings and their despair.

I wish time permitted me to give a hasty glance over the doctrines and teachings of the Free Trade sophists; who esteem themselves the Political Economists, christen their own views liberal and enlightened, and complacently put ours aside as benighted and barbarous. I should delight to show you how they mingle subtle fallacy with obvious truth—how they reason acutely from assumed premises, which, being mistaken or incomplete, lead to false and often absurd conclusions—how they contradict and confound each other, and often, from Adam Smith, their patriarch, down to McCulloch and Ricardo, either make admissions which undermine their whole fabric, or confess themselves ignorant or in the dark on points the most vital to a correct understanding of the great subject they profess to have reduced to a Science.

Yet even Adam Smith himself expressly approves and justifies the British Navigation Act, the most aggressively Protective measure ever enacted—a measure which, not being understood and seasonably counteracted by other Nations, changed for centuries the destinies of the World—which silently sapped and overthrew the Commercial and Political greatness of Holland—which silenced the thunder of Van Tromp, and swept the broom from his mast-head. But I must not detain you longer. I do not ask you to judge of this matter by authority, but from facts which come home to your reason and your daily experience. There is not an observing and strong-minded mechanic in our City who could not set any one of these Doctors of the Law right on essential points. I beg you to consider how few great practical Statesmen they have ever been able to win to their standard—I might almost say none; for Huskisson was but a nominal disciple, and expressly contravened their whole system upon an attempt to apply it to the Corn Laws; and Calhoun is but a Free Trader by location, and has never yet answered his own powerful arguments in behalf of Protection. On the other hand, we point you to the long array of mighty names which have illustrated the annals of Statesmanship in modern times—to Chatham, William Pitt, and the Great Frederick of Prussia; to the whole array of memorable French Statesmen, and Napoleon the monarch of them all; to our own WASHINGTON, HAMILTON, JEFFERSON, and MADISON; to our two CLINTONS, TOMPKINS, to say nothing of the eagle-eyed and genial-hearted LIVING master-spirit of our time. The opinions and the arguments of all these are on record; it is by hearkening to and heeding their counsels that we shall be prepared to walk in the light of experience and look forward to a glorious National destiny. My friends! I dare not detain you longer. I commit to you the cause of the Nation's Independence, of her Stability and her Prosperity. Guard it wisely and shield it well; for it involves your own happiness and the enduring welfare of your countrymen!

**TARTER ON THE TEETH.**—M. La Baume has ascertained that washing the teeth with vinegar and a brush will, in a few days, save the Medical Fimes, remove the tarter; thus obviating the necessity of filling or scraping them, which so often injures the enamel. He recommends the use of powdered charcoal and tincture of rhubarb afterwards, which effectually, in his opinion, prevent its formation.

**WATCHES.**—It is stated in the Cabinet Library, that watches have long been imported in China, and generally by the ton or half ton! The fancy of the Chinese is to wear them in pairs, in accordance with a pretty general prejudice in the East against an odd number.

# **The Fundamental Fallacy of the Free Trade Economists.** **Comparative Value of Foreign and Home Trade.**

By WM. ATKINSON.

Extract from "Principles of Political Economy; or, The Laws of the Formation of National Wealth, developed by means of the Christian Law of Government; being the substance of a case delivered to the Hand-Loom Weavers' Commission." (1 vol. 8 vo. pp. 247, London, 1840.)

\*\*\* With reference to the entire science of political economy, there can arise no greater or more interesting proposition to be solved than this, namely, whether home or foreign trade be most advantageous to a country? I propose, therefore, commencing my argument, by making this question a test; and the matter which I must necessarily extract and examine, for the purpose of shewing in what manner this great question has hitherto been treated, will open to view the state of information in which the public mind is, with regard to many of the important subjects which it is the object of your Commission to have inquired into, considered, and proved.

I will now re-state the question propounded.—It is this:—

What would be the effect on the circumstances or capital of a country, of abandoning any given home trade, and adopting a foreign in its place?

I now proceed to prove how feebly, inefficiently and falsely, this great proposition has been treated by those writers who are considered to be the chief authorities.

In the second book, and the fifth chapter of the great work of Adam Smith, the "Wealth of Nations," the author treats of the different employment of capital. After adverting to the various kinds of productive industry, he necessarily comes to the question of the comparative advantageousness of home and foreign trade, and gives his decision in favor of the former, and, in order to PROVE its correctness, frames the following proposition:

"The capital which is employed in purchasing in one part of the country, in order to sell in another the produce of the industry of that country, generally replaces, by every such operation, two distinct capitals, that had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of that country, and thereby enables them to continue that employment. When it sends out from the residence of the merchant a certain value of commodities, it generally brings back, in return, at least an equal value of other commodities. When both are the produce of domestic industry, it necessarily replaces, by every such operation, two distinct capitals, which had both been employed in supporting productive labor, and thereby enables them to continue that support. The capital which sends Scotch manufactures to London, and brings back English corn and manufactures to Edinburgh, necessarily replaces, by every such operation, two British capitals which had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of Great Britain.

"The capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption, when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry, replaces too, by every such operation, two distinct capitals: but ONE of them only is employed in supporting domestic industry. The capital which sends British goods to Portugal, and brings back Portuguese goods to Great Britain, replaces, by every such operation, only ONE British capital: the other is a Portuguese one. Though the returns, therefore, of the foreign

trade of consumption should be as quick as those of the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but ONE-HALF the encouragement to the industry or productive labor of the country."

Now, in the passage just cited, its author has arrived at the conclusion that foreign, as compared with home trade, gives but ONE-HALF the encouragement to the productive labour of a country, or, in other words, that home trade is doubly productive over foreign, on account of its keeping in operation two distinct sources of production. I will, in the next place, invite your attention to a similar decision, laid down by the French economist, Monsieur Say. In the 1st volume, and the 248 page of the works of this author, as translated by Princep, there is the following passage:—

"The British government seems not to have perceived that the most profitable sales to a nation are those made by one individual to another within the nation; for these latter imply a national production of two values—the value sold, and that given in exchange."

Now, this proposition of Say's is identical with that laid down by Adam Smith, and it is also more clearly and concisely expressed. Thus two of the most eminent writers on the science of political economy answer the question now propounded in a similar way, being compelled, by the facts of the case, to agree in their conclusion, that home trade is doubly advantageous over foreign.

I now desire to call your attention to the manner in which the propositions here laid down by Adam Smith and Say, have been met by authors who have more recently directed their labor to an investigation of the science. In the work of Mr. M'Culloch, entitled "Principles of Political Economy," in the 5th chapter the author is writing under the head of "Commerce," and herein he necessarily arrives at the question as the different nature of home and foreign trade; and, at page 147 of this chapter, the following passage occurs:

"I shall not imitate the example of most writers on commerce, by entering into a lengthened examination of the question, whether the home or foreign trade be most advantageous. It is, indeed, quite obvious that it admits of no satisfactory solution."

By this passage, you will perceive that its author evades an examination of the propositions of Adam Smith and Say; and endeavors to get rid of the task of proving, by advancing the weak, the unphilosophical, and, therefore, the unwarrantable assertion, that the subject does not admit of solution. He then continues his remarks, but as these are consequent on the above admission of weakness, it was not to be expected that they would be of a character other than vague and erroneous. It does not appear to me essential to quote them here at length, though on a subsequent occasion I shall have to enter upon a minute examination of the most particular portion of them. As merely referring to them at present, I beg to remark, that the author having no command of a true hypothesis, and declining the task of finding one, advances in his argument by means of taking a false one as granted him, which, being done, his deductions, as a matter of course, are then easily worked out. Although I do not bring the whole of these passages forward to form a part of my case, nevertheless I desire to draw attention to them, because they furnish a good illustration of how little care, and how little of accurate reasoning have been employed in constructing argument t

on the important subject to which they relate.—The matter alluded to is contained in pages 147 to 159 inclusive.

Leaving this part of the work, therefore, for more ample examination on a future occasion, it is necessary for me to have recourse now to another by the same author, and which has been more recently presented to the public. The title of this work is "Commerce," and it was published under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. In the second chapter of this work the author, when dilating on the various kinds of trade, necessarily arrives a second time at the same great question, namely, the comparative advantageousness to a country of home or foreign trade, and herein he does not evade the question in the same manner as he did in his first treatise, but ventures somewhat further into the arena of discussion. His commencement, however, is of a similar character. At page 13 of this work there is the following passage:—

"It is clear, therefore, that in estimating the comparative advantageousness of the home and foreign trades, it will not do to look merely at the number of transactions in each. The *real question* is, which occasions the greatest subdivision of employments, and gives the most powerful spur to industry? This, however, is a question that *does not, perhaps, admit of any very satisfactory solution.*"

Following almost immediately upon this reiteration of the above remarkable assumption, the author for the first time makes direct allusion to the proposition of Adam Smith, which he quotes, and then attempts its refutation by means of the following series of assertions:—

"Now it will be observed, that Dr. Smith does not say that the importation of foreign commodities has any tendency to force capital abroad; and unless it do this, it is plain that the statement in the above paragraph is quite inconsistent with the fundamental principle he has elsewhere established, that the productive industry of every country must always be proportioned to the amount of its capital. Suppose, for the sake of illustration, that the case put by Dr. Smith actually occurs that the Scotch manufactures are sent to Portugal, it is obvious that if the same demand continue in London for Scotch manufactures as before they began to be sent abroad, an additional capital, and an additional number of laborers will be required to furnish supplies for both the London and Portuguese markets. In this case, therefore, instead of the industry of the country sustaining any diminution from the export of the Scotch manufactures to a foreign country, it would evidently be augmented, and a new field would be opened for the profitable employment of stock. But if at the same time that the Scotch began to export manufactured goods to Portugal, the Londoners also found out a foreign market, where they could be supplied at a cheaper rate with the goods they had previously imported from Scotland, all intercourse between Scotland and London would immediately cease, and the home trade would be changed for a foreign trade.—It is obvious, however, that this change could not occasion any embarrassment, and that it would not throw a single individual out of employment. On the contrary, a fresh stimulus would be given to the manufactures both of Scotland and the Metropolis, inasmuch as nothing but their being able to dispose of their produce to greater advantage, could have induced the merchants to change the home for a foreign market. The fact is, that when a home trade is changed for a foreign trade, an additional capital belonging to the nation with which it is carried on, enters into it; but there is no diminution whatever either of the capital or industry of the nation which

has made the change. So far from this, they are plainly diverted into more productive channels, and are employed with greater advantage. (For some further remarks on this subject, see Ricardo's "Principles of Political Economy.")"

The passage just quoted is the only matter which this author has put together for the purpose of meeting the all-important proposition which is now under examination. It cannot fail to be remarked, on a superficial consideration of it, that its meaning is obscure, and almost unintelligible; a continued scrutiny enables us to perceive that it is not sense. It is obvious that, when the author of it arrived at this part of the extensive and important subject on which his mind was occupied, and found a proposition laid down by two of the leading authorities, differing so widely from that which he expected to find, and differing also from that which would be necessary to enable him to carry onwards his own arguments on the subject, he felt convinced the impediment to his progress would be insurmountable, if the truth of this proposition should be conceded. He therefore approaches it distrustfully, and, before meeting an adverse argument, declares that such a proposition does not admit of solution; and, such a declaration being made, it will not create surprise that the passage quoted above does not solve it. I should dwell much longer on this passage, and should deem it my duty not to quit it until I had unravelled all its intricacies, and shown clearly how incapable of reconciliation, and of being formed into unity of argument, all the matter is which has been forced into it, only, as you will observe, at its conclusion, the author refers to the work of Mr. Ricardo for a further elucidation of his own views of the subject. A complete analysis of Mr. Ricardo's proposition will, in fact, comprehend the whole matter of the argument contained in both.

I shall, in the next place, then, invite your attention to the arguments made use of by Mr. Ricardo, in order to meet and to overthrow the proposition under consideration. On approaching this argument, I cannot omit to lay most particular stress on its peculiarly interesting nature. In my opinion, it forms the most important problem which is to be found amongst all that has been written upon the science of political economy. Its author has openly and boldly ventured out from beneath the obscuring power of language, and, relinquishing its imperfect instrumentality, has committed his arguments to the solid form of fact, worked by figures, from which, you will be aware, there are no means of escape. By such a method, the right or the wrong must be established indisputably; and I beg leave to remark, in passing, that no writer on the subject we are now treating of, should be allowed to claim for his conclusions the character of truth, who cannot submit them to be tried by this test. I now beg your most particular attention to this problem.

On referring to the writings of Mr. Ricardo, I find, in the 22d chapter of his work, entitled "Principles of Political Economy," that he is writing under the head of "Bounties and Prohibitions," and at page 401 he notices and quotes the proposition of Say, and declares that he will examine the soundness of the opinion in another chapter. Subsequently, therefore, in the 26th chapter, and page 444, the author quotes at full the proposition of Adam Smith, which, as I have

before remarked, is identical with that of Say. He then proceeds in his attempt to exhibit its fallacy by means of the following proposition:—

"This argument appears to me to be fallacious; for though two capitals, one Portuguese, and one English, be employed, as Dr. Smith supposes, still a capital will be employed in the foreign trade double of what would be employed in the home trade.—Suppose that Scotland employs a capital of a thousand pounds in making linen, which she exchanges for the produce of a similar capital employed in making silks in England. Two thousand pounds, and a proportional quantity of labor, will be employed in the two countries. Suppose now that England discovers that she can import more linen from Germany for the silks which she before exported to Scotland, and that Scotland discovers that she can obtain more silks from France in return for her linen, than she before obtained from England—will not England and Scotland immediately cease trading with each other, and will not the home trade of consumption be changed for a foreign trade of consumption? But, although two additional capitals will enter into this trade—the capital of Germany and that of France—will not the same amount of Scotch and English capital continue to be employed, and will it not give motion to the same quantity of industry as when it was engaged in the home trade?"

Now the foregoing argument contains two distinct propositions. The first is this:—

Scotland.	England.
Linen.	Silks.
£1000	£1000

These, exchanged for each other, make a capital of £2000 value, and employ, as the author states, a proportional quantity of labor. Now the question to be tried is, what will be the effect of leaving off the exchanging or consuming these home productions, and converting the trade from a home into a foreign? This the author proposes to show will be followed by no ill effect, and, in order to prove his assertion, he changes the facts of his proposition thus:—

Germany.	France.
Linen.	Silks.
Scotland.	England.
Linen.	Silks.

Now in the factitious case which the author has here constructed, he has set out by declaring Scotland to be a bad market for linen, and England a bad one for silks, on which account they cease to trade with each other. Having thus, in his first proposition, made England reject the production of Scotland, and Scotland reject the production of England, he has then, in his second proposition, preserved both these rejected commodities, and made the Germans purchase the one, and the French the other; and by such an argument has attempted to show that neither the capital of England nor that of Scotland will sustain injury. But it is self-evident that the same reason which induced the people of Scotland to cease buying the silks of England will also prevent the people of Germany from resorting to her market; and the same reason which induced the people of England to cease buying the linens of Scotland will likewise operate in preventing the people of France from doing so. In the natural course of things, France and Germany will trade with each other for the two commodities adduced, and England and Scot-

land must cease to manufacture them, whereby these two sources of exchangeable production must be, in the first instance, injured, and, in the next, lost. Thus it is evident, that the second or altered proposition is an error, and that its author has endeavored to sustain his argument by supposing an impossible example. The problem, therefore, framed by Mr. Ricardo, and relied on by Mr. M'Culloch, instead of overthrowing the proposition of — Say and Adam Smith, presents nothing better than a confused mass of jarring and conflicting matter, which annihilates its own existence.

Having thus brought under your notice the entire matter of argument which has been constructed for the purpose of meeting and getting rid of the *main question* of the science of Political Economy, I think it right, in order that the means of distinguishing truth and falsehood on this important subject may be increased as much as possible, to have recourse to another issue, which has a direct bearing upon the question under discussion. The issue to which I now beg to invite your attention is the effect produced on the capital of a country by absentee expenditure. With regard to this much disputed point, I find in Mr. M'Culloch's work, "Principles of Political Economy," at page 157, the following passage:—

"What has now been stated goes far to settle the disputed question as to the influence of absentee expenditure. If an English gentleman, living at home, and using none but foreign articles in his establishment, gives the same encouragement to industry that he would do were he to use none but British articles, he must, it is obvious, do the same thing, should he go abroad. Whatever he may get from the foreigner, when at Paris or Brussels, must be paid for, directly or indirectly, in British articles, quite in the same way as when he resided in London. Nor is it easy to imagine any grounds for supposing his expenditure in the latter more beneficial to this country than in the former."

In a note, at the bottom of the same page, there is also the following sentence:—

"The question really at issue refers merely to the spending of revenue, and has nothing to do with the improvement of estates; and notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, *I am not yet convinced* that absenteeism is, in this respect, at all injurious."

These are the passages which bear upon this point, and I beg to express an opinion that, if the conclusion here arrived at were taken by itself, and made the basis on which to construct an argument—sufficient evidence would arise directly out of it to show clearly that some great error had been admitted into the train of deduction from which it emanated. You will not fail to remark on the *doubtful* expressions here made use of. The evidence of fact which he adduces, the writer says "*goes far to settle.*" Now, in a train of perfect reasoning, there can be no degree or limitation of power admitted. It either does or does not prove. Again, he says "If an English gentleman, living at home," &c. Now, in this passage, you will observe the importance of the word *if*. The previous proposition granted, THEN the corollary follows as a correct deduction, and cannot be disallowed. If we grant a false hypothesis, we must also grant a false deduction, and likewise a false conclusion. Such a course I admit to be logically correct. But then I deny the validity of the pre-



vicious proposition, or the hypothesis out of which the deduction issues, and, my objection substantiated, it follows as a necessary consequence, that from this point the entire number of issues are erroneous. I contend that it is the duty of those who, in the pursuit of truth, arrive at conclusions which stagger their judgements, not to content themselves by pleading the correct issue out of a previous proposition, but to try the argument back, until they have examined every part, from the extremest conclusion backward to the minute principle from which their first deduction issued; for by such a course they could not fail to find the exact point where the error entered. You will remark also, in the last passage quoted, that the author seems inclined to admit that the evidence which has been adduced by viewing the subject through the medium of the question now under consideration, affords a preponderance against his own conclusion; for, in the place of expressing a reliance on his own view, his words are, "I am not yet convinced that absenteeism is at all injurious."

In order to show clearly the insubstantial and false nature of the argument thus set forth, I will invite your attention superficially to the working out of facts in conformity to the reasoning here attempted to be upheld. In accordance with the admitted hypothesis, its supporters are under the necessity of arguing that absentee expenditure, or, in other words, the free principle of commerce, brings about the best or most prosperous state of things for all countries concerned in such exchanges or commerce. Now, as an example, I will suppose the case of a wealthy person residing in Ireland, who, in exchange for his own various productions, is in the habit of demanding the productions of others for the consumption of himself and family, that is, he expends in that country his income of £10,000 per annum. Such a person resolves to quit Ireland, and to reside in London. Now, according to the new doctrine, this is to become a more advantageous arrangement of circumstances, both for the people of Ireland and England. After a considerable lapse of time, the same person resolves upon quitting London and going to Paris. Then again, this is to become the more advantageous arrangement for Ireland, England and France. Again, he quits Paris for Rome, then this becomes a still better State of things. Again, he quits Rome for Naples, so at last this becomes the best. But I will now draw into instance another state of things, and that, too, which frequently occurs. The same person resolves on turning round. He quits Naples, and retraces his course first to Rome, then to Paris, then to London, and lastly, settles down again in his own country, Ireland.—Now, according to the free doctrine, the principle is to reverse its operation, and the residence or the demand for commodities at Naples, which was so lately at the extremity of the good scale, is suddenly to become at the extremity of the bad scale; and the residence in Ireland, which was before set down at the extremity of the bad, is to become now at the extremity of the good, and all this is to take place merely by the volition of persons who have thus moved. However absurd such a course of reasoning may appear, and in fact is, nevertheless, an arguer on the side of the free principle is under the necessity of upholding it, for by it deductions are correctly worked out from received pre-

misses. It shows, however, how totally devoid the system is of any sound or guiding principle.

Moreover, with regard to testing the theory of commerce by the question now under consideration, that is, absentee expenditure, we may remark upon the discord which the question makes amongst the advocates themselves of the free principle. We are often called upon to notice the incongruous example of statesmen upholding the doctrine of free trade in one argument, and then, upon being constrained to advance with it, and to be bound by its legitimate conclusions (amongst which is the *beneficial* effect of absentee expenditure on a country), they turn and argue in opposition to it. I have now before me a speech made by a conspicuous practical statesman of the present era, who, it may be presumed, is as cognizant of the effects of absentee expenditure, be they what they may, as any person can be, I allude to Mr. O'Connell. In this speech he argues most determinedly and most emphatically against the doctrine, whereby it is asserted that absentee expenditure is productive of no mischief to his own country, Ireland; while, upon other occasions, the same statesman will be found to contend in his place, in the House of Commons, on the side of the free principle of commerce.

Having thus collected together and exhibited the aggregate results of the arguments in chief which have been written for the purpose of illustrating the important question propounded at the commencement of my argument, I think it necessary to examine, as affording direct evidence on this branch of the subject, the work of one other author, which is that of Mr. Poulet Scrope. I am induced to make reference to this work, because it has been more recently presented to the public, and therefore, if any additional matter of value, as elucidating the laws of the science generally, had been educed either by himself or others, we might expect to find it in this work. I have, however, to invite attention to a remarkable identity of argument with that which I have already submitted for consideration, namely, confessed inability in the first instance, and palpable error in the last;—premises *admitted* to be doubtful;—and the inevitable sequence;—conclusions manifestly wrong.

In the work of this author, entitled, "Principles of Political Economy," in the first chapter, page 41, there is an attempt to delineate general principles as arising out of the nature of science; and herein it is begged to be received as an axiom, that the matter which the mind meets with, when occupied upon the investigations of its laws, does not admit of the attainment of accurate results; and in order to have this license for incorrect reasoning granted him, the writer constructs the following passage:—

"The principles of Political Economy must obviously be deduced from axioms relative to the conduct and feelings of mankind under particular circumstances, framed upon general and extensive observation. But neither the feelings nor the conduct of a being like man, endowed with mental volition, and infinitely varying degrees of sensibility, can, with any thing like truth, be assumed as uniform and constant under the same circumstances. Hence the highest degree of certainty which can belong to the principles of Political Economy will amount only to moral probability, and must fall far short of the accuracy that characterizes the laws of the physical sciences. This consideration should have prevented the attempts which have been made by many writers.

on Political Economy to attribute the force of mathematical demonstration to its conclusions. The fashion just now amongst this class of inquirers is to designate their favorite study as 'Political Mathematics,' but it would obviously be just as reasonable to give the name of 'Ethical Mathematics,' to the sister-science of morals. The rules of economical policy are to be ascertained only by studying the same variable course of human action, and with a reference to the same *indefinite* end,—the happiness of the species,—as the rules of morality. Far from partaking of the character of an exact science, like the mathematics, which deals in the qualities of abstract and imaginary entities, it has not even the fixity of any of the natural sciences to whose study the mathematics are usually applied; the facts of which it takes cognizance consisting only of such variable, vague and uncertain essences, as compose human pains and pleasures, dislikes and preferences."

Thus you will perceive that the author commences his investigation of the science with the acknowledged adoption of an indeterminate or doubtful principle; notwithstanding which, when dilating on conclusions, he sets them down as determinate, or positive, or, in other words, of two propositions, not being able to comprehend the lesser, he, nevertheless, professes to comprehend the greater, which *includes* the lesser; and of this you will be convinced on perusing the following passage, extracted from page 37 of the same chapter:—

"Nor are errors on this subject by any means confined to those who have pursued its study in their closets. On the contrary, the most pernicious fallacies, and absurd paradoxes, have been, and I still are, generally current among those who pride themselves on being 'practical' men, and on despising theory.—There are, indeed, few rasher theorists than those who habitually exclaim against theory. The notions, for example, that a country is enriched by what is called a favorable balance of trade causing an influx of the precious metals; that the expenditure of taxes, in employing the people, compensates them for the burthen of taxation; that improvements in machinery are injurious to the laboring class; that one individual, or one country, can only gain at the expense of another; that the outlay of an absentee's income abroad, or the introduction, for sale, in this country, of an article of foreign manufacture, abstracts an equal amount of employment from our native industry;—these, and many others that might be mentioned, ARE *theoretical doctrines of the falsest and most injurious character*, taken up by numerous persons, on what they consider the authority of common sense, but which, in truth, is merely crude induction from a very limited and imperfect experience."

Of the passage just quoted, I beg to call your attention, in a more particular manner, to that part having reference to the outlay of an absentee's income, and the introduction for sale, into a country, of an article of foreign manufacture; for herein the author's conclusion does not partake, in the slightest degree, of the nature of doubt, but his opinion is of a character entirely positive. Thus it is, at the commencement of his investigation, when he can deal with the facts of the subject in so cursory a manner as to mould them accordantly with his own will; but I shall now request your attention to another part of his work, where his course of argument is presented under a very altered aspect. In the fifteenth chapter, and at page 393, and following, the author arrives at that stage of his investigation where the facts necessarily coerce him into an abandonment of simple assertions, and conclusions unconnected with premises, and, in

their places, to trace, with some degree of accuracy, the agency and connection of cause and effect; and now you will remark, that the facts of his proposition, though badly and confusedly worked together, yet lead him to the necessity of reversing his former conclusion. The passage is long, and, on account of ill-arrangement, and the commingling of heterogeneous matter, will prove tedious on perusal; notwithstanding which, it must be carefully separated, and minutely examined, and, this being done, I feel certain you will be of opinion that it contains a complete summary, and, consequently, affords an additional proof of the weak, ill-constructed, and false line of argument by which it has been attempted to develop the truth of this great subject. The passage is as follows:

"The disputed question of the effects of absenteeism is connected with that on commercial restraints, and, therefore, comes properly into discussion in this place. The moral benefit which the residence of landlords upon their estates tends to confer upon society, has been conceded by those who at first denied that residence was any advantage whatever, and, consequently, that absenteeism could be any injury. The economical consequences of absenteeism, so far as relates to England, consist, it appears to us, simply in such as may flow from the landlord's income being expended in the employment of one branch of industry rather than another, or of the inhabitants of a town rather than of a country district. If an English landlord reside in London, and expend there his rental, drawn from Yorkshire, the tradesmen, &c., of London, gain all that the tradesmen, &c. of Yorkshire lose. If he reside abroad, his rental must be remitted *indirectly*, in British manufactured commodities, and its expenditure, therefore, gives the same aggregate employment to British capital and labor as if he resided in the country, and spent it on British goods of a different kind. To put an extreme case, were even the *whole* rental of the kingdom spent abroad, there would still be as much employment afforded to British industry as before: *Ruin would no doubt fall upon the tradesmen of London, of our watering places, and many country towns and villages; but Manchester and Sheffield, Leeds and Liverpool, would gain in exact proportion to the loss sustained by other places.* The rental could not be remitted, except in the form of British manufactures, fabricated at some of these places. It is not meant to deny that great injury would not result from the absenteeism of all our landed proprietors; but the injury would be of a moral and social rather an economical nature.

"The case of Ireland, however, differs from that of Britain, in this remarkable point, that, while the latter exports solely manufactures, the exports of Ireland consist solely of food,—corn, butter, pork, beef, &c. In her case, therefore, that portion of the raw produce of the soil which accrues to the landlord as rent, will, if he is an absentee, be directly exported, as the only means of remitting his rent, instead of being consumed by manufacturers at home, while working up goods for exportation, as in England.—The English absentee landlord may be considered as feeding and employing, with the surplus produce of his estate, that portion of our manufacturing population which is engaged in fabricating the goods that are sent abroad to pay his rent. The Irish absentee, on the contrary, can only have his rent remitted in the shape of food—there is no secondary intervening process whatever; and the more food is in this way sent out of the country, the less, of course, remains behind to support and give employment to its inhabitants. If these were all fully fed and employed, no harm would result from the exportation of food, as is the case, for example, with some parts

of North America. But so long as the people of any country are, as in Ireland, but half-employed, and half-fed—so long, to export food from thence, will be to take away the means existing in the country for setting them to work, and improving their condition. *Should the Irish absentee landlord return to reside at home, a considerable portion of the food now exported to pay his rent would be transferred by him to Irish tradesmen, artisans, and laborers, whom he could not avoid employing to satisfy a variety of wants.* Ireland would profit, *pro tanto*, by the additional employment and subsistence afforded to her inhabitants. As it is, she loses, by the absence of her landlords, exactly what she would gain by their return."

As I feel called upon to remark generally upon the absence of coherency, and also upon the incorrectness with which the propositions contained in foregoing passages are put together, and to invite your attention to the discrepancy that exists between the line of argument which it contains, and that previously adduced from the earlier part of the same work; yet I must beg you to fix your notice more especially on the paragraph near the end, commencing with the words, "Should the Irish absentee landlord return to reside at home," &c. because it will be found that in this passage there is a reconstruction of the identical proposition of the two sources of production as laid down by Adam Smith and Say, only the conclusion is substantiated by means of a backward process of inference. And here it is interesting to note the strong agency of facts in urging on a recognition of truth; for in the instance now before us it is accomplished, even though the mind of the author is in a state so perplexed and bewildered by the previous advocacy of a opposite line of argument, that it does not perceive the consequences issuing out of the proposition it has been under the necessity of constructing: hence, no material change in his general conclusions, or even a doubt of their validity is effected, on account of the adoption by himself of a contrariety of argument.

At this part of the investigation, I desire to call your attention to another remarkable feature pervading the entire matter of argument now brought under notice. It is manifest, that the duty imperative on those who were arguing the case, was, to have exhibited a well-defined source of advantage accruing from the proposed change; for the object sought to be attained by making the change is that of opening a way to the formation of ADDITIONAL capital, in order that the increase of the means of sustaining population, may be preserved in a progression justly proportioned, the one to the other. In the place of which, the whole attention has been absorbed, and the whole strength of argument expended, merely on the attempt to show that from such a change as that contemplated no retrogressive movement, or ill effect will ensue; and even on arguing the case in this improperly limited and unbeneficial sense, all the efforts to sustain it have proved futile.

The deficiency to which I have just called attention, though pervading the whole of the arguments adduced, is yet rendered so conspicuous in the passage last quoted from the work of Mr. Poulet Scrope, that I cannot avoid feeling the greatest surprise at its having escaped the notice of the author himself. This writer, when dilating on the consequences of indulging to a very great degree in a taste for foreign commodities by the people of this country, frames his case succinctly, and then

decides upon its results. He has informed us, that in the event of a great portion of the income of the country being expended abroad, ruin would without doubt fall, first on the tradesmen of London; then upon those of our watering-places; then upon many country towns;—and then upon many villages; but that Manchester and Sheffield, Leeds and Liverpool, would gain in *exact proportion* to the loss sustained by the other places. Now if I should concede the possibility of realizing the theory here advanced, by admitting that the loss will be succeeded by the gain, or the decrease by the increase (and I shall have to show hereafter that it will not); yet, taking the terms of the proposition as granted strictly, even then, the result must be in every way prejudicial. The writer asserts that the gain of some places will be "*exactly proportioned*," to the loss of others. Now the words "*exactly proportioned*," must of necessity assign an equal measure or quantity to BOTH the predicates of this proposition. The implication therefore is, that the predicate antecedent, and the predicate precedent are equal the one to the other.—The problem will then stand thus. Let the subtraction from an ascertained congregate be equal to the number 1000,—let the addition to another ascertained congregate be also equal to the number 1000,—hence, no increase in the aggregate.—It follows, therefore, that the postulate or object required, which is increase, is not found.

I will now bring forward another error, which is similar and of equal importance to that which I have just examined. It is contained in that part of Mr. McCulloch's "Principles of Political Economy," to which I have before alluded, and occurs at page 155. It is as follows:—

"Admitting, however, that the total abolition of the prohibitive system might force a few thousand workmen to abandon their present occupations, it is material to observe that *equivalent* new ones would, in consequence, be open to receive them; and that the *total aggregate demand for their services would not be in any degree diminished*. Suppose that, under a system of free trade, we imported a part of the silks and linens we now manufacture at home; it is quite clear, inasmuch as neither the French nor Germans would send us their commodities gratis, that we should have to give them an equal amount of British commodities in exchange; so that such of our artificers as had been engaged in the silk and linen manufactures, and were thrown out of them, would, in future, obtain employment in the production of the articles that must be exported as equivalents to the foreigner. We may, by giving additional freedom to commerce, change the species of labor in demand, but we cannot lessen its quantity."

It is here asserted, that in the event of a stated degree of freedom being acted on, workmen would be forced to abandon their occupations, but that it is material to observe that equivalent new ones would, in consequence, be open to receive them, and that the total aggregate demand for their services would not be in any degree diminished.—Here, then, is exhibited a deficiency of matter which is of a character precisely similar to that which I have noticed as existing in the work of Mr. Poulet Scrope. The author has abandoned the great position which he was bound to have maintained, namely, that of increase. From this he has retreated, and has taken his stand merely on an equivalent. Injury is admitted by the first portion of his proposition; and only an equivalent is contended for by the last.

To show how cruelly such a course of action would operate, I will suppose the case in its application to a number of agricultural laborers.—They are informed that it is necessary they should abandon the occupation in which they have been brought up, and instead of laboring in the fields, they must henceforth labor in the factories. Now in effecting such a change, how much of severe suffering must be endured! The parties are to be forced to quit the scenes of all their earliest, and to them most happy, associations, the places where alone they may have relatives and friends. Their habits of life are to undergo an entire change. The art in which they have been educated and are toiling, the habit of which has become so firmly rooted in their natures, is to be abandoned, and in its place a new and most irksome employment is to be learnt and to be practiced. Many other circumstances might be enumerated, showing the misery which could not fail to be attendant upon the course of change here alluded to. Now all this is to be undertaken and endured, and yet no social advantage whatever is shown as accruing. For as it respects the entire community, a thing in possession is to be relinquished, and one of equal capacity merely is to be had in its place; "equivalent new ones" being the utmost that is contended for. If it could be shown that such a course of change as that adverted to was necessary in order to secure the advancement of other persons, and that it embraced likewise the ultimate good of the parties immediately connected with the change, or even of their descendants, that is, that it embodied the great law of general increase, the course could not be objected against, and must be cheerfully submitted to, notwithstanding the sufferings by which it may be accompanied. But it will be seen that no such law as that of increase is attempted to be shown, and I shall have to prove hereafter, that even the equivalent which these writers have so carelessly introduced into their trains of reasoning, cannot be maintained. I shall have to show that the laws of expansion or increase consist in an arrangement of matter very different from that which they have put forth.

Thus it is obvious that a course of action has been traced out and promulgated as the theory which is to bring in its train extensive devastations, misery, and ruin, without the pretext of utility being even put forth as an inducement for its adoption. Such a state of things, if brought about, would, assuredly, be the realizing that pernicious and destructive economy which every benevolent man would desire to see averted, which every wise legislator would use his most strenuous efforts to counteract, and which every writer on political economy professes to argue against.

I will now adduce an example of the equally weak, inconsiderate, and careless manner in which this great subject has been treated when it has been surveyed in its practical character, that is, after the theory which I have now examined, has been urged on its course, and its effects upon the condition of mankind brought under observation. The matter which I request you to consider, is contained in a speech made by Dr. Bowring in the House of Commons, in July, 1835, on the subject of the distress of the Hand-loom Weavers, and is as follows:—

"I will recall to the House some few facts elicited before former Committees, showing that this distress

of the weavers has been but of too frequent occurrence, and I think I can show that it is an inevitable condition of a species of labor easily learned, and constantly intruded on and superseded by cheaper means of production. A very short cessation of demand, where the competition for work is so great, and the workmen so multitudinous, produces a crisis. The hand-loom weavers are on the verge of that state, beyond which human existence can hardly be sustained, and a very trifling check hurls them into the regions of starvation. The Committee of 1818 asserted that the silk-ribbon weavers were suffering great privations and distress. Witnesses then stated that a warper could only get 3s. 6d. per week, and a weaver 4s.; that ordinary weavers were only paid 5s. 6d. a week. Now, if the price of food at that period be considered, their distress must have been extreme; and the same or similar details have been brought out at every investigation. In 1826, the silk-weavers were stated to have earned on an average only 5s. 6d. per week; and the Hand-loom Weavers Committee have had it given in evidence, that in certain districts not 3s. 6d. per week was paid to the weaver. To deny their right to commiseration would be as thoughtless as cruel. I do not deny it. I only implore a fit attention to the remedies proposed. No one can shut his eyes to the great changes which the improvements of machinery have introduced into the whole field of manufacturing industry—improvements, which, by superseding manual labor more and more, infallibly bring with them in the transition much of temporary suffering. The condition of the man who has to compete with a cheaper, better, or more rapid mode of production, must be deteriorated. The national good cannot be purchased but at the expense of some individual evil. No advance was ever made in manufactures but at some cost to those who were in the rear; and of all discoveries, the power-loom is that which most directly bears on the condition of the hand-loom weaver. He is already beaten out of the field in many articles; he will infallibly be compelled to surrender many more.

"I hold, Sir, in my hand, the correspondence which has taken place between the Governor-General of India and the East India Company, on the subject of the Dacca hand-loom weavers. It is a melancholy story of misery as far as they are concerned, and as striking an evidence of the wonderful progress of manufacturing industry in this country. Some years ago the East India Company annually received of the produce of the looms of India to the amount of from 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 of pieces of cotton goods. The demand gradually fell to somewhat more than 1,000,000, and has now nearly ceased altogether. In 1800, the United States took from India nearly 800,000 pieces of cottons; in 1830 not 4000. In 1809, 1,000,000 of pieces were shipped to Portugal; in 1830, only 20,000. Terrible are the accounts of the wretchedness of the poor Indian weavers, reduced to absolute starvation. And what was the sole cause? The presence of the cheaper English manufacture the production by the power-loom of the article which these unhappy Hindoos had been used for ages to make by their unimproved and hand-directed shuttles. Sir, it was impossible that they could go on weaving what no one would wear or buy. Numbers of them died of hunger; the remainder were, for the most part, transferred to other occupations, principally agricultural. Not to have changed their trade was inevitable starvation. And at this moment, Sir, that Dacca district is supplied with yarn and cotton cloth from the power-looms of England. I will ask the advocates of Mr. Fielden's measure, whether his Bill, or a thousand such Bills, would have kept up wages in Dacca, or have prevented one iota of the calamities which there had but one possible remedy, a change of occupation? The language of the Governor-General is,—

"European skill and machinery have superseded the produce of India. The court declare, that they are at last obliged to abandon the only remaining portion of the trade in cotton manufactures, both in Bengal and Madras, because, through the intervention of power-looms, the British goods have a decided advantage in quality and price. Cotton piece goods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seems thus forever lost. The Dacca muslins, celebrated ever the whole world for their beauty and fineness, are also annihilated, from the same cause. And the present suffering, to numerous classes in India, is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of commerce."

Now, the facts thus stated are the results of the application of the free principle of trade to a class of the people of India and of England. As they respect the former, they present indeed a lamentable picture of wide-spreading destitution and misery. Upon considering the nature of the matter thus presented, I must entreat you to remark especially, that throughout the description here given there is no allusion made to the operation of the great compensating principle. If the speaker had entertained an entire confidence in the principle of free trade, he would, after having described the lamentable issues of his theory, have endeavored to show that the people thus oppressed and injured by the changes effected in one quarter, had yet found their labor demanded, or their injuries compensated for, by increased prosperity in another quarter; and hence, in the aggregate, the condition of the entire people had been improved. But instead of this, the comprehensive language of the Governor-General is,—*"The present suffering to numerous classes in India, is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of commerce."* The words *"numerous classes"* demand especial consideration, and should lead to the following out of the facts to their most extended ramifications.

In giving the above description, the speaker has taken upon himself to assure us, that individual injury is the inseparable concomitant of national good. Now it would have been better at the same time that he had put forth so formidable a proposition, that he had shewn also the quarter whence he had derived it. I beg to express a thorough conviction, which I will substantiate hereafter, of its being wholly false, and merely struck out for the purpose of momentary convenience; and that if the speaker had been urged upon a course of proof, he would quickly have sought refuge for his recklessness behind a form of words which, on occasions of similar difficulty, have been found so useful and so indispensable to his coadjutors; the words I allude to are,—*"the subject does not admit of a satisfactory solution."*

**THE NEW MARINE RAILWAY.**—On Saturday we visited the new marine railway, recently erected by Messrs. Murray & Sons, below Thomas's mill for the purpose of drawing out and repairing boats. The structure consists of eight ways, reaching into the bed of the river below low water mark. Upon each two ways is a candle, which is led down into the river, and upon which the boat is placed; from these lead two chains to a beam, which is propelled by a wheel and screws, and each screw is turned by a horse, thus combining the power of the lever and the screw. The power thus obtained must be immense.

[St. Louis Republican, Jan. 23.]

**MR. WEBSTER'S FARM.**—A correspondent of the New-York Commercial Advertiser has been giving some interesting details of his visit to Mr. Webster's farm, at Marshfield, and of the excellent order and system, as well as skill, with which everything is there conducted. It appears that the Secretary of State is as much at home in farming, as in the halls of legislation; and that in the intervals of settling the affairs of nations, he has found time to attend to all the minute details of farm supervision. It must certainly be admitted as an honorable fact, that many of the most distinguished statesmen of our country have been among our best farmers. It is only necessary to mention Washington, Madison, Jackson, Webster, Clay, &c., as sufficient proof of this.

Mr. Webster, the past year, has made on his farm about 400 tons of hay; several thousand bushels of roots, about a thousand bushels of corn, and other matters in proportion. He has a large number of cattle of the best breeds, imported and raised on the farm, some seventy in the whole, and they well repay the attention they receive. His sheep are splendid. Selected by himself in England, they are probably equal to any in the country. They are of the Leicester breed, and from one of them, Goliah, as it is called by the shepherd, 16 lbs. of wool have been taken at one shearing. His poultry-yard is in keeping with the other parts of the establishment, containing the choicest kinds of fowls from every quarter of the globe. The farm contains about 1,300 acres, lying on the ocean, and the waves dash against the walls, and throw their spray into his garden. There are about 300 acres of woodland mostly planted by Mr. Webster, and the time is not distant when the red deer will be as plentiful here, as it is in the wildest woodlands of the West. His mansion is surrounded with magnificent avenues of elms, and he still continues to plant, believing with Girard, *"that it would be better to plant a tree to-day though he were to die to-morrow."*

We learn from Gov. Hill's *"Visitor,"* that Marshfield is not the only farm possessed by Mr. Webster. He still retains the old family mansion and farm in New Hampshire, and though visiting it but seldom, it is kept in the best and most productive manner. His rooms, with an extensive library, and a bed, are reserved for his use, the rest of the mansion being occupied by his manager. We cannot but believe that Gen. Jackson, at the Hermitage, and Mr. Webster, at Marshfield, enjoy more real happiness and tranquility of mind, in the management of their farms, than while leading armies, or wielding the destiny of nations.

[Cultivator.]

**WHITE CARROTS.**—This is a new species of that valuable root, and from its uncommon productiveness must be an important acquisition in field root culture. For milch cows, and any other stock, it is a cheap and rich food. From our own experience we are unable to say its growth excels the common carrot in its yield. Unlike others, it projects several inches out of the ground, like the sugar beet; or long turnip. In rich soil with deep tilth, the production is enormous. Twenty-two tons are said, by the American Agriculturist, to have been raised per acre this year in Massachusetts.

[Farmer's Cabinet.]

## Protection and the Farming Interest.

*Extract from the Speech of Mr. FISHER of Clermont Co. in the Legislature of Ohio.*

### In review, of Gov. Shannon's Inaugural on Protection.

\* \* \* \* The Governor in his address represents the present Tariff law as being only designed to benefit the rich capitalists to the great injury of the farmers, mechanics, and other laborers. This is only done to prejudice the minds of the laboring man against the rich, as I verily believe. This has been the foul practice of Demagogues for some year past—on all occasions prejudicing the poor against the rich Bankers and Manufacturers—representing them as becoming rich at the expense of the poor. But from present indications the people are receiving new lights upon the subject of banking—from the number of petitions that are daily pouring in, upon this subject—and from the speeches upon this floor, it appears that the Democracy is beginning to conclude that Banks after all are some advantage to even the poor laborer; and sir, it will not be long before they will discover that a protective policy is not calculated only to “tax the laboring class for the benefit of the few.”

Let us now, Mr. Speaker, for a few moments look at matters as they are without protection. Our manufacturers are in Europe—they cease here with their vessels—they buy our raw materials—our cotton and wool—say to the amount of ten millions of dollars annually—they take it to Europe—they employ thousands of mechanics of all kinds, first to erect their buildings, their vast machinery and a thousand other nameless things—they send their vessels to foreign coasts to bring their logwood, indigo, oil, and all other dyestuffs; and this gives more tonnage than the goods do when finished. When they are manufactured, they bring to us again the same materials they took away. Now what do they ask us for them? Why, sir, now we are to pay them back the ten millions they gave us for the raw material—we have to pay their vessels for taking it away and bringing it back—for shipping their dyestuffs—in a word, for every cent's worth of work that was done on them while they were gone, and a good profit to those rich manufacturers that our Governor has such a special regard for, in the bargain; the whole cost now perhaps amounting to fifty millions of dollars. Yes, they take from us forty millions more than they gave us, perhaps never again to return. This is paid by us for labor done in Europe. But we have this to console us—that the business is kept out of the hands of those rascally capitalists in the United States, and the laborer has nothing to do. Now with a Protective Tariff, our capitalists would employ those numberless mechanics and laborers, and our vessels would go after those dyestuffs. Many of our agriculturalists would go into the manufacturing business—the fifty millions of dollars formerly paid by our merchants to Europeans, would now be paid to own citizens—first to the manufacturer—then to the mechanic and laborer—then to the farmer for his surplus produce.

Now if we were all farmers to whom would we sell? I suppose Governor Shannon would say, Oh, just sell to whom you please, “you have the whole world for your market.” Now the truth is,

we have laborers enough in the United States to do the forty millions worth of work alluded to above annually, without injuring any other branch of business. No, it would be a great advantage to other branches of business. It appears that our worthy Governor would much rather that our own laborers would be unemployed and suffer for the want of labor, and pay forty millions of our own specie to the laborers of Great Britain annually, than pay five or six millions more revenue into the Treasury than would pay the expenditures of Government. But, sir, I must pass on. The address says on the same page the other quotation is taken from, “The protective policy will cut off, or at least diminish, our foreign trade.” How so, if the consumer has to pay the duty? Now on this last short quotation, which is a bare assertion without foundation, the Governor predicates all the balance of his argument. He draws conclusions from it, as if he had established beyond dispute, that no nation upon the earth would trade with us, if we did not repeal the present Tariff law. He takes it for granted, that a Protective Policy will cut off all foreign trade. Is there any truth in this statement? If it is true, how comes it to pass that we buy so much from Great Britain? She has laid a duty upon our products, (as I have said before) that amounts almost to a prohibition, in fact, sometimes quite. And yet we are willing to buy all our goods from her. Sir, it is to me astonishing that men will venture to make assertions so entirely destitute of truth, that a school boy can detect its fallacy. And notwithstanding the Tariff law exists, a large quantity of pork is now putting up in Ohio for European markets. That a Protective Tariff will not prevent other nations from trading with us, I will prove by every member upon this floor. You are my witnesses, that the Tariff of '32 was considerably higher, than the present Tariff is; you know too, that we had as plentiful crops then, as we now have; did our produce rot upon our hands? Was it destroyed by fire, or cast into the sea? You knew it was not. Then it must have been consumed in the natural way. If so, it must have been consumed by foreigners, or our own citizens, or both together. In either case, it proves the statement of the Governor entirely false, and renders his knowledge of political economy, not very enviable in the minds of intelligent men. For he argues that a Protective Tariff will not only prevent other nations from buying of us, but that it will also destroy our home market. Now had he pointed to but one single instance in which it produced that effect in past time in any nation, it would have been more convincing than all the groundless assertions he could make. But the truth is, he could not point to an instance of the kind—while we, on the other hand, know that all past experience contradicts his statements. In fact, there is scarcely a statement or argument in that address upon this subject, but is clearly contradicted by experience. I would ask gentlemen upon this floor, why it is, that we have not a market now, for our surplus produce? We have until very lately, had even a less duty than the Governor contends for, and of course had all the advantage of a foreign market. Why is it then that our produce lies upon our hands, and no market for it? The answer is easy to any intelligent man. The number of consumers are not reduced. What

then? Why the number of producers are increased. Not in Europe, but in America. Thousands of our citizens have, by the reduction of the Tariff, been compelled to leave their shops and factories, and go to the cultivation of the soil, and not only produce for themselves, but meet us in competition in other markets. The Europeans buy of us now, and always will, just what they are compelled to, and no more. And it is because of the bad policy pursued by our Government for some years past, that our manufacturers, mechanics, and laborers, have been turned out of employment, and the manufacturers, mechanics, and laborers of Europe have taken their place, and are doing the work that was formerly done by our own citizens; and our mechanics instead of being our consumers now, are our rivals. We have not only lost the advantage of selling to them, but they supply others that we formerly supplied, and we may sell where we can. Our home market therefore being cut off to a great degree, the supply is now greater than the demand, we have to sell just at what price we can get and, make the best of a bad bargain. These facts we have demonstrated to us at this very time. Formerly when we took our produce to the South, we sold abundance where they then raised cotton, but now they produce corn and pork, and we not only lose that market, but they increase the supply in other markets. And when we took our horses and other stock to the East, there the Yankees would meet us and be purchasers to us. They still meet us there, but in a very different character—instead of buyers they are sellers also—they are our rivals.

But the Governor supposes that if one million of men were drawn off into manufacturing it would furnish a very small market for the vast products of the West. Perhaps, sir, if he were acquainted with its true operation, he would not have such a contemptible opinion of it. Supposing that one million of our citizens were drawn off from agriculture, and engaged in some other profitable business, this would make a difference at once of two millions, to say nothing about their families. The remaining farmers would not only supply the one million, but also those whom they formerly supplied, which would be at least another million. If I, as a farmer, furnish a mechanic with produce, and he quits his shop and goes to farming too, of course I can sell no more to him, but he, perhaps, will supply another mechanic. So I lose the custom of both.

But if I quit farming and turn mechanic too, then you as a farmer will not only have to supply me, but the mechanic also that I formerly supplied, thus you see the operation is double. So if we can engage one million of our citizens to do the labor that is now done by Europeans, the remaining farmers will not only supply those who have been thus driven off, but also those whom they formerly supplied,—while our foreign markets will remain the same, as to the quantity they purchase, but will no doubt increase in value. Why? Because they will now have competition as consumers. Our consumers are now in Europe, but if we have a home market for a portion of our bread-stuffs, then the foreign consumer will meet with competition, and the price of produce will rise. And on the other hand, our manufacturers are now in Europe, but if we have home manufactories, and furnish a portion of domestic fabric, then the

foreign manufacturer will meet with competition, and the price of goods will fall. As the increase of consumers will cause the one to rise, so the increase of manufacturers will cause the other to fall. This is proven by all experience as well as reason. For the fact is, Mr. Speaker, without a Protective policy, the Europeans control both our home and foreign markets; they have the monopoly of both; they sell their goods to us at their own price, because the whole business is in the hands of a few rich capitalists in Europe, so they have the terms of sale in their own hands: we have but little discretion left us, for buy we must. They bring their goods here, and store them up, and just let them into market as fast as we will buy them at their prices, and no faster, unless they wish to break down some factories that are rising up here, and then they will sell very low until they accomplish their object, and then they will put on the price again and make us pay them back what they lost in breaking down our factories. On the other hand, our produce which we take to foreign countries is not in the hands of a few rich capitalists here, but as it were, in every body's hands; so we cannot form a monopoly, but must take for it just what they please to give. Thus they keep down the price of our produce, and keep up the price of their goods. Thus they keep the balance of trade against us, and always will unless we have good sense enough to protect ourselves.

But I have heard it said by some of the leaders of the party calling themselves *Democrats*, that the British were better skilled in manufacturing than we are, and therefore we ought to let them do it for us. This put me in mind of the old lady who said her son should never go into the water till he learned to swim. Now he was just as like to learn to swim without going into the water, as we are to learn to manufacture without protection. Both are equally impossible.

It is to me very strange, that it is possible for men to be so exceedingly ignorant of their own interest. But we are told that money is plenty in the United States, but it is hoarded up. Well, supposing I grant it for the sake of argument; of what use is it if it does not circulate? As to any advantage we derive from it, it might as well be in the bottom of the ocean. Because of the wretched policy pursued by our State and National Governments, there is nothing to call out this money into circulation. If you, sir, had thousands of dollars hoarded up, you would prudently keep it there, because there is no enterprise offers any advantage to you. Would you purchase produce, and turn trader? No—you know it would be a losing business. Would you vest money in bank stock, under Latham's law and turn banker? No, you have too much good sense for that. Would you vest in manufactures and go into that business? No prudent man would, while the existing Tariff law is threatened with repeal by a powerful party in the United States who unite their exertions with British influence to crush the best interests of our country. Yes, even the Governor of our own State recommends its repeal, and this Legislature—yes, this august body, is now about to pass resolutions, instructing our Senators, and requesting our Representatives in Congress to repeal a portion of that law, so it will only produce sufficient revenue for the support of Government. Un-

der such circumstances, sir, we never can prosper;—neither as a nation nor as individuals.

"The cotton planters of the South purchase, annually, a large amount of our staple commodities, and are our consumers. Should they be compelled by the policy of the Government to abandon or diminish the cotton-growing business and turn their attention to the cultivation of the same staples we produce, instead of purchasing our productions and being our consumers they would become our rivals; and our market in that quarter would be entirely destroyed."

Now, Mr. Speaker, a sentiment so devoid of common sense as this, is more worthy to be turned into ridicule than to be treated seriously. "Should the South be compelled to abandon the cotton-growing interest, our market would be entirely destroyed." Yes, and should the "sky fall we will catch larks;"—one is just as likely to take place as the other.

So then, if under a protective policy manufactories go into operation in the United States, and thus open a new market for cotton, the planters of the South will abandon the cotton-growing business, and turn their attention to producing wheat, corn, and pork. Is it not a wonder that our worthy Governor did not think to tell us that the drawing off a million persons from farming into manufacturing, and thus opening a new market for our produce would compel the farmers of the west to abandon the wheat-growing business, and turn our attention to the cultivation of cotton, and thus become the rivals of the South. Now, sir, there is just as good reason to suppose the one as the other; and we could succeed as well in raising cotton as they could wheat. But is there any foundation for such apprehensions in past experience or in reason? Under the Tariffs of 1824, '28 or '32, did the South abandon the cotton-growing business, and cultivate the staples we produce, and become our rivals? In what market did they meet us in rivalry? If the enlightened Governor's theory is correct, foreign markets were closed against us—the southern market was destroyed, and the manufactures of the north and west of course had to stop for the want of cotton, and the European manufactories had stopped before, for they refused to buy our cotton. Where is the history that gives us an account of such an event?

Now if the Governor, or some of his friends, will tell us where we sold our produce in those days of distress, it will certainly be a great accommodation to me. If you say in England, it will contradict his theory; if you say in the South, it will do the same; if in the North, or where else you please, it will do the same: for he makes the Tariff destroy it everywhere.

But hear him again, and see if he does not contradict what he has just said above, "our cotton exports in 1840 amounted, I believe, to upwards of sixty millions; and in former years it had been still greater." Now, sir, this is the first truthful sentence I have met with in the address, and it contradicts all that has gone before; for you all know that in 1840 the Tariff was much lower than it was "in former years." And yet he tells us that our exports of cotton had been still greater when we had a high Tariff, than it was in '40, when we had not even a Tariff for revenue.

What now becomes of all this stuff about foreigners not buying from us? Perfect nonsense! The Governor congratulates us that "a larger amount

of our wheat has found its way to England through the Canadas," but is very much afraid it will be sacrificed to the "Protective Policy." How disgraceful it is for the Executive of the sovereign State of Ohio, thus to truckle and bow to the little Queen of England. She purchases our wheat just as she does our cotton, and our wool; she takes good care to secure the carrying and manufacturing business to herself, while our mills and vessels may rot for the want of employment. I wonder whether it is thought good policy by our enlightened statesmen, for us to sell all our wheat to England and let them manufacture it, and then bring and sell us the flour, just as they do our cotton and wool. It would save us a vast deal of trouble and expense in building mills and ships—and it would save us a great deal of labor, for we would not have to tend to these things after they were built. Now, sir, to be serious, the truth of the matter is just here: England is compelled to have some of our cotton, wool and wheat, and if they cannot get them in their raw, they must have them in their manufactured state; it is to their advantage to buy the raw material; it gives employment to their mills, their manufacturers, their ships, and to millions of mechanics and laborers to build and attend to all these things. Now shall we be such fools as to give up all these things into their hands, and content ourselves to be their slaves, and dig and delve in the earth forever, for fear we should offend them so they would not trade with us? Contemptible!

Now, sir, I am done with the Inaugural, and let me just say to the farmers upon this floor, that labor is the wealth of a nation, as it is of a family, and the more labor there is done in proportion to the number of inhabitants, the wealthier we will become if that labor is properly directed. But the farmer may labor incessantly all his life long and die poor at last, unless he has a market for his surplus produce. There is no farmer can get rich now, and there is no way of which I have any knowledge, to open up a market other than we have, only by building up our manufacturing interests, and thus induce some of our farmers to engage in other profitable pursuits, and by this means furnish a home market, and then we will be, as it were, a world within ourselves.

Pursue the policy of the Anti-Tariff party, and let our only market for our cotton and western produce be in Europe, then let a difficulty take place and our commercial intercourse be cut off between us and foreign nations, what then would the planter of the South do with his cotton, or the producer of the West with his produce? Our market and manufacturers would be in Europe, and our produce left to rot upon our hands. Will we be told that then we will build up manufactories for ourselves? Yes, and perhaps by the time they would get into operation, peace would be made and our country flooded with foreign goods and our manufactories broke down, which was the case last war with Great Britain. In fact, sir, a Protective Tariff lies at the very foundation of our national prosperity. And let me say to the gentleman from Pickaway, (Mr. Olds) that should his general Banking law pass, and should capitalists take stock under it, or should we have a United States Bank, they never can be very efficient in promoting the general welfare, so long as the balance of trade is so much against us. To



be sure, they would afford a temporary relief, but repeal the Tariff Law, and they must eventually go down. The balance of trade being against us, nothing but gold and silver will pay the boot; this would drain the Banks and our country of the precious metals, and we would all become bankrupt together. True, you may contend against a Protective Policy, and the longer you contend the worse it will be, but such a policy we must and will have. And the time will come when you will be astonished at your ignorance of the true interest of our country. And while the British are using every stratagem to break down our manufactories, to me it is astonishing that a powerful party calling themselves "*the Democracy*," in the United States, should be found playing into their hands, by aiding in this pernicious work. There is no man in whose bosom dwells a truly American heart, and whose patriotism is worth one fig, that will do it, I care not by what name he calls himself.

In conclusion, I will say, that the only apology I have to offer for this long speech is, that I believe the Governor stepped out of the line of his duty in delivering a long electioneering address upon subjects that properly belonged to the President of the United States; and that resolutions have been offered in this House, going to sustain his doctrines. I think it therefore my duty to expose those doctrines, and counteract as far as possible their pernicious tendency and influence.

#### Improvement and Value of Sandy Lands.

In the address delivered by Governor Hill before the Frankfort County Agricultural Society, of the State of Maine, we find the following detail of facts in connection with the improvement of light lands, and the productive capacity to which they are competent of being raised by manure and judicious management.

"I have for the last three years watched a piece of ground six miles out of Boston which was taken up by a kinsman of mine about eight years ago, and was when he began upon it a barren plain producing on ten acres scarcely sufficient to pasture a cow; an old field on which stunted hard pines had grown in part, and where the cleared part had been ploughed once in four or five years to obtain an annually diminishing crop of rye. Ten acres were all that could be had in the purchase, the widow's thirds of five-adjacent acres, which could not be bought were hired for a series of years at a greater rent than the value of all that had ever been obtained from it. The lot of land was at no great elevation above the Spy pond in West Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was bounded by its shore on one side. After four years successful cultivation, my friend found his land so valuable that he concluded to make an addition and fill a nook of half an acre of the pond itself with sand from an adjacent bank; this was done to fill up the time of hired men when they had not full employment in making preparation for, and cultivating the succeeding crops. Incredible as it may seem, with the assistance of two or three hired men in summer, and hands of some three or four females including the children of the family, this gentleman has brought the ground to that state of cultivation in which it gives him a season in cash, from four to five thousand dollars, or between two or three hundred dollars for every cultivated acre. A most profitable part of this ground

is about two acres of strawberries, which give only one crop in a year. I visited this spot in the midst of the severe drought of 1840; and although the land all around it in the heat of July was parched and burnt up, here the various vegetation, not yet ripened or taken away, was clothed in the verdure of spring. The strawberry bed had not yet quite done bearing; it had been preserved from the effects of drought by salt hay laid in between the rows, and drawing and retaining moisture which was given to the aid of the roots of the adjacent plants. The salt marsh hay was used for the double purpose of covering the strawberry ridge in winter and assisting in its vegetation in summer, becoming at the close of the season the best material for the compost heap.

Two, three, and four crops were obtained in a year from this ground. Manure was always ready to be applied to the present crop. The preparation of the ground continued through the whole year. Onions sowed in the fall came out early in the ensuing summer, and afforded room for a crop of late potatoes, or beans, or cabbages, in the same season. Spinach taken off in March was followed by early peas: these gave place to potatoes, and to these succeeded English turnips in the same year. That all four of these crops might have time to grow, the one would be planted and coming out of the ground while the other was maturing. The ground sheltered by artificial means, facing the sun nearest the shore of the pond was taken up in forcing an early growth of various vegetables and plants, as peas and cucumbers, squashes, cabbage, and tomato plants, &c. At a small expense an apartment with a glass covering, to be opened to the air in warm weather, was constructed for the use of artificial heat. But it was most remarkable to witness the success of vegetation upon that part of the pond shore that had been converted into land; the bottom was the flowing coarse sand of the Spy pond, and the addition was pure yellow sand of a finer texture from an adjacent bank. With this, manure in no greater than usual quantities was intermingled. The production from the made-ground, whose basis was almost clear pure sand was as great as it could be in any soil. The proprietor considered it more safe from the effects of drought, inasmuch as eighteen to twenty-four inches in depth would carry it to the common level of the pond.

The astonishing production of this portion of the almost abandoned Menotomy plains of forty years since seemed to be indeed a wonder; but it was a wonder that is already becoming common in that vicinity. Other cultivated fields from the same kind of land, are now frequent in the neighborhood. At first it appeared that there was something in the Menotomy pine plains peculiar to its near vicinity and level with the sea and salt water that would make it an exception to the pine plains more distant from the sea-coast and more elevated; but observation has since convinced me that the most of the interior pine lands are even better than the Menotomy plain were in their original state.

**MILWAUKIE LEAD TRADE.**—We learn that the amount of Lead, Shot, and Copper, shipped from this place during the past year, was about twenty-five hundred thousand pounds. The prospects are that the trade for the coming year will be nearly double what it was the last season. [Buf. Cour.

**MR. JAMES S. WADSWORTH'S ADDRESS,**  
*Before the New-York State Agricultural*  
*Society, January 18, 1843.*

Gentlemen—In complying with the request of the Executive Committee of the Society, to address you upon its progress and prospects, I find the embarrassment, which, under any circumstances, would on my part attend the performance of this duty, greatly enhanced by the recollection that the task which now devolves upon me, was, on the occasion of our recent annual Fair, so happily and eloquently performed by the late distinguished chief magistrate of our state. I cannot but regard that event as one [of the auspicious incidents in the history of our society. I trust that the appeal which we then listened to in behalf of the dignity and utility of our avocation, breathing as it did throughout, a high patriotism, and a deep solicitude for the objects which this society is intended to promote, was not lost upon any who had the happiness to hear it. I believe that few of us left the Capitol on that occasion, without a higher sense of the importance of self-cultivation as well as agricultural prowess, and a renewed determination to improve not only the farm, but the farmer.

The annual Fair of the Society, was indeed, in all its main incidents, deemed by its friends eminently successful. The large collection of those animals, the domestication of which seems so intimately connected with the prosperity of the human race, marked the progress of agricultural improvement, and the great concourse of observing spectators bore testimony to a widely diffused interest in the objects of the association.

A large portion of the improved breeds of farm stock known in this country, or in Europe, were represented on the occasion referred to, by animals of the highest order.

In the collection of agricultural implements and domestic manufactures, the exhibition was rich in the evidences of the ingenuity and skill of American mechanics.

In the distribution of premiums, the Society called to its aid as far as possible, eminent agriculturists of other states, and it is gratifying to know their decisions were almost universally received with the deference due to their acknowledged competence and impartiality.

I find great pleasure, in referring to these indications that the society is, slowly perhaps, but certainly, accomplishing the objects for which it was established, and by the liberality of the legislature endowed. You will, gentlemen, have seen enough within your own observation, to satisfy you that your particular labors are not barren of the happiest results.

It may well add to the gratification, and to the hopeful anticipations with which we regard these evidences of progress, so unequivocal and so universal, that they have achieved in spite of the most depressing embarrassments.

The condition of the farming interests of our country is indeed truly remarkable. The price of agricultural products has fallen to less than half the range of prices obtained during a period of years so long that they had come to be regarded as settled and permanent. Under this impression farms were bought, contracts made, improvements undertaken, habits of expenditure acquired,

which, under the present range of prices, cause difficulties as extensive as they are in many cases unfortunately, irremediable.

Few of us are aware of the amount of individual suffering, the sacrifice of property accumulated by years of patient toil and frugality, the disappointment of honest hopes, of independence and comfort in advancing years, effected by this revolution in prices. It is no uncommon spectacle to see men now far advanced in life, who in their earlier years have been successful pioneers, compelled to abandon the comfortable homes and broad fields, which they have carved out of the wilderness, and seek again, amidst the hardships and privations of a forest life, the recovery of their fortunes.

If none had been swept away by this whirlwind, but those who sowed the storm, there would be but slight ground for our sympathies; but unfortunately the cause was as universal and all powerful, as it was concealed and sinister.

It would be foreign to our present purpose to inquire into the origin, the history, and the remedy for these evils, and I fear that we could not enter upon the task without trespassing upon those political questions from which I hope this society will ever keep aloof.

The pain which these wide spread disasters must inflict upon every philanthropic mind, will be greatly relieved by the fact that they are so universally met in the right spirit. Renewed industry and greater economy, are every where the order of the day. But the fact to which I wish especially to invite your attention, as the advocate of agricultural improvement, is that it has not escaped the reflection of the great body of farmers, that the best way to encounter low prices is by improved cultivation. New agricultural implements, new modes of cultivation, improved breeds of farm stock, were never more readily adopted than at this moment of extreme depression of the agricultural interests. There is in fact, every where depression, but no where apathy. We meet in every direction the most serious difficulties, the most extensive embarrassments; but we find too—thanks to the influence of our free institutions, and the acknowledged energy of our race—every where at work, the perseverance, the patience, and the versatility of expedient, before which all obstacles of human creation must give way. Such emphatically, are the difficulties with which we have to contend. They are the work of men's hands. They come not from the great Dispenser of good and evil, for never were the bounties of providence more marked in our country than at this moment. Our harvests have been almost universally abundant.—Peatience and famine are no where to be found.

We may thus rely with a well grounded confidence upon the energy of a people at once educated and laborious, to overcome embarrassments which now so severely oppress the whole community. If we turn to the condition of other civilized nations, we shall find that in the comparison, we have rather cause for self-congratulation than despondency. Widely different is the situation of that people, where the wages of labor are so high, that the capitalist finds it difficult to procure an adequate return for his investments, and the situation of a nation in which the wages of labor are so low, that the laborer finds it difficult

to supply the daily requirements of his half clothed, half fed family.

What are all the pecuniary difficulties so universally felt here, compared with the sufferings of a people of which no small proportion close the toils of the day with barely enough to supply its wants, and without knowing where, in case of sickness or loss of employment, they are to find the food which will keep them alive the next forty eight hours?

I do not point to these comparisons to gratify the impulses of national vanity, but to show how much more ground we have for renewed and hopeful effort, than for that despondency which seldom seizes but upon feeble uncultivated intellects.

We have, gentlemen, other reasons for confidence in the future; even for the most sanguine anticipations of the developments of coming years.

The application of science, the most profound which has yet been attained by the far reaching efforts of the human mind, to all the products of our industry, to the soil, the crop, the animal, has been reserved for the age in which we live.—It is not claiming too much, to say that more progress has been made in this direction within the last twenty years than in any previous century.—Our own countrymen, it is gratifying to perceive, are securing their share of this abundant harvest. Our chemists and geologists will nut, we may be sure rest contented as industrious gleaners after the Davies, Liebegs and Johnstons of other countries, but will push forward into the ample domains, which even these acute discoverers have not penetrated.

From the origin of our race almost to the present time, the path of the husbandman has been clouded in darkness and doubt. From the sowing of the seed to the gathering of the harvest, mystery attended every step. The first link in the great chain of cause and effect was hidden in uncertainty. The precepts of tradition, the result of a multitude of experiments, were founded mostly in wisdom; but they were as inexplicable as they were sound. Not so now. The scientific analysis of soils, of manures, and of vegetable products, explains not only the workings of nature and the practices of art, but opens an inexhaustible field of new combinations and novel results. To spread far and wide this new light in the galaxy of human knowledge, is one of the objects,—I think it will be conceded to be the first object of this association.

I will not attempt to enforce by any argument or illustration of mine, the high importance of this trust. If other nations in the vigor of maturity, with more leisure and more means than we possess, have out-stripped us in the race of philosophical discovery, let it be our boast, that we have spread these discoveries wider, and made them at once available by making them part of the current knowledge of the nation. Let it be our first aim to diffuse knowledge, where the constitution has rightly given power, to the whole people.

It is not gentlemen, the sole object of our Society, to reward those who bring to our fairs the finest animals, or to remunerate those who, with skill and industry, raise the best crops. These are but the means, and part of the means, by

which it is hoped to achieve higher and wider ends. We wish, by association, by comparison of ideas, and by a generous emulation, to diffuse among ourselves and the mass of the agricultural community the results of experience, the lights of science, and the productions of art.

Of the incalculable power, for good and evil, of association and combined effort, the present age abounds in illustrations. That this great element of man's power has often been wielded to trample upon the equal rights, the peace and happiness of society, cannot be denied. Of the many instances in which, with widely different and higher aims, it has effected the noblest achievements, I shall only refer to one. With what language can we describe, with what powers of calculation estimate the wide-spread good accomplished, the deep misery warded off, by temperance associations? What individual, wielding even a despot's sceptre—what government, monarchical or democratic—what law—what armed force, could have achieved the great results brought about in our day, within our own observation, by these efforts? With this signal illustration before us, we cannot lack confidence in any efforts wisely directed to a good end. With motives which cannot be impeached, with objects which can no where be condemned, asking no special privileges, requiring no exclusive immunities, seeking only to elevate and render more effective than labor from which man is destined never to be exempt, we may surely here, if any where, call to our aid the great power of association and combination. With this element of strength we wish to awaken the public mind to a sense of the importance of our avocation, and to dispel whatever may be left of that ancient prejudice that the tiller of the soil is the drudge of the human race.

It is strange that it should have been overlooked, even in the darkest days of despotism and ignorance and superstition, that he who sows the seed and reaps the harvest, works not only with the hoe and with the scythe, but that he wields, far beyond the the laborer in any other branch of industry or art, the elements and powers of Nature. There is certainly no pursuit in which so many of the laws of nature must be consulted and understood, as in the cultivation of the earth. Every change of the season, every change even of the winds, every fall of rain, must affect some of the manifold operations of the farmer. In the improvement of our various domestic animals, some of the most abstruse principles of physiology must be consulted.

It is to be supposed that men thus called upon to study, or to observe the laws of nature, and labor in conjunction with its powers, require less of the light of the highest science, than the merchant or manufacturer? Or is it to be believed, that men who go weekly, almost daily, to different occupations, changing with the almost unceasing changes of the seasons, and whose business is to bring to maturity such a multiplicity of products, exercise less the highest intellectual faculties of man, than the laborer who, day after day, and year after year, follows the unchanging manipulations of art?

Happily for the interests of the farmer, the history of our country abounds in evidence that this great misconception of the nature, and tendency of agricultural labor no longer exists. I cannot,

gentlemen, allow this occasion to pass without referring to a recent event, which, with whatever diversities of opinion we may regard the great political questions which agitate our country, we, as farmers, cannot dwell upon without emotions of pride and pleasure. When the people of a great state, which, in population, in wealth, in power, if it had not voluntarily surrendered its immunities, might stand up among the independent empires of the earth, without fear and without reproach—of a state to which in achievements of industry, of genius, of enterprise we may search the history of the world, and search in vain for a rival—when the people of such a state turn to the ranks of its practical farmers for the unimpeachable integrity, the enlightened wisdom requisite to administer their highest trust, we may well claim that agricultural labor is not inconsistent with the highest intellectual cultivation and moral power.

It is not alone in the brilliant results of scientific investigation, nor in the fertility of the soil, nor the general salubrity of the climate, that the American farmer finds the ground of his brightest anticipations for the future. There are other and higher elements in the composition of his fate.—The government which watches over him is the government of his choice—a government in which the permanent interests of the great mass of the people are secured by placing the power in their own hands. Under such institutions the pendulum of public justice may sometimes vibrate between dangerous extremes, but it must eventually repose where justice and the interests of the many, require that it should rest. Such are the hopes of the farmers of our country. It is not to be denied that their interests have been sometimes neglected, and their rights sacrificed to the sinister aspirations of classes more favorably situated for political combinations; but if there is any foundation for our faith, that a free government is the fountain of equal justice, these aberrations must be corrected in the slow but certain progress of truth and right.

I trust that American agriculture will illustrate and confirm the striking remark of the author of the "*Esprit des Lois*," a writer, the most philosophical and liberal of his time, "that it is not those countries which possess the greatest fertility, which are the best cultivated, but those which have secured the most liberty." I find this suggestion, so flattering to our hopes, eloquently commented upon by a late distinguished agriculturist of our country, in an address which he delivered before the Agricultural Society of Pennsylvania, and I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to pay to his memory a tribute of respect, which is due, in a more eminent degree, to but one other name in the history of American farmers and patriots. With many other improvements in agriculture, Judge Peters was emphatically the author of the plaster and clover culture. The time which your patience will allow me to occupy on this occasion, will not permit me to recount the many experiments, at once ingenious and philosophical, with which he demonstrated the wonderful efficacy of plaster, nor the efforts, equally persevering and philanthropic, with which he labored to introduce into general practice, this great fertilizer. He succeeded. None but those well acquainted with the course of husbandry in our

wheat growing districts, can estimate how much of the eighty-four millions annually produced in our country, is owing to the introduction of plaster and clover. The benefits of this improvement are to be counted by annual millions; and I call it up to your attention, not only to pay the debt of gratitude due to its distinguish author, but as an incentive to those who, with the better instruments of a more advanced science, have the same field of practical improvement before them. It is happily the nature of human knowledge that the more it achieves, the larger is the field of achievement. As the outer circle of invention and discovery is pursued farther and farther from the centre, the more numerous and of higher order are the objects which present themselves to the investigation of those whose lofty ambition it is to add something to the mass of human attainment.

The Society has endeavored to contribute something to this onward movement by offering prizes for essays upon the application of science to agriculture. I trust that the result will vindicate the wisdom of this policy, and lead to its continuance.

In this country, with just laws, justly administered, where the popular voice can promptly correct every oppressive enactment, where, with common schools, and an untrammelled press, knowledge circulates as freely almost, as the air we breathe, it would be surprising, and not less discreditable than surprising, if agricultural improvement did not keep pace with the progress of the country in every other respect. For one I have no fears on this point; I believe that our progress, with or without Agricultural Societies—though always greatly accelerated by them—is to be decided and rapid. I am not however, unaware, nor should we ever lose sight of the fact, that agriculture, like learning, has had its dark ages. It has risen to great perfection, receded, and rested for centuries without any apparent improvement. The history of the world abounds with evidence that the cultivation of the earth was at an early day carried to a higher point.

In China, it is well known that for uncounted centuries a degree of skill has been exhibited in the preparation and application of chemical and vegetable manures; that is not, even now, equalled in any part of Christendom. A recent popular writer counts it as not the least valuable result which may flow from the opium war, as it is properly designated, and which it is to be hoped for the honor of humanity, is now terminated, that by opening a more general communication with that extraordinary people, we may learn something of their agricultural skill. The Chinese are not the only people beyond the pale of Christianity and modern civilization, who have attained a remarkable degree of skill in certain branches of husbandry. The aborigines of South America and Mexico practiced irrigation upon a scale, and with a perfection of detail, not surpassed in any modern improvements. The Spaniards superior to them in the art of war, overcame them in battle, but have not equalled them in skillful and industrious tillage.

Throughout all those immense regions of British India, where the indomitable perseverance and courage of the Anglo-Saxons have subjected millions to the control of thousands, the conqueror

has learned more than he has been able to impart of practical wisdom directed to the cultivation of the soil. A high cultivation, accompanied by the use of irrigation and mineral and vegetable applications, has there carried the productive powers of the earth to a point never yet attained in those parts of the globe claiming to be more enlightened.

In ancient Egypt, the results were, if possible, more extraordinary. There, not only agricultural productions, but the imperishable monuments of art, surpass even the comprehension of modern science.

Coming down to the early days of the Christian era, we find the Roman writers abounding in sound precepts and suggestions, which even now might be adopted with advantage. Nearly the whole of Varro might be read with profit to our modern farmers. True, it is often tinged with a superstition now happily discarded, and relates to a state of society and government, widely differing from our free institutions.

But in all that relates to tillage, to the preparation and application of manures, his suggestions accord with the views of our best practical farmers. In the classification of mineral and vegetable manures, such as lime, marl, and many varieties of compost, he gives to each the relative value which has been ascribed by the most profound chemical analysis.

If it is most discouraging to look back and find ourselves but little in the advance of the remotest times in many departments of our profession, we may at least congratulate ourselves that we live in an age when agriculture is in the ascendant. It is no longer given up to serfs and slaves as the fitting occupation of the most ignorant portions of the community. It now takes its rank among the honorable and elevating pursuits of industry. To follow the plow and tend the flock, is no longer, here at least, the mark of ignorance and servitude, as under a false and despotic system it was, and in some parts of the globe still is. In this, we stand upon the ground which the ancients never attained. It is the great achievement of modern times. The rights of mankind, the dignity of labor are vindicated; the one follows from the other.—Agricultural improvement then rests upon a foundation on which it never stood before. It is sustained by free institutions; it is the result of laws, wise, because liberal. The enfranchisement of the many, the elevation of the masses, must go hand in hand with the intelligent, industrious and prosperous cultivation of the earth. If agriculture owes much to the benign influence of our institutions, liberty owes not less to agriculture.

Where do we look for the calm discretion, the disinterested patriotism which must sustain a representative government, but to the great community of cultivators of the earth? Even those most skeptical as to the fitness of man for self-government, admit that if that experiment ever succeeds, it will be a nation of farmers. The experiment thank heaven, has succeeded; it has succeeded in a nation of farmers; and while we must not be guilty of the illiberality of doubting that the great manufacturing nations of other continents may be fitted to administer the high duties of freemen, it becomes us to cherish a profession which, more than any other, prepares man to receive the highest blessings of his race in this world—a free government. We must cherish it by industry, by

virtue, by intellectual cultivation; by connecting it with the science and the arts, and with everything which can elevate and adorn it. If we do our duty by ourselves and our children, agriculture will never again, it is to be hoped, know the dark ages in which for so many centuries it slept with liberty and learning. Let us do our duty in the responsible station and happy era in which Providence has cast our destiny, and I trust the day is far, far distant, when we shall cease to be a nation of farmers and a nation of freemen.

#### Sheep in the West.

Our readers may remember that in a former volume of the Cultivator, we noticed a work called the "Western Shepherd," by Mr. Flower, of Illinois, in which many valuable notices of the introduction of fine woolled sheep, and particularly of the flock of Mr. Flower, into the Western States may be found. A late number of the Lowell Courier contains a paper of great interest on the wool culture of the West, its prospects, and the vast field which the Western prairies present for the production of fine wool. The writer takes the position that the prices of wool have fallen so low in comparison with the advanced prices of land in the oldest States, that fine wool can no longer be grown to a profit, on a broad or national scale, east of the Alleghany Mountains, since where the price of land ranges from 20 to 40 dollars per acre, wool must give way to other and more valuable products; wheat for instance. The numerous experiments made within a few years, of which Mr. Flower's may be considered one of the earliest and most important, have proved that the Western prairies are admirably adapted to the production of wool, particularly the finer kinds, and that at present prices, it will pay far better than any other product. It is calculated that in Illinois alone, fifteen millions of acres of prairie exist; and the quantity to be found in Wisconsin, Iowa, and still further West, may be said to be limitless. As population increases, the wolf, which has been the most formidable impediment to the increase of sheep, must disappear, as there are no mountainous districts to afford him shelter; indeed, in a large part of Indiana and Illinois, this evil may be said to have already passed away.

The experiment and experience of Mr. Flower are important and valuable in more respects than one. His own statement of the matter, from the work alluded to, is as follows: "The history of my own flock, kept in the southern part of Illinois, favorable to the fine woolled breed. They are from the Merinos of Spain, procured just before the French overran the country. Sir Charles Stewart, the English Ambassador, purchased the Royal flock. He shipped them, after a hurried drive, scarcely out of reach of the pursuing enemy, some hundreds of miles. Six thousand, only, reached the shores of England; and after the lapse of a year, two thousand sheep survived. These were purchased by my father. \* \* \* Some additions were afterwards made from the Pauler and Escorial flocks. When I emigrated to this country, in 1817, I brought with me six of the finest animals of the wool-bearing species ever brought to this country. This is the origin of my flock; they have been kept on the same district and on the same farm, where I now reside, ever since. No deterioration of the wool has taken

place; on the contrary, the wool fibre of them is somewhat finer. Eighty ewes, purchased of Mr. Beecher, at Lancaster, Ohio, formerly from the Steubenville stock, has been the only addition to the pure-bred stock."

Mr. Fowler has this year brought his wool to Lowell, where it was purchased and stapled by the Middlesex Company. The wool has proved to be of a very superior quality, and the several sorts received the highest prices; thus proving that Mr. Flower has exercised much skill as a breeder, and that the prairies are well adapted to the production of the best wool. For twenty-five years, Mr. Flower's flock have for seven months in the year, pastured on the wild grasses of the prairie, and have kept fat and in fine health. We find in the article of the *Courier*, one statement to which we invite the attention of our readers, as we believe that overlooking the facts stated has been the means of seriously injuring the qualities not only of carcasses, but of wool, in many of our best eastern flocks:

"A single good quality in wool, urged beyond a given point at the expense of other qualities, becomes a fault, and the breed is then said to run out. A fault early perceived in the Saxony fleeces has increased in some of our finest flocks to an alarming extent. The wool grows too thin upon the pelt, and the fibre, though extremely fine, has a silky, rather than a woolly appearance. The cross between the old Merino and the Saxon, corrects this quality, but is liable to one objection. The Merino fleeces has too much gum. The fleeces from the finest of Mr. Flower's bucks, although a shade less fine in fibre, than the finest fleeces of some of our eastern flocks, have retained to a singular degree, a peculiar softness, and the woolly quality of fleeces so desirable in every description of wool. It has been a question with breeders, for some time, where to find a new family of sheep with which to improve the breeds of sheep already here. It is now found, and in the right place."

A single glance will show the extent to which wool production may be carried in the West. Illinois alone, allowing only two sheep to an acre of prairie, might send abroad thirty millions of fleeces. The cost of transporting Mr. Flower's wool from his residence to Lowell, was \$2 12½ by inland navigation, per 100 lbs., \$42 50 per ton. Compared with the cost of transporting the same value of any other product, this sum is a mere nothing, and shows how little the effect of distance from market affects the value of this article.

It seems then very probable, that the finer flocks of the East will follow the course of the many that within the past year have moved to the West: and that their places will be supplied with coarser woolled flocks, which will at the same time supply the increasing demand in this country for mutton, and take the place of the Smyrna and coarse South American wools now imported from abroad. Great changes must, however, take place gradually, and the filling of the Western prairies with the fine woolled sheep, will require some years for its accomplishment. Still it will be done, and in the result may be traced another of the strong ties which will bind the East and the West, the strong tie of mutual self-interest.

[Cultivator.]

**STEAM ROTTING HEMP.**—A discovery that promises much for the agriculture of the West has been made, and the experiments have been eminently successful. The great obstacle in the way of the Hemp culture, has been in the rotting; dew rotted being unfit for the principal uses to which that article is applied, and water rotted being injurious to the health of those engaged, as well as requiring considerable nicety in the operation. It has been found that hemp submitted to the action of steam, is rotted thoroughly in a few hours, and that the quality is of the very best kind. We perceive that Mr. Sullivan, the great corn grower and farmer, near Columbus, Ohio, has this year raised a fine crop of 40 acres, being his first attempt. Should the process of steaming succeed as well as is now anticipated, we may shortly expect the rich valleys of the west supplying the United States with hemp, instead of importing it from Russia, as we now annually do to a large extent.

**FACTS WORTHY OF NOTICE.**—Whenever the farmer or planter discovers his fields covered with *sheep sorrel*, he may conclude that the soil needs *liming*, the presence of the sorrel being unerring evidence of the absence of calcareous matter, and that the soil is too acid for the purposes of healthful vegetation.

Lands too, whose natural growth is *pine*, require lime, as that wood almost always delights in an acid soil devoid of lime.

*Clover, Sainfoin, Lucerne*, and all grasses of this family require that there should be *lime* in the soil on which they may be grown, and, indeed, it may be said to the labor lost, to attempt to cultivate them advantageously on lands in which this mineral does not form a constituent element. Now, may it not be the absence of lime in much of the southern portions of our country, which opposes such obstacles to the growth of clover? We think it demonstrable that it is, and we are equally certain, that, if lime or marl were applied to all such lands, that clover might be grown there as well as in any other part of the country.

[American Farmer.]

**FLAX.**—The improvements accomplished in the culture of flax by the exertions of the Society established in this province were never, perhaps, more fully shewn than in the prices obtained for some large parcels sold by Mr. Beard, of Kihalen, in Armagh, on Tuesday. There were three different qualities in the lot, which brought very nearly the same prices; the highest reached to £140, the second to £133, and the third to £126 per ton. The gross sum received for this parcel of flax by Mr. Beard was about £285.

[Belfast News Letter.]

**VALUABLE SUGGESTION.**—A correspondent recommends, as a partial prevention of the calamitous effects of fire, that the timbers used in building should be well covered with whitewash or lime-wash, the effect of which is to render them to some extent proof against the flames. He also suggests that bed and other curtains, and even such of ladies' dresses as would not be injured by the process, should be saturated in a solution of carbonate of soda, which would effectually prevent their catching fire by any slight contact with the flames.

# CONTENTS OF THE AMERICAN LABORER:

Page		Page		Page	
161	A Tariff at Last.....	57	Hardware, report on (Ripley)	245	Speech of Mr. Slade, of Vt. on the Tariff Bill.....
271	An Argument for Free Trade. By S. G. Arnold.....	69	Hats, report on (Clark).....	263	Speech of Mr. Hudson, Mass. on the Policy of Protection.....
328	Address of the Home League to the People of the U. S.....	117	Houses, number built.....	66	Sugar & Sugar Refining, Cox's report.....
377	Address, (J. S. Wadsworth's).....	142	History of the Policy of our Government in reference to Protection.....	70	Straw, Manufacture, report on (Clark).....
24	Agriculture, U. S. Statistics.....	157	How Free Trade is Propagated.....	77	Salt, report (Arnold).....
131	Agriculture, Report on (Hon. Harmer Denny, of Penn.).....	226	Home League, Anniversary of.....	106	Shoe and Leather Business, with Statistics.....
138	Agriculture and Commerce.....	285	Home Industry Convention.....	107	Sugar, with Statistics.....
89	Arts, Mechanic, with Statistics.....	109	Import and Manufactures.....	283	Sugar, the Culture.....
110	Articles paying <i>ad valorem</i> and Specific Duties.....	350	Importations—Statistics.....	109	Specie.....
43	Auction Sales, rep. (Drinker's).....	52	Imports and Exports—Table.....	110	Silk, by Mr. Jacques.....
59	Bristol, Mass. Convention.....	117	Iron, report on (Oakley).....	195	Silk, The Culture of, report on (Mr. A. A. Bliss, of Ohio).....
64	Buttons and Pins.....	86	Iron, Amount manufact'd in US.....	244	Salt, (Correspondence between Hon. Henry Clay and Amos P. Granger and others).....
96	Brushes, report on (Platt).....	115	Jewelry.....	288	Six Hostile Tariffs in 10 Months.....
96	Binderies and Printing.....	60	Leather, report (Davis).....	33	Tariff Bill, New.....
2	Convention, National.....	82	Metals other than Iron, report on, with Statistics.....	162	Tariff, The New—Synopsis.....
26	Currency in connection with a Tariff.....	323	Merchandise Imported annually.....	42	Tariff Report, (J. Blunt's).....
35	Convention, Home Industry.....	58	Mechanics, The Elevation of—By John S. Sayward, of Me.....	98	The Tariff at Washington.....
50	Currency, report on (Bacon).....	280	New-York, Where stands.....	128	Tariff, Prospects of the (Cor.).....
51	Coal, Iron, Hardware, (Kellogg).....	38	Nails, Cut, report (Winslow).....	112	Tariffs of Foreign Nations.....
55	Coal, report on (Fisher).....	97	New-England Silk Convention.....	160	Tariff Bill, its passage in the House.....
61	Commerce, rep. (J. Grinnell).....	46	Oil Cloth, report on.....	258	Tariff, The Effect of the.....
71	Combs, report on.....	47	Our Home Interests.....	260	Tariff, Effect of the.....
79	Cotton and Silk, by Shepard.....	59	Protection, report on (C. C. Haven's).....	293	The Tariff Question—By Edward C. Delavan.....
93	Clothing, ready made (Baker).....	65	Protection, Principle of (H. Greeley).....	307	The Tariff among Farmers.....
99	Canvass.....	137	Plated Saddlery and Hardware.....	308	The New Tariff.....
94	Cordage and Hemp, with Stat. 99.....	193	Protection, Adversaries of.....	306	The Protective Policy.....
109	Cotton, India, with Statistics.....	160	Protective Policy, Advocates of.....	113	Table of Duties on Articles.....
109	Cabinet Furniture.....	98	Protection, The Present State of the Question of.....	160	The House Tariff Bill.....
117	Coal raised in U.S.—Statistics.....	261	Protection, The Cause of Enlightened Philanthropy, by H. Greeley, in reply to Hon. Gerrit Smith.....	103	Tobacco, with Statistics.....
64	Commercial Intercourse with Great Britain.....	355	Protection, The Grounds of.....	98	The Germans: Home Industry.....
286	Duty 20 per Cent.....	373	Protection and the Farming Interest, (Fisher, of Ohio).....	233	The Relation of Wealth and Labor, by Hon. H. G. O. Colby, before Amer. Inst.....
65	Duties, Countervailing.....	68	Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus, report (Fisher).....	233	The Improvement of Agriculture as an Art and a Profession—By Henry Colman.....
116	Distress in Great Britain.....	85	Paper, report, with Statistics.....	334	Times, What of the.....
258	Earthen-ware, report.....	118	Persons, Description of in U.S.....	2	The Silk Culture—By I. R. Barbour.....
78	Effect of the Tariff on the Prices of Manufactures, &c.....	227	Remarks of Gen. James Tallmadge before the H. L. Con.....	346	Union of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.....
291	English Manufactures—U. S. Tariff.....	277	Remarks on 'Free Trade'—A Reply to S. G. Arnold—By H. Greeley.....	259	U. S. Statistics of Commerce and Revenue.....
298	Farming Interest, Protection.....	301	Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.....	292	Wood Screws.....
30	Free Trade, Universal.....	36	Speech of Mr. Slade on Tariff.....	59	Wool and Woollens, with Statistics, (Shaw).....
291	'Free Trade,' Ten Years of, (Report on Commerce, by Hon. J. P. Kennedy, Md.).....	119	Speech of Mr. Morris of Pa. 32.....	80	Woollen Manufactures, with Statistics.....
365	Free Trade Economists—The Fallacy of, by Wm. Atkinson.....	163	Speech of Mr. Huntington on Protection.....	111	Wool, Tobacco, Rice, Cotton and Sugar—Statistics showing amount raised in U. S.....
64	Fishery, Whale, rep. (Arnold).....	213	Speech of Hon. A. H. H. Stuart, of Va. on the Tariff.....	224	Wool and its Manufacture.....
75	Fishery, Cod, ".....	181	Speech of Hon. Charles Hudson, of Mass. on the Tariff.....	281	Wool, The Duty on (Everett).....
78	Glass, report on, by Wakeman.....	228	Speech of Mr. Evans, of Me.....	158	What would a Tariff do for the Laborers of this Country?.....
105	Glass, with Statistics.....	240	Speech of Mr. H. Meigs.....		
93	Gypsum.....				
3	Granite, Marble and other Stone—Statistics showing amount provided, Men and Capital employed in U. S.....				
111	Granite, Marble, &c. manufact'd.....				
118	Gov. Seward's Address before The N.Y. State Agricultural Society, at Albany.....				





14 DAY USE  
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

U:

# LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or  
on the date to which renewed.

Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.


7 Aug '61	ICLF (N)
REC'D LD	
AUG 7 1961	
28 Sep '61 RC	
NOV 25 1966 30	
REC'D LD	
NOV 17 '66 9 PM	
MAR 1 1977	

LD 21A-50m-12, '60  
(B6221s10)476B

General Library  
University of California  
Berkeley



# RETURN CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

**TO**  **202 Main Library**

LOAN PERIOD 1 <b>HOME USE</b>	2	3
4	5	6

**ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS**

**Renewals and Recharges may be made 4 days prior to the due date.**

**Books may be Renewed by calling 642-3405.**

**DUE AS STAMPED BELOW**

[illegible]

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY  
BERKELEY, CA 94720

FORM NO. DD6,

LOAN DEPT.	III 05 1988
DEC 29 1976	7 DAY USE

LD 21A-60m-2,'67  
(H211s10)476B

General Library  
University of California  
Berkeley

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C006220976

10 00070

